



falnama THE BOOK OF OMENS

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

24 October 2009–24 January 2010

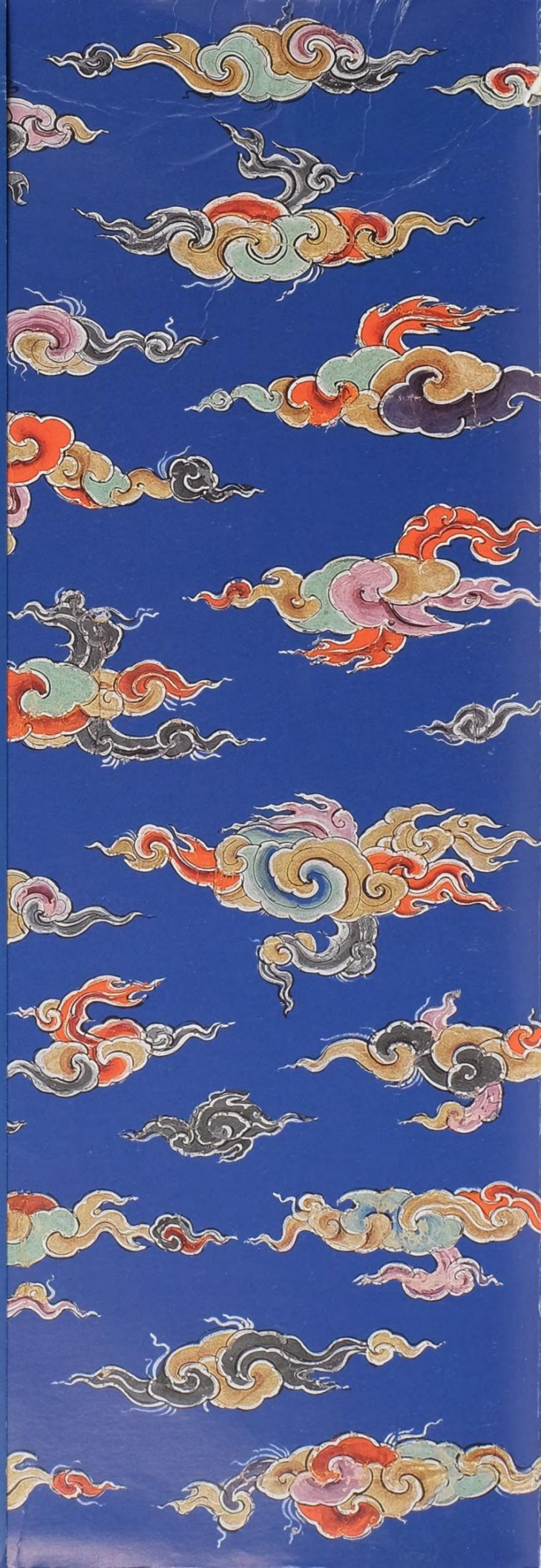
What lies ahead?

Answers to this age-old question are found in the *Falnama*, the book of omens consulted by shahs, sultans, and commoners alike in Safavid Iran and Ottoman Turkey.

Whether by consulting the position of planets, casting horoscopes, or interpreting dreams, the art of divination has been a universal practice for centuries. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Iran and Turkey, one of the most splendid tools to gain insight into the unknown was a series of illustrated manuscripts known as the *Falnama* (Book of omens). Popular at court and on the streets of Isfahan and Istanbul, only four “monumental” copies of these exceptional works remain. They are notable for their impressive scale and brilliantly painted images of prophets, heroes, villains, and signs of the zodiac. With their encouraging or dire omens, they represent some of the most original manuscripts associated with Safavid Iran and Ottoman Turkey.

Featured in this, the first exhibition and publication ever devoted to the *Falnama* as a genre, are intact volumes as well as text folios and illustrations now dispersed among international public and private collections. Considering the *Falnamas'* pictorial and verbal auguries as integrated ensembles, these images and their prognostications shed new light on the Safavid and Ottoman artistic, cultural, political, and religious landscape of the period. Essays by scholars of Safavid, Ottoman, and Byzantine history, culture, and language, complemented by full-color illustrations, offer detailed analysis of the form, content, and meaning of these rarely seen works of art. The first ever translations of three of the four monumental copies provide insight into a vivid and enduring aspect of human concern—the unknown.

Know and be aware. . .







falnama THE BOOK OF OMENS

Massumeh Farhad with Serpil Bağcı

With contributions by

Maria Mavroudi, Kathryn Babayan, Cornell H. Fleischer,
Julia Bailey, Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., and Sergei Tourkin

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

1/2/11
015360322

Copyright © 2009, Smithsonian Institution.
All rights reserved.

Published by the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery
on the occasion of the exhibition *Falnama: The Book of Omens*,
October 24, 2009–January 24, 2010, organized by the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery,
Smithsonian Institution.

Page 1: Detail, *Leo Rides a Personification of the Sun*, Turkey, Istanbul, ca. 1582,
Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, New York, M.788, F.15b (cat. 67)

Page 2: Detail, *Khaybar: The Conquering Palm of Ali*, from the H.1703 *Falnama*, Iran,
Safavid period, or Turkey, Ottoman period, ca. 1580s, Topkapı Palace Museum,
Istanbul, H.1703, F.33b (cat. 24)

Pages 6–7: Detail, *Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise*, from the dispersed
Falnama, Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s, Arthur M. Sackler
Gallery, S1986.251a (cat. 13)

Page 352: Detail, *Moon*, Turkey, Istanbul, ca. 1595, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul,
A3632, F.12b (cat. 66)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Farhad, Massumeh.

Falnama : the book of omens / Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bagci.
p. cm.

"Published by the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery on
the occasion of the exhibition *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, October 24, 2009–
January 24, 2010, organized by the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian
Institution."

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-934686-15-0 (hardcover)

ISBN 978-0-934686-14-3 (pbk.)

1. Illumination of books and manuscripts, Islamic—Exhibitions. 2. *Falnamas*—
Exhibitions. I. Bagci, Serpil. II. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (Smithsonian Institution)
III. Title.

ND2955.f37 2009

745.6'7091767—dc22

2009016752

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

Head of Design and Production: Karen Sasaki

Editors: Nancy Eickel, Jane Lusaka

Catalogue Design: Robert L. Wiser

Exhibition Graphics: Nancy Hacskaylo

Image and Photo Services: John Tsantes

Rights and Reproduction: Cory Grace

Exhibition Coordinators: Cheryl Sobas, Kelly Swain

Typeset in Whitney

Printed in the United States of America

*Board of the Freer Gallery of Art
and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery
(as of September 2009)*

Ms. Diane H. Schafer, Chair

Dr. Catherine Glynn Benkaim, Vice-Chair

Mrs. Masako Shinn, Secretary

Mrs. Sunandini (Nunda) P. Ambegaonkar

Ms. Susan Beningson

Mrs. Jane Bernstein

Mr. Jeffrey P. Cunard

Mr. John R. Curtis

Mr. Richard M. Danziger

Mr. Michael de Havenon

Dr. Robert S. Feinberg

Mr. Michael E. Feng

Mrs. Hart Fessenden

Mr. Martin J. G. Glynn

Ms. Shirley Z. Johnson

Mr. Gregory Kinsey

Mr. James Lintott

Mr. H. Christopher Luce

Mrs. Constance C. Miller

Mrs. Susan Pillsbury

Mr. David Solo

Mr. Leopold Swergold

Mrs. Patricia P. Tang

Mr. Ladislaus von Hoffman

Ex Officio

Mr. G. Wayne Clough

Mr. Richard Kurin

Mr. Julian Raby

Honorary

Mrs. Cynthia Helms

Sir Joseph Hotung



Smithsonian
Freer Gallery of Art and
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

CONTENTS

8	Foreword, Elahé Mir-Djalali Omidyar
11	Foreword, Julian Raby
13	Note to the Reader
14	Sponsors
15	Map: Ottoman and Safavid Worlds in the Sixteenth Century
19	The Art of Bibliomancy Serpil Bağcı and Massumeh Farhad
27	The Falnama in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı
41	The Manuscripts Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı
43	The Dispersed Falnama
53	The Topkapı Persian Falnama (TSM H.1702)
60	The Dresden Falnama (E445)
68	The Falnama of Ahmed I (TSM H.1703)
77	Exhibition Catalogue
78	Word as Protection
97	Abrahamic Traditions
117	Islamic Traditions
148	Idolatry
153	Sages, Heroes, and Villains
173	The Zodiac
185	The Hereafter
198	Beyond the Falnama
218	Other Folios from the Dispersed Falnama
221	Islamic Divination in the Context of Its "Eastern" and "Western" Counterparts Maria Mavroudi
231	Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries Cornell H. Fleischer
245	The Cosmological Order of Things in Early Modern Safavid Iran Kathryn Babayan
256	Appendix A: Reproductions and Translations of the Dispersed Falnama, H.1702, and H.1703 Translated by Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., and Sergei Tourkin
306	Appendix B: Comparative Tables of Omens
309	Endnotes
332	Bibliography
341	Contributors
341	Photo credits
342	Index

ND
2955
6134
2009
6



شیطان‌نمای



Foreword

Elahé Mir-Djalali Omidyar, Ph.D.

President, Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute



The Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute is pleased and proud to contribute to the exhibition *Falnama: The Book of Omens* organized by the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution. Indeed, this multi-authored, fully illustrated catalogue represents not only an enlightened introduction to the exhibition but also a major scholarly contribution in and of itself.

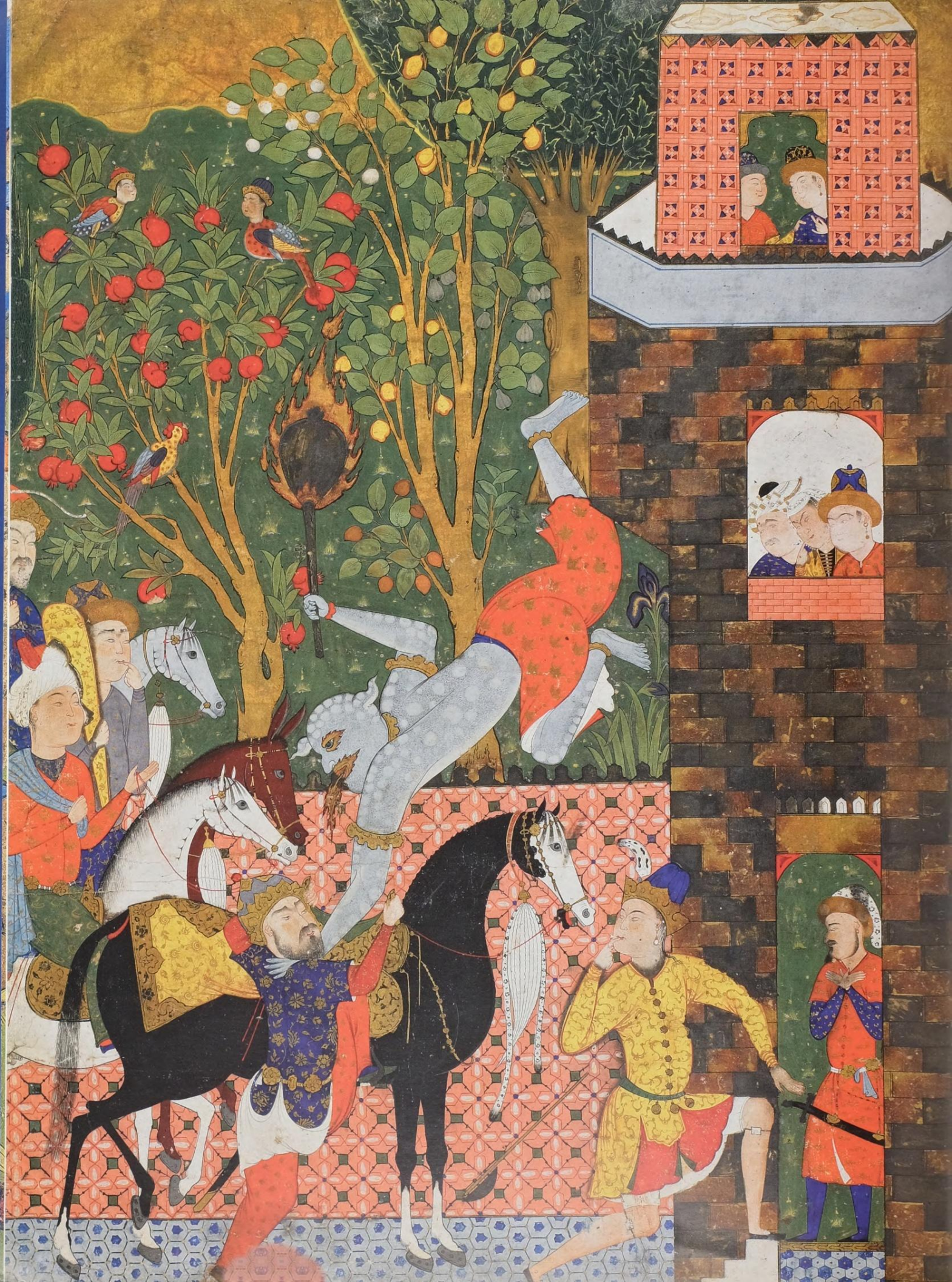
The *Falnama* focuses on the art of divination, featuring a series of illustrated texts constituting major works of art notable for their monumental size, spectacular compositions, and unusual subject matter. These extraordinary manuscripts draw on imagery from Abrahamic, Islamic, and literary traditions. They thus offer new perspectives on the daily concerns and religious doctrines of people who lived five hundred years ago. The manuscripts were created during the reign of the Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasb in Iran and at the height of the Ottoman Empire in Turkey, during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Accordingly, they also afford new insights into the rich artistic and cultural exchanges between the Persian and Ottoman empires, even at the height of their political rivalry.

The *Falnama* manuscripts to date have remained largely unpublished. In offering the first major exhibition ever devoted to

them, the Smithsonian's Galleries of Asian art are opening up new vistas on large areas of artistic, religious, and historical understanding. We would like especially to congratulate Dr. Julian Raby for his support and encouragement of this exhibition project, and Massumeh Farhad, Ph.D., and the staff of the Freer and Sackler Galleries for a remarkable exhibition and accompanying catalogue. Thanks are also due to the wide variety of public and private collections that contributed the more than sixty works of art included, many of which have never previously been exhibited publicly.

The Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute is a nonprofit organization supporting the preservation, transmission, and instruction of Persian culture. The Institute does this through partnerships with other nonprofit institutions, including major museums such as the Freer and Sackler Galleries. In selecting projects to support, we are guided by those values and principles that uphold a community: fairness, tolerance, respect, and the desire to improve communication and understanding among people from diverse backgrounds. In our view, the *Falnama* exhibition and this catalogue are exceptional from all of these perspectives and represent major advances in promoting not only artistic achievement but also intercultural understanding.





Foreword

Julian Raby, Director

Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

Whether by calculating the position of stars, consulting dream manuals, or studying natural and manmade signs, the art of divination has been a universal practice since Babylonian times. One of the most extraordinary devices used for prognostication in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Safavid Iran and Ottoman Turkey was a series of large-scale, boldly conceived illustrated texts known as the *falnama*. Only four such "monumental" volumes have survived, and these are the focus of this exhibition *Falnama: The Book of Omens*. On one page, Adam and Eve ride out of paradise on the backs of a spectacular, dragon-like serpent and an equally fanciful peacock while startled angels look on. On another page, the angel of death in the guise of a ferocious gray demon drops out of the sky to pounce on Shaddad ibn Ad, who, according to the Koran, had transgressed by daring to recreate paradise on Earth. These remarkable pictorial auguries and their accompanying text shed light not only on a little-known aspect of Safavid and Ottoman artistic achievement but also on the shared interest of shahs, sultans, and viziers in pictorial prognostication at the end of the first Islamic millennium.

Falnama: The Book of Omens is the first attempt to reunite the extraordinary illustrations of the so-called Dispersed Safavid *Falnama*, the most widely published copy. By considering its extant folios in relation to those of three other, largely unknown, sixteenth-century *Falnamas*, these works can be seen in their proper artistic, cultural, and religious context. The project has been further enriched by a rare cross-disciplinary collaboration among specialists of Byzantine, Safavid, and Ottoman history, culture, art, and science.

The exhibition project has benefited from a number of individuals and foundations, whose support and encouragement during a financially uncertain period has been vital. We are particularly grateful to an exceptional anonymous donor, who threw the project a lifeline at a critical time. Lee Folger and the Folger Fund deserve a very special thanks; from the inception of the *Falnama* exhibition proposal several years ago, they have encouraged and supported the project and have been essential to its realization. We are also indebted to the Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute for underwriting the publication of the catalogue. Ralph Minassian and the Hagop Kevorkian Fund have continuously shown interest in initiatives at the Freer and the Sackler Galleries, and we gratefully acknowledge their support for

this exhibition. For the past decade, Mary and Farhad Ebrahimi's support has been essential in allowing us to keep a steady spotlight on Persian art and culture at the Freer and Sackler, and we are deeply grateful to them. Both the Smithsonian Scholarly Research Fund and the Barakat Trust deserve our special gratitude for providing research support. We also thank the PARSA Foundation for its contribution. His Excellency Nabi Şensoy, the ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to the United States, and Mrs. Şensoy, were most helpful with their advice, as was Kivılcım Kılıç, the first secretary, with logistical matters.

The Arthur M. Sackler Gallery would like to thank the following for generously lending to *Falnama: The Book of Omens* and assisting with its implementation. In Ankara, Turkey: the Directorate General for Cultural Heritage and Museums of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey; Orhan Düzgün, the director general of museums and cultural assets of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey; and Nilüfer Ertan, Director of EU, Foreign Relations and Cultural Activities Section; İlber Ortaylı, president of the Topkapı Palace Museum; Zeynep Atbaş, curator of manuscripts; Ayşe Erdoğan, acting director; Aysel Çöteliöğlu, deputy director; Sibel Alpaslan Arça, curator of textiles; Ahmet Ayhan, curator of arms and armor; and Selin İpek, assistant to the director.

We also thank Parviz Tanavoli in Canada; Kjeld von Folsach, director of the C. L. David Collection, Copenhagen; Nasser D. Khalili, and Nahla Nassar, curator of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London; Henri Loyrette, director; Sophie Makariou, chief curator of the Department of Islamic Art; and Charlotte Maury, assistant curator, Musée du Louvre, Paris; Stefan Weber, director of Staatliche Museum zu Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst; Alessandro Bruschettini, Italy; Michael Ryan, director, and Elaine Wright, curator of the Islamic collections, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; Căsar Menz, director, and Claude-Janine Ritschard, former curator, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, Switzerland; His Highness Karim Aga Khan and Benoît Junot at the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Geneva; and Mohammad Afkhami, also of Geneva.

In the United States, we acknowledge Tom Lentz, Elizabeth and John Moors Cabot director and Mary McWilliams, Norma Jean Calderwood curator of Islamic and later Indian art, Harvard Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Michael Govan, director, and Linda Komaroff, curator of Islamic art, Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Arnold Lehman, director, and Ladan Akbarnia,

Hagop Kevorkian associate curator of Islamic art, Brooklyn Museum, New York; William Griswald, director, and William Voelkle, curator and department head of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; Philippe de Montebello, former director, Stefano Carboni, former curator in the department of Islamic art, Navina Haider, associate curator, and Maryam Ekhtiayar, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and James A. Welu, director, Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts.

We received assistance from scholars Hossein Afshar, James Allan, Gönül Alpay Tekin, Nurhan Atasoy, Mohsen Ashtiyani, Mr. and Dr. Ebadollah Bahari, Manijeh Bayani, the late Craigen Bowen, Filiz Çağman, Sheila Canby, Yolande Crowe, Yorgos Dedes, Tülün Değirmenci, Debra Diamond, Teresa Fitzherbert, Almut von Gladiss, Catherine Glynn, Lisa Golombek, Oleg Grabar, Zeynep Yürekli Görkay, Charlotte Huygens, Thomas Haffner, Jeremy Johns, Cemal Kafadar, Mehmet Kalpaklı, Jens Kröger, Fatma Kutlar, Amy Landau, Tom Lentz, Maryam Masoudi, Gülrü Necipoğlu, Hartmut Oetwin-Feistel, Oya Pancaroğlu, Scott Redford, Karin Rührdanz, Nabil Saidi, Emilie Savage-Smith, John Seyller, Abolala Soudavar, Baki Tezcan, Zeren Tanındı, Michael Rogers, Olga Vasilyeva, Armen Tokatlian, and Bahattin Yaman.

This catalogue would not have been possible without the contributions of Kathryn Babayan, associate professor of Iranian history and culture at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Julia Bailey, former editor of *Muqarnas*; Serpil Bağcı, professor of history

of art and departmental chair at Hacettepe University, Ankara; Cornell H. Fleischer, Kanuni Suleyman professor of Ottoman and Modern Turkish studies, University of Chicago; Maria Mavroudi, professor of history, University of California, Berkeley; Wheeler M. Thackston, retired professor of Persian, Harvard University; and Sergei Tourkin, professor, St. Petersburg State University, Russia. Jane Lusaka and Nancy Eickel deserve a special thank you for editing the catalogue; I also acknowledge the tireless efforts and dedication of the book's designer, Robert L. Wiser. Over the years, several assistants and volunteers have helped with different research aspects of this project and their work is deeply appreciated; they include Louise Caldi, Robert Foy, Marianne Henein, Carol Huh, Amy Landau, Amy Repp, Tess Kutasz, and Amal Sachedina. In Istanbul, we would also thank Hadiye Cangökçe for her beautiful photographs and in Ankara, Bayezit, Yasemin, İsmihan, Kaan, and Kısmet Bağcı for their advice and assistance.

Finally, the staff of the Freer and Sackler deserves special thanks. Their expertise, commitment, hard work, and sense of humor have been critical to this project's realization and success. But above all I thank Massumeh Farhad, who conceived the project and masterminded its progress for these past several years, and who is also the principal author of the catalogue. Combining research with all her other duties as chief curator and curator of Islamic art at the Freer and Sackler Galleries has been very demanding, and I can only guess that there have been times when she opened a book in the hope that it would contain an augury of good fortune.

Note to the Reader

The majority of dates in this catalogue are those of the Christian calendar. When a year appears according to both the Christian and the Islamic calendars, the Islamic one, which is based on a lunar cycle, usually is given in parentheses, e.g., 1592 (1000 AH). It is identifiable by an H (of the *Hijra*), which refers to the migration of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina. This marks year 1 on the Islamic calendar and is equivalent to the year 622.

Diacriticals and vowel marks have been omitted from this volume. The letters *ayn* (‘) and *hamza* (‘), which do not have an equivalent in the Roman alphabet, do not appear at the beginning or end of words but are retained in a medial position. For Ottoman names and titles, a Turkish transliteration system has been used; Arabic and Persian words are largely transliterated

according to a simplified version of the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*.

Certain familiar words, such as Koran and vizier, follow common English spellings. All Koranic references are from Yusuf Ali’s translation, and chapters (*suras*) and verses (*ayas*) are separated by a colon (e.g., 2:35).

For measurements of works of art, height precedes width. When appropriate, the diameter is identified by (diam.).

A “folio” refers to both the back and front of a single sheet of paper; a “page” denotes one or the other side. The front (recto) is identified as “a,” and the back (verso) as “b,” bearing in mind that Persian, Ottoman, and Arabic scripts are written and read from right to left.

Contributing authors

MF
Massameh Farhad

SB
Serpil Bağcı

CHF
Cornell H. Fleischer

JB
Julia Bailey

List of Abbreviations

AKTC
Aga Khan Trust for Culture,
Geneva

AMSG
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery,
Washington, D.C.

ex-Binney
Formerly in the collection
of Edwin Binney 3rd

BM
Brooklyn Museum,
Brooklyn, New York

BODL
Bodleian Library, Oxford
University, Oxford, England

Bsc
Alessandro Bruschettini
Collection, Genoa, Italy

CBL
Chester Beatty Library,
Dublin

D Coll
The David Collection,
Copenhagen

EMR
Museum of Ethnography,
Rotterdam

FGA
Freer Gallery of Art,
Washington, D.C.

HAM
Harvard Art Museum,
Cambridge, Massachusetts

IUL
Istanbul University Library

LACMA
Los Angeles County
Museum of Art

MAH
Musées d’art et d’histoire,
Geneva

MdL
Musée du Louvre, Paris

MFA
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MIK
Museum für Islamische Kunst,
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

MMA
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York

NDK
Nasser David Khalili
Collection, London

NL
National Library of Ankara

P Coll
Private collection

PML
Pierpont Morgan Library,
New York

SB
Staatsbibliothek Berlin

S Coll
Abolala Soudavar Collection,
Houston

SLUB
Sächsische Landesbibliothek–
Staats- und Universitäts-
bibliothek, Dresden

TIEM
Turkish and Islamic Museum,
Istanbul

TSM
Topkapı Palace Museum,
Istanbul

ex-Tulin
Formerly in the
Tulin Collection

WAM
Worcester Art Museum,
Worcester, Connecticut

Sponsors

This publication is made possible with the generous support of:



Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute

Falnama: The Book of Omens is produced in conjunction with an exhibition organized by the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, and on view October 24, 2009 through January 24, 2010.

The exhibition is made possible through the generosity of an anonymous donor and The Folger Fund.

Support is also provided by the Hagop Kevorkian Fund and Mr. and Mrs. Farhad Ebrahimi.

Additional support is provided by the Smithsonian Scholarly Studies Program, The Barakat Trust, and The Packard Humanities Institute.

Ottoman and Safavid Worlds in the Sixteenth Century



Overleaf: Detail, *Imam Riza Saves the Sea People*, from the dispersed *Falnama*, Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s-early 1560s, Musée du Louvre, Paris, MAO 894 (cat. 28)





THE ART OF BIBLIOMANCY

Serpil Bağcı and Massumeh Farhad

When the Mughal emperor Humayun was planning an invasion of Kashmir in 1552–53 (960 AH), he turned to the Koran for guidance. He opened the volume at random, as is prescribed, and his eyes fell upon the chapter of Joseph (*surat al-Yusuf*). His advisors convinced him that it was a bad omen, and the emperor abandoned the invasion.¹ A few years later, in November 1555 (Zulhijja 962 AH), Humayun decided to recapture India's "eastern parts" (*mamalik-i sharqi*), i.e., Bengal, and consulted the *Divan* of Hafiz. This time he received a favorable omen and proceeded with the preparations.²

In the *Nusretname* (Book of victory), an account of the 1578 Ottoman military campaign against Georgia and Shirvan, the author Mustafa Ali maintains that the commander-in-chief Lala Mustafa Pasha stopped in Konya to visit the tomb of Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi (died 1273). During his visit, he requested a prognostication for the outcome of the campaign and randomly opened a volume of Rumi's *Mathnawi*. His eyes fell on a verse referring to the Macedonian ruler Alexander (Iskandar), also known as Zulqarnayn, and his conquest of the legendary Mount Qaf, which was viewed as an auspicious omen (fig. 1.1).³

These and many other anecdotes attest to the popularity of bibliomancy, the art of divination through text,⁴ among the ruling elites of the Islamic world. Whether using the Koran, the lyrical verses of Hafiz (died 1390), or Rumi's *Mathnawi*, bibliomancy was meant to offer insight into the world of the unseen (*al-ghayb*), guide seekers in their actions and intents, assure them of their successes, and forewarn them of calamities. The illustrated *Falnamas*, which depend on painted images for prognostication, belong to this long-established tradition.

In much of the Islamic world, the Koran has served as the most important divinatory text since the late Umayyad period (661–750).⁵ Although the practice was condemned intermittently by Islamic orthodoxy, the tradition prevailed and permeated all levels of society. Certain rules had to be established, however, and practitioners developed a range of "licit" methods for consulting the Koran, which were adapted and modified for other texts, including illustrated *Falnamas*.⁶

One of the accepted techniques of Koranic prognostication is known as *istikhara*, derived from the Arabic root *kh-ay-r*, which implies a choice or option and the idea of entrusting God with that selection by submitting to his will. According to one tradition, even the Prophet Muhammad taught his disciples about *istikhara* in much the same way he had instructed them about the *suras* (chapters) of the Koran.⁷ Some scholars have argued that while seeking God's guidance in making a choice was permissible, divination (*tafa'ul*) was strongly condemned. The term, which relates to the word *fa'l* in Arabic and *fal* in Persian and Ottoman, implies consulting the sacred text to seek an augury or insight into the future. As such knowledge is God's exclusive privilege, this particular method was considered contrary to Islam.⁸



At least by the fifteenth century, the practice of Koranic prognostication became more formalized and codified as special tables, referred to as *falnamas*, appeared at the end of Korans, a convention that became increasingly popular in the sixteenth century.⁹ Various titles "Divination of the Sacred Text" (*fal-i kalam-i majid*), "Divining the Word of God" (*tafa'ul kalam-i Allah*), or simply "of the Word" (*min kalam*), such guides were particularly popular in Korans produced in sixteenth-century Safavid Shiraz (fig. 1.2).¹⁰ Moreover, their titles, which often incorporated terms such as *fal* or *tafa'ul*, suggest that the line between consulting the Koran for divine guidance and making a choice (*istikhara*) or for an augury (*tafa'ul*) were blurred at best. Most of these *falnamas* are written in verse and organized in richly illuminated geometric tables and grids. Although they were particularly popular in Iran, several late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman Korans with divination manuals also are known. They are copied in elegant *nasta'liq* verse, but the overall design is more restrained than those of the Shirazi manuscripts (see cat. 9).

Koranic *falnamas* begin with clear instructions: After performing ritual ablutions and finding a complete volume of the Koran, the seekers were to recite the *Fatiha* once, the *surat al-ikhlas* three times, followed by the throne verse (Koran 2:255). Only then could they solicit divine guidance. If using the simplest method, the



seekers would open the volume randomly and whichever word they saw first identified the augury. More complex systems required a series of steps, which consisted of consulting tables to calculate the augury by turning a specific number of pages and counting a set number of lines and words.¹¹

Some *falnamas* were physically independent from the Koran. The earliest surviving copies date to the latter part of the fifteenth century, but several include introductions claiming that they are based on earlier copies, which were used by prominent historical figures, such as the caliph Harun al-Rashid (reigned 786–809) and Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (reigned 998–1030). They were often attributed to the prophet Daniel, Imam Ali, and, most frequently, to Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq, the sixth imam, who is associated, rather spuriously, with texts on magic, alchemy, and divination titled *Jafr*.¹² The link to a prominent religious or secular figure lent these autonomous *falnama* manuscripts legitimacy and prestige, which was unnecessary when they were incorporated within a volume of the Koran.

The earliest *Falnama-i Jafar* appears in the *Kitab al-bulhan* (Book of wonderment) by Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhi (died 886), the celebrated astronomer, astrologer, mathematician, and philosopher.¹³ A copy of this text was illustrated between 1334 and 1435 (734–839 AH) during the reign of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir

(reigned 1382–1410) and includes a *Fal-i anbiya* (auguries of prophets), a *Fal-i maqbul* (well-liked auguries), and a section on interpreting bodily twitching (*ikhtilaj*). The illustrated chapter on prophetic omens (*Fal-i anbiya*), in particular, anticipates the role of both Abrahamic and Islamic prophets as the principal agents of prognostication in the later pictorial *Falnamas*. Here, each omen is associated with a religious figure, who is represented by an architectural structure. In turn, the buildings, which probably refer to an astrological mansion or house (*bayt*), relate to specific aspects of human existence. These are both auspicious and inauspicious in meaning and recall the content of prognostications in the later pictorial *Falnamas* (fig. 1.3).¹⁴ By presenting Abrahamic and Islamic prophets within an astrological context, the *Fal-i anbiya* integrates augury of the stars and augury of prophets and thus offers religious justification for astrology and the art of divination.¹⁵

The *Divan* of the poet Hafiz, also known as the “tongue of the unseen” (*lisan al-ghayb*), was the most popular literary work for prognostication.¹⁶ Like the Koran, the *Divan* could be consulted in several ways after the seeker had recited a series of prescribed blessings and invocations. The text was then opened to a random page; either the first lines on which the person's eyes fell or the last *ghazal*¹⁷ on the page constituted the augury. A series of tables with letters, always in multiples of seven or nine that were also

Fig. 1.2. Koran folios, Iran, 1560s–1570s, CBL MS.1548, ff.251a–252b (cat. 7)

referred to as a *falnama*, provided an alternative manner to identify an augury. Hafiz's *Divan* also could be consulted by more than one seeker at a given time. Group bibliomancy had its own particular rules and regulations. For instance, assigning a poem to a participant depended on the order in which the individuals were seated, and once it was read in the name of one person, it could not be repeated as a prognostication for someone else. This method also implies that there were witnesses (*shahid*) for each omen, a term that also refers to the first or seventh verse, considered the summation of the augury's meaning.¹⁸ Thus the manner of consulting Hafiz's *Divan* could be a private, personal, and by extension, silent experience or a more public, communal, and audible one, transforming it into a theatrical and performative act.

The art of bibliomancy must have been quite common in fourteenth-century Iran, for the celebrated satirist Ubayd Zakani (died 1371), a contemporary of Hafiz, composed two works devoted to omens. His *Falnama-i buruj* parodies the signs of the zodiac and the *Falnama-i wuhush va tuyur* uses animals and birds as the subject of comical and often lewd prognostications.¹⁹

The *Raznama* (Book of secrets) by Husayn Kefevi (died 1601), an Ottoman scholar, judge (*qadi*), and man of letters, also attests to the popularity of bibliomancy in sixteenth-century Turkey. Dedicated to Sultan Murad III (reigned 1574–95) and, in a slightly

edited version, to Sultan Mehmed III (reigned 1595–1603), the *Raznama* comprises a wide range of anecdotes on the art of prognostication with a variety of texts among the Istanbul elite. The protagonists included historical personalities and celebrities who were the author's contemporaries and were fluent in Arabic and Persian and familiar with the Koran. As described by Kashifi, at regular gatherings these learned members of Istanbul society consulted the works of Hafiz, Jami, Rumi, and, of course, the Koran to seek guidance. Reportedly, their randomly selected verses clarified, in an almost miraculous manner, their queries and dilemmas.²⁰ Even the powerful Istanbul grand mufti Ebussuud Efendi (died 1574) engaged in divination, but he also tried to codify the meaning of the prognostications and thus control the degree of free interpretation. According to the Ottoman scholar and writer Haji Khalifa (1609–57), the grand mufti issued *fatwas* (legal opinions and edicts) on the conditions of the legitimate act of prognostication.²¹

Bibliomancy and Images: The Genesis of the *Falnama* Genre

At least by the first half of the sixteenth century in Iran, consulting large-scale images also became a popular means of prognostication, but the practice may have had a longer history.

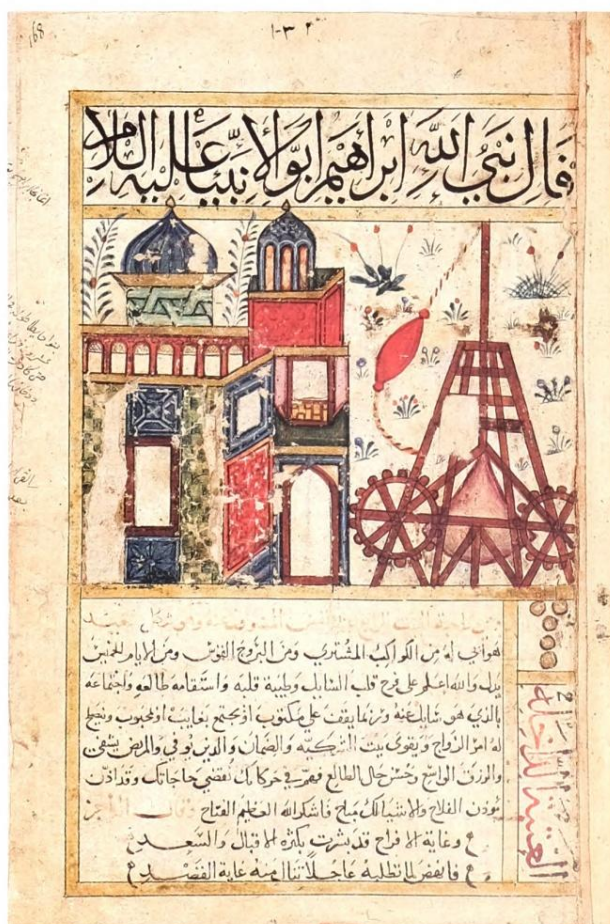


Fig. 1.3. Abraham's Catapult, *Kitab al-bulhan*, 14th and 15th century, BODL or 133, f.168a. Fig. 1.4. Jonah and the Whale, probably Iran, 1570s–1580s, TSM H.1702, f.27b



An eleventh-century poetic simile in the *Divan* (Collected works) of the famous Persian panegyrist Manuchhri (died 1040) seems to imply the existence of possible earlier examples. In an evocative celebration of nature, Manuchhri claims, "Like diviners, the birds in the trees/have spread in front of them manuals full of images," a verse that anticipates seventeenth-century eyewitness accounts of diviners using illustrations (*falchi-yi musavvir*).²² A painting such as *Jonah and the Whale* of circa 1400 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art may represent the type of work to which Manuchhri refers (fig. 1.5).²³ Except for an inscription on the arms of the prophet, which states, "In the dead of night, Jonah (Yunus) entered the mouth of the fish," the composition has no related text. The terse description of the subject, coupled with the monumental size of the composition, recalls later depictions of the same miraculous scene in the *Falnamas* (fig. 1.4) and may have served as a forerunner.

Even in the absence of clear literary or pictorial precursors, many of the ideas and themes found in the pictorial *Falnamas* can be traced to earlier illustrated texts, beginning with the *Aja'ib al-makhlūqat* (Wonders of creation). Although the best-known author associated with *Aja'ib* literature is Zakariya ibn

Muhammad ibn Mahmud, known as al-Qazvini (died 1283), another important precursor was Muhammad ibn Mahmud al-Tusi. Tusi's *Aja'ib*, written in Persian in 1160 or 1170, describes the wonders of the world in ten chapters and includes discussions on free will versus predestination, talismanic portraits, tombs of prophets and kings, dream interpretation (oneiro-mancy), and alchemy—themes that implicitly or explicitly shape the content of the illustrated *Falnamas*.²⁴ Tusi's emphasis on occult knowledge may explain the renewed interest in illustrated copies of his *Aja'ib al-makhlūqat* in the 1570s and 1580s at a time when illustrated *Falnamas* were also in vogue (fig. 1.6). Just as Tusi's work recontextualizes a wide body of knowledge to underscore the miraculous nature of God's creation, the illustrated *Falnamas* appropriate a range of sources to offer insight into the unknown and encourage moral, ethical, and religious conduct.²⁵

The synthesis of knowledge on astrology and magic to guide human behavior and actions—an idea that is implicit in the later illustrated *Falnamas*—largely shaped the content of an unusual thirteenth-century text, known as the *Daqa'iq al-Haqā'iq* (Aspects of the verities). A medieval illustrated anthology, with



sections on astrology, the occult, and Tusi's *Aja'ib al-makhluqat*, the manuscript is dedicated to Ghiyas al-Din Kay-Khusrow III (reigned 1266–84), the last ruler of the Anatolian Saljuq dynasty. It was compiled in the cities of Aksaray and Kayseri in central Anatolia in circa 1272–73, with later additions by a certain Nasir al-Din Muhammad, a geomancer (*al-rammal*) in charge of adjusting the hours (*al-sa'ati*) and producing talismans (*al-haykali*). The *Daqa'iq al-Haqa'iq* probably was created in response to the Mongol menace that threatened the political stability of Anatolia in the latter part of the thirteenth century. Although it was not intended for divination, as a compilation of themes relating to the occult at a time of political uncertainties, the *Daqa'iq al-Haqa'iq* bears a certain parallel to the illustrated *Falnamas* of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, created in the wake of a new Islamic millennium.²⁶

The now-dispersed Persian poetic anthology *Munis al-ahrar fi daqa'iq al-ash'ar* (The free man's companion to the subtleties of poems) by Muhammad ibn Badr al-Din Jajarmi was completed in 1341 and probably represents the earliest extant manuscript

with both illustrations and auguries (fig. 1.7).²⁷ Arranged in twenty-nine chapters, each of which addresses an unusual poetic device, the text includes six paintings that represent some of the earliest Islamic zodiacal signs on paper. Like the later *Falnamas*, the prognostications cover a range of mundane concerns, such as trading, purchasing jewels or animals, or a person's appearance and health.²⁸ In the *Munis al-ahrar*, however, the images are still secondary to the verbal prognostications, a text/image relationship that is reversed in the illustrated sixteenth-century *Falnamas*.

The concept of "wonders," first explored in the *Aja'ib al-makhluqat* literature and recast as prophetic miracles in the *Falnamas*, also plays an important role in Abu Ma'shar's already mentioned *Kitab al-bulhan*, illustrated in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. In addition to a chapter on demons and angels, with talismans and numerical spells for controlling them, the manuscript has a curious illustrated section of a series of "wonders" that includes a portrait of the author and illustrations of churches, monasteries, mosques, baths, and mythical places. Although the images are identified, they otherwise have no text and have been interpreted as possible tools intended for storytelling.²⁹ In view of the text's preoccupation with different types of divinatory practices, however, it is tempting to argue that these "wondrous" images also may have been used for prognostication (figs. 1.8, 1.9). Moreover, several of them are thematically identical to later pictorial auguries, lending further support to their proposed role as divination tools.³⁰





A rare example of an Ottoman illustrated text, reserved exclusively for prognostication, is the fragmentary and damaged Ottoman *Hurşidname* (Book of the sun) in the National Library of Ankara (A. 5179).³¹ Datable to the sixteenth century, the versified Turkish text uses the letters of the word *hurşid* (sun) to reach the prognostication. The method of prognostication is loosely based on the type of tables developed for the Koran and Hafiz's *Divan* and is described in considerable detail in a later and unillustrated eighteenth-century copy of the same text. It instructs the seeker to begin by casting a series of lots on a table with the letters of the word *hurşid*. These direct him first to a planet, then to a bird, followed by an animal, and finally to an Abrahamic or Islamic prophet (among them, Muhammad, the four caliphs, Hasan, and Husayn), who will reveal the augury.³²

Although damaged and repainted, the illustrations of the Ankara *Hurşidname* include schematic images of all the birds, animals, and prophets mentioned in the text. Several of the prophets, who have all been defaced, are shown with their attributes, such as the cane of Moses, the fish of Jonah, or the book of Daniel (fig. 1.10). Instead of the more traditional flaming nimbus associated with prophets, they are shown with a round halo, suggesting a possible Christian iconographic source. Like the paintings of the *Munis al-ahrar*, however, these illustrations are secondary to the written prognostications. Only with the sixteenth-century pictorial *Falnames* are images fully transformed into auguries and “read” to give insight into the world of the unknown. ■

Fig. 1.8. Gog and Magog, *Kitab al-bulhan*, 14th and 15th century, BODL or 133, f.38a. Fig. 1.9. Magic Mountain, *Kitab al-bulhan*, 14th and 15th century, BODL or 133, f.42b. Fig. 1.10. Prophet Daniel, *Hursidname*, Turkey, 16th century, NL A5179

THE FALNAMA IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı

Evliya Çelebi, the celebrated Ottoman author and traveler (died 1682), offered the following description of the guild of fortune-tellers/diviners who used images (*falcıyân-ı musavvir*) and practiced their trade in Istanbul's Mahmud Pasha Bazaar. The guild was headed by a certain Hoca Mehmed Çelebi, a pious elderly gentleman who was so respected that he even met Sultan Süleyman (reigned 1520–66).

He displayed in front of his shop [ruy-i dükkan] the images one by one, drawn on large, cut, and firm Istanbuli [i.e., made in Istanbul] paper. These images were drawn by the inimitable masters of the past and bore the approved attribution of their pens. They depicted all the heroes [pehlivanlar] . . . and the kings of old, a multitude of apostles and prophets as well as countless fortresses, wars, and combats and the most marvelous naval battles and carnages of ships at sea.¹

The author is referring to the extraordinary illustrations that were used as pictorial auguries (*fal*) in both Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Iran in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Notable for their large scale, bold compositions, and unusual subject matter, the extant examples were created sometime between the 1540s and the early decades of the seventeenth century, and they remain among the most remarkable images created during this period. Today, four compilations of these “monumental” paintings are known (see figs. 2.1–4).² They include the so-called dispersed *Falnama*, created during the reign of the Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasb (reigned 1524–76)³; a bound copy, attributable to the third quarter of the sixteenth century and now in the Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul⁴; the so-called Dresden *Falnama* (E445), collated into a volume in the early seventeenth century⁵; and a copy (TSM H.1703) assembled from 1614 to 1616 by the Ottoman vizier Kalender Pasha (died 1616) for Sultan Ahmed I (reigned 1603–17), now also in the Topkapı Museum collection. The Ahmed I *Falnama* is the only such compilation with auguries written in Ottoman Turkish; the others are in Persian.⁶

These four works, which are the focus of this study, share a number of formal and conceptual characteristics and constitute a distinct group, but at least three other *Falnamas* are also known (figs. 2.5, 2.6). Smaller in size, these copies are datable to the seventeenth century or later and constitute a second group. One volume, now in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, has been attributed to the Deccan,⁷ while a series of loose folios, now housed in the Museum of Ethnography, Rotterdam, was probably created in Ottoman Turkey and subsequently repainted at a provincial Mughal workshop.⁸ Related folios from two other provincial Mughal copies, attributed to the seventeenth or eighteenth century, also have been identified.⁹

In their style, format, and content, the monumental *Falnamas* stand apart from most other illustrated manuscripts and therefore have been largely treated as anomalies to the established art

historical canons. Their exceptionality is further compounded by the fact that no two copies share the same text, sequence of illustrations, or organizational scheme. Moreover, except for Sultan Ahmed's *Falnama*, none includes a preface, a colophon, or any other documentary information on its date, provenance, or patron. At the same time, a careful analysis of their structure and content yields invaluable insight not only into the meaning and function of pictorial *Falnamas* as a genre but also the artistic, religious, and cultural context that encouraged and supported their production.

Method and Use

Several seventeenth-century eyewitness accounts shed light on the different methods of consulting pictorial auguries. According to Evliya:

The passers-by would seek their fortune [tâli' dutup] by giving a silver coin [akçe] and randomly selecting one of the images. Hoca Mehmed Çelebi would then consult the image selected, and according to whether it depicted wars and combats, or Yusuf and Zulaykha, or Leyla and Mejnun, or Farhad and Shirin, or Varqa and Gülshah, or the enmities or joyful gatherings convened by the felicitous kings of old, he would recite his own views in improvised verses—like “Farhad came to the seeker of this augury [fal] / So it is by toiling that happiness will come to your heart”—and anyone who heard them would be overcome with laughter.¹⁰

Evliya's account suggests that these pictorial auguries were not accompanied by textual explication and that Hoca Mehmed Çelebi took it upon himself to “improvise” and interpret the images for the seekers of omens (*sahib-i fal*). Their meaning, in other words, was not fixed and allowed the diviner to elaborate, embellish, and offer his own interpretations, often through humorous verses. Hoca Mehmed's method was a performance, much like that of a storyteller recounting an epic, but the content was now more personalized for the individual seeker and depended on a randomly chosen image.¹¹ Moreover, it was not necessarily a private session, for Evliya's account implies witnesses other than the seeker were present and responded to Mehmed Çelebi's predictions with laughter. Although most diviners were male, occasionally women served as interpreters of auguries. In his description of the daily activities in front of the Bayezid Mosque, Stephan Gerlach, who visited Istanbul as chaplain of the Hapsburg embassy in 1577, mentions female omen seekers and interpreters. They used small stones, fava beans, or dice as well as small books, which they consulted to inform seekers on their good or bad fortune.¹²

Adam Olearius, the secretary of the Holstein mission to Iran from 1635 to 1639, describes a more complex method of consulting

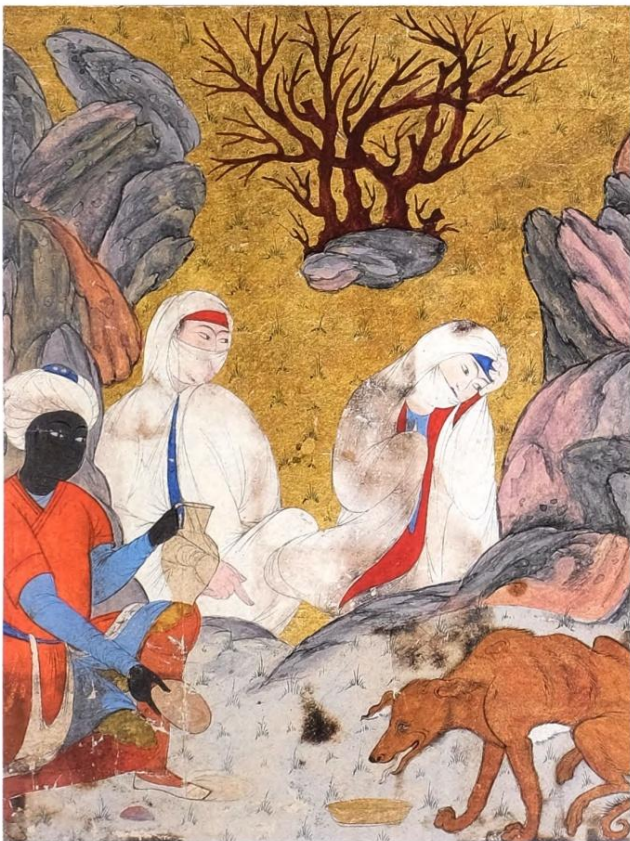
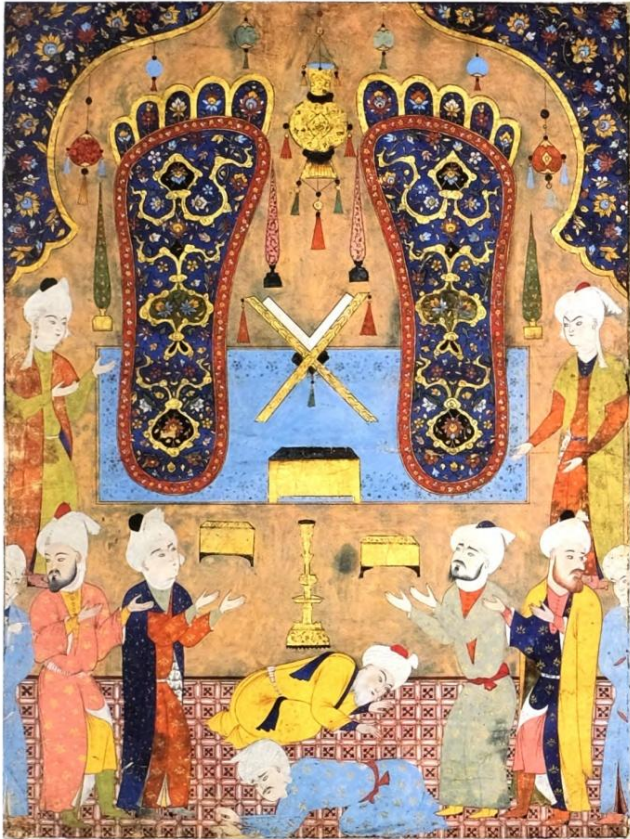


Fig. 2.1 (top left): Footprints of Imam Riza, dispersed *Falnama*, Iran, mid-1550s-early 1560s, MAH 1971-107/35 (cat. 30). Fig. 2.2 (top right): Sodom, *Falnama*, probably Turkey or Iran, 1580s, SLUB E.4.45, f.30b. Fig. 2.3 (bottom left): Desert of Majnun, *Falnama*, probably Iran, 1570s-1580s, TSM H.1702, f.29b. Fig. 2.4 (bottom right): Hell, *Falnama*, Iran or Turkey, ca. 1580s, TSM H.1703, f.21b (cat. 56)

auguries, which he witnessed in Isfahan's royal square, the Maydan-i Shah. The diviner (*falchi*) sat behind some thirty to forty thin boards that were inscribed on the reverse. The seeker put money on one of the boards and asked a question. The *falchi* took the money, murmured some words, turned over the board, and read the inscription. He then grabbed a large, thick book with "images of angels, dragons, demons, animals, and reptiles in ferocious and graceful forms." Holding the book in his hand, the *falchi* murmured some other words, opened the volume to a random page, held the board against the image, and began his prognostication.¹³ Olearius does not explain the function of the inscriptions on the wooden boards or how they relate to the images, but one may assume that the Isfahani diviner, like Mehmed Çelebi, also improvised his pronouncements.

The French jeweler and traveler Jean Chardin, who spent considerable time in the capital Isfahan in the 1660s and 1670s, also mentions observing diviners near the Ali Qapu palace in the Maydan-i Shah. They, too, used large books made up of about fifty old illustrations (*marmousets*), some representing signs of the zodiac and others with images of prophets and saints. After reciting a number of verses, the diviner quickly opened the volume and with an "inspired appearance" (*contenance inspiré*) told the seeker whatever pleased him (*lui en disant le sens qu'il lui plait*).¹⁴

As these eyewitness accounts suggest, certain *Falnamas*, especially those used on the streets of Istanbul and Isfahan, contained only images and were subject to free interpretations to advise and entertain. A more serious justification for the use of pictorial auguries comes from Kalender Pasha, who compiled a *Falnama* for the Ottoman sultan Ahmed I in the early seventeenth century.

*The intention of . . . gathering and arranging these various pictures and shapes is that when in ancient times mankind first stepped into the expanse of the world and looked upon the situation of the world as an example, mystics and ecstasies who fully understand and comprehend the external form of the world have confirmed that the history of past nations is a manual for people and that it is appropriate to learn a lesson . . . from those who have preceded [us]. . . . If you wish power and glory to increase for you, let your gaze always be upon past events.*¹⁵

According to Kalender Pasha, through "pictures" and "shapes" the seeker could learn by example, interpret the past, and consequently understand the present and the future. Images served as guideposts on this journey. The seeker, in this case Sultan Ahmed, was instructed to begin by making a wish, reciting the *Fatiha*, the *Surat al-ikhlas* (Koran: 112), and noble blessings (*salavat*) three times, and then open the volume to a random page. Having followed these steps, he would find an image on the right and the verbal prognostication on the left, which together represented the augury. One of the most critical differences between Kalender's *Falnama* and those used by Mehmed Çelebi is the inclusion of textual interpretations. As a result, the meaning of the image was largely fixed, eliminating the necessity for an intermediary and diviner. The sultan could now be both the seeker and "seer" of his own fate.

Format

Unlike most other Safavid and Ottoman illustrated manuscripts in which images appear intermittently throughout the volume to highlight certain moments in the narrative, the *Falnama* displays a distinctive image-text relationship: folios consist of a discrete text unit on the recto or "a" side and an image on the verso or "b" side.¹⁶ The text on the recto relates to the painting on the previous page so that each time a *Falnama* is opened, the seeker finds an image on the right-hand page and a related text on the left-hand page. Together, they constitute the augury. The one-to-one ratio of image and text also means the *Falnama* includes more paintings than most other illustrated Persian manuscripts of the period (fig. 2.7). Moreover, the paintings now precede the texts, both formally and conceptually, lending them an unprecedented primacy.¹⁷ The importance of the image is also confirmed in the text of the Dresden *Falnama*, which refers to the practice of bibliomancy as *fal didan*, or "seeing an augury."¹⁸ Much like a talisman, a dream, or a planetary configuration, the pictorial augury holds the key to unlocking the meaning of the unknown (*al-ghayb*). For the seeker, the experience depends first on randomly selecting a folio, second on "seeing" it, and only then on hearing or reading its meaning.

The format of the monumental *Falnamas* also presents a new codicological model.¹⁹ In their aesthetic features, they draw on formal conventions of traditional illustrated manuscripts, but in



Fig. 2.5. Jesus [sic] Revives the Sick Boy, *Falnama*, India, Golconda, 1610–30, NDK MSS. 979, f.11b

their structure, which can be defined as an aggregate of autonomous elements gathered in codex form, they recall Safavid and Ottoman albums (*muraqqa'*). While related to both manuscript and album formats, however, the *Falnamas* offer a different experiential model. Instead of inviting the sequential viewing of a continuous text, interrupted by intermittently spaced paintings (as do illustrated manuscripts), or embodying a collection of autonomous works “from a distant past or a near present,” as do albums,²⁰ the *Falnamas* are conceived to be opened randomly in order to view a single image and a self-contained unit of text. The perception of this opening is independent of the rest of the volume and triggers a sequence of decisions (e.g., how to implement the advice of the augury) that takes place beyond the confines of the book.

The style of the dispersed *Falnama* and the Topkapı Persian copy suggests their painted and written folios are contemporaneous, and each double-page opening was conceived as an integrated unit. The *Falnama* of Ahmed I and the Dresden volume, on the other hand, consist of stylistically diverse illustrations that were originally created as autonomous compositions. In both instances, the text folios were formed with the decision to assemble a bound volume. The four monumental copies thus illustrate the inherent flexibility in compiling pictorial *Falnamas*, another feature that distinguishes these volumes from other illustrated manuscripts.

Text

The text of the dispersed *Falnama*, the most widely published monumental copy, has been attributed to Ja'far al-Sadiq, the sixth Shi'i imam²¹ and alleged author of several esoteric works, including the *Falnama-i Ja'far al-Sadiq* discussed in “The Art of Bibliomancy” (see essay 1). There is little evidence, however, to corroborate this hypothesis, especially since all extant illustrated *Falnamas* include auguries about Imam Riza, the eighth Shi'i imam and Ja'far's grandson. Furthermore, it seems unlikely Imam Ja'far would have based prognostications on literary figures from Nizami's *Khamsa* (Quintet) or the *Shahnama* (Book of kings) of Firdawsi, which were written centuries after his death in 765. Since no two *Falnama* texts are identical, it is tempting to argue that the content was culled from textual and oral traditions and reappropriated, lending the works their distinct character.

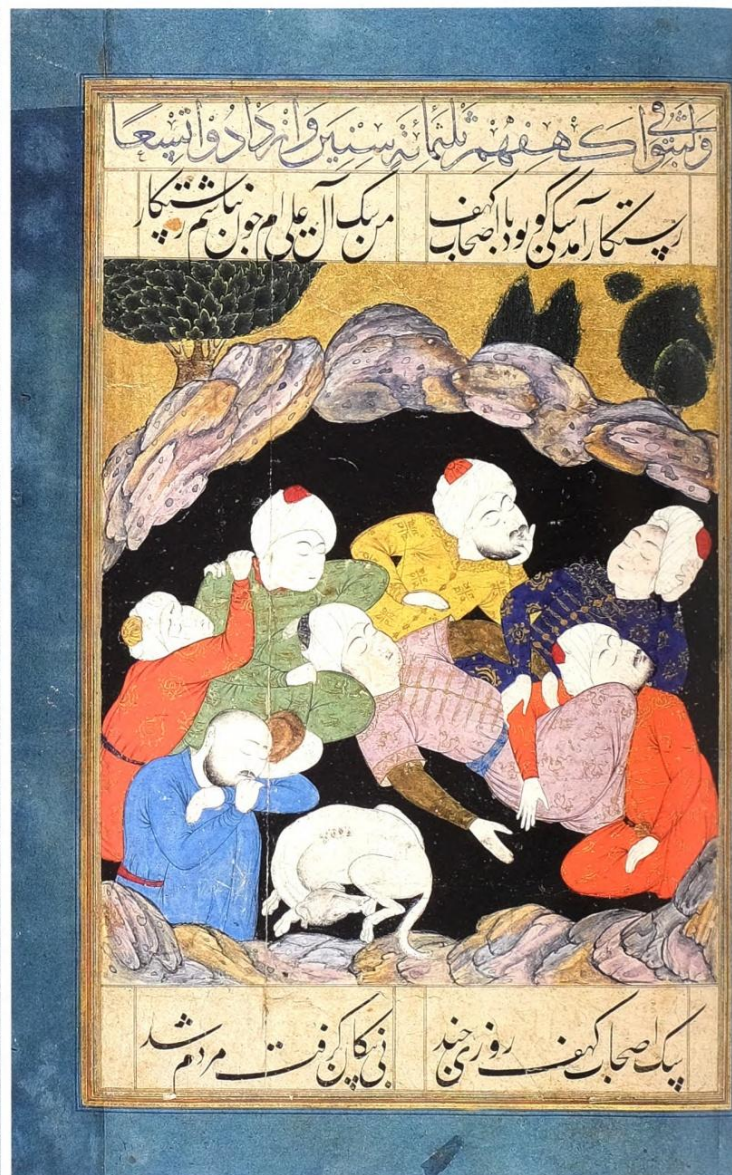
The element of performance inherent in Mehmed Çelebi's prognostication, for example, is evident in the *Falnamas*, whose relatively simple and formulaic language, replete with additive phrases and recurring concepts, is typical of oral recitations, especially storytelling (*naqqali*).²² Even if the auguries were “fixed” on paper, offering more standardized interpretations that could be read in silence, the words in which they are written retain a performance-related, “audible” quality that is reinforced by the pronounced theatricality of the illustrations.

Differences in style, length, and content notwithstanding, the prognostications are written in relatively simple language, and each includes the following elements: an identification and



description of the image, a statement of its meaning and the impact on the seeker's intention, and a series of religious directives. The subject of the augury and image is first introduced and identified in verse, followed by the prognostication in prose that repeats and reaffirms the subject and its meaning (fig. 2.8).²³ The Topkapı Persian copy also incorporates Koranic verses to introduce the subject of the augury (fig. 2.7). Occasionally, the related illustration is described in some detail, but in most instances it is mentioned only in passing, suggesting the narrative component—the “story” of the illustration—was either assumed to be familiar to the seeker or was of little relevance within the context of the *Falnama*.²⁴ The prose section begins, “O augury seeker/user” (*ay khudavand-i fal or sahib-i fal*), followed by a list of “responses” to a presumed series of intents (*niyat*) that are listed as conditions, often beginning with the word “if” (*agar*).²⁵

The prognostications can be categorized as “auspicious,” “inauspicious,” or “middling,” (i.e., not boding well at first but then improving). The most frequently mentioned advice, which appears in almost every augury, deals with the feasibility of travel. Other common concerns are the outcome of a commercial transaction, partnership, marriage, or move to a new house or location; the fate of an absent or ailing relative or friend; the status of debt or lost personal valuables; the likelihood of receiving news from friends or



obtaining the affection of one's beloved or the respect of others; and the timeliness of submitting a petition or making a pilgrimage to Mecca, Medina, or other religious sites and shrines.²⁶ Many of the prognostications specifically warn against men and women with distinguishable physical traits (scars, tall or short stature, eyes or hair of a certain color), an element assimilated from another popular form of prognostication based on interpreting human physiognomy (*ilm al-ghiyafa*).

While the auguries in the monumental *Falnama* primarily address future events, they may also concern the present, particularly the seeker's state of mind and disposition, which, after all, will shape the future. The text accompanying *Joseph Enthroned* in the dispersed *Falnama*, for instance, states that "awful images" are passing through the seeker's mind and that he or she should "guard . . . against diabolical suggestion and withdraw from bad company." The implication here is that

although God is the ultimate arbiter, it is incumbent upon the seeker to lead an honest life in the present in order to avoid future pain and punishment.²⁷

Overall, the omens recall those found in other divination manuals but are now expanded and elaborated in detail. They seem to address a series of common social, religious, economic, and personal concerns, regardless of the rank and status of the individual seeker.²⁸ A shah or a sultan, for example, might be unconcerned with buying and selling livestock or submitting a petition, but each augury includes several prognostications, at least one of which could apply to the most august seeker.

In almost all instances, the meaning of an omen as good, bad, or middling remains consistent across various volumes. In two cases, however, an identical subject has two dissimilar interpretations. The auspicious augury accompanying the image of *Alexander Builds a Wall against Gog and Magog* (cat. 38) in the



Fig. 2.8. Salih Bids the She-Camel from a Rock (augury text), *Falnama*, Iran, late 1550s-early 1560s, MIK 16945 (cat. 32)

dispersed *Falnama* focuses on Alexander the Great—who is identified with Zulkarnayn, a powerful ruler mentioned in the Koran—and his quest for immortality. In the Topkapı Persian copy, the text is centered on the evil beings Gog and Magog, one of the signs of the Apocalypse, and warns of dire results (fig. 2.9). By shifting emphases and concentrating on different iconographic elements of the same basic composition, the meaning and inflection of the augury thus could change, resulting in an altogether different meaning and, by extension, prognostication.²⁹ This attests to the inevitable subjectivity of the art of prognostication as well as the importance of oral tradition in the formulation of the verbal auguries in these *Falnamas*.³⁰

By including textual prognostications, however, those consulting the monumental *Falnamas* no longer needed an intermediary; they now could function both as seekers and seers. The substitution of the more idiosyncratic oral interpretations with “fixed” written ones introduced a more codified and systematic approach to the art of divination than the one practiced by Mehmed Çelebi and the seers of Isfahan.

Almost all the auguries conclude with a series of religious directives. Even if such pronouncements were part of the orally

delivered prognostications, they were formally integrated into the interpretations. First and foremost, they stress the importance of reciting regular prayers, remembering God, giving alms, and demonstrating benevolence toward the poor and less fortunate. Seekers also are reminded to show patience, banish unkind thoughts, refrain from unjust acts, and avoid bad company. Popular religious customs—such as visiting shrines, lighting candles, and wearing special amulets and talismans—are frequently recommended,³¹ both to expedite the outcome of certain intents and to support religious and moral rectitude. Implicitly, seekers are urged to emulate the actions of prophets and imams whose lives were marred by adversity and hardship. Only by leading an exemplary life in the present can an individual hope for release from their immediate difficulties and for salvation in the future. The eschatological illustrations intimate the dire prospects awaiting those who ignore these warnings. This message, also echoed throughout the Koran, must have had resonance for all Muslims, regardless of status, gender, or creed. It also helps explain the popularity of *falnamas* in both the Safavid and the Ottoman realms, especially during turbulent periods. Moreover, it illustrates the prevalence of a vibrant and shared religious culture, one that was intended to encourage and strengthen universal ethical and moral values as defined by Islam.

Subjects and Themes

Illustrations in the four monumental *Falnamas* vary in number from twenty-nine to fifty-nine and share many of the same thematic and iconographic characteristics, suggesting their artists may have shared workshops, were familiar with each others' work, or drew on earlier, seemingly lost, models that do not seem to have survived.³² For some of the illustrations, they appropriated compositions found in earlier historical manuscripts; for others, the artists introduced subjects and iconography that are unique to the *Falnama*. Even when the images depict familiar themes, such as *The Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey (miraj)* or *Death of Dara in Alexander's Arms* (cats. 22, 39), the conceptual context of the *Falnama* lends them different meanings and functions. Instead of representing one of several interrelated scenes in a continuous narrative, each of the illustrations stands alone, depicting a single, salient moment infused with special significance beyond the painted surface. The image represents a pictorial omen, “a sign pointing to the signified,”³³ said to have the capacity to foretell and affect the future and the realm of the unknown (*ghayb*). In fact, the text of the *Falnama* consistently refers to the paintings as “signs” (*nishan*), affirming their symbolic role and distinguishing them from traditional manuscript illustrations.

The *Falnama* compositions can be divided into the following broad categories: Muhammad and his descendants; tombs and sanctuaries; the Abrahamic prophets; sages, heroes, and villains; and eschatological themes. Images of planets and the signs of the zodiac, the oldest and most familiar form of prognostication, are incorporated into all but the dispersed *Falnama*.



Fig. 2.9. Alexander Builds a Wall against Gog and Magog, *Falnama*, probably Iran, 1570s–1580s, TSM H.1702, f.20b



Islamic Traditions

The most popular subject in all the extant *Falnamas* is the lives and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny, especially Imam Ali ibn Abu Talib, Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law; Ali's sons Hasan and Husayn; and the eighth imam, Riza. The Topkapı Persian copy also includes two rare images of the Mahdi, the twelfth imam, whose return to earth heralds the Day of Judgment and the beginning of a new era.

The paintings fall into two iconographic groups: one depicts the figures themselves and the other sacred shrines and tombs. The first emphasizes the prophets' miraculous deeds (*mu'jizat*) and attributes, and most of the compositions relate to Ali ibn Abu Talib.³⁴ Recognizable by his *zulfıqar*, the double-headed sword reportedly given to him by the Prophet, Ali invariably is depicted as superhuman, a true defender of Islam, and a protector of the innocent.³⁵ In most instances, such illustrations are unique to the *Falnama*; they are based on different sources, such as universal histories of Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari (died 923) and the *Tarikhama* (Book of history) of Abu Ali Muhammad Bal'ami (died circa 997), various editions of the *Stories of the Prophets* (*Qisas*

al-anbiya), as well as popular narratives of the Bektashi and Alevi sects of Anatolia, which likely circulated both in written and oral form.³⁶

According to the *Hadith* (Traditions), Muhammad refused to be associated with any miracles other than the greatest one of all—the divine revelations. Over time, however, scholars, commentators, and popular storytellers used Koranic references to unusual events in the Prophet's life as basis for elaborate tales and hagiographies that included descriptions of miracles and other extraordinary occurrences.³⁷ These were intended primarily to convince nonbelievers of the power and validity of the divine message. In the *Falnama*, the Prophet is linked to several miraculous acts—such as the celebrated "Night Journey" (*miraj*), an expression of his spiritual journey and confirmation of his stature as a prophet—and to other fantastic events, such as the splitting of the moon, known as the *shaq al-qamar* (fig. 5.5),³⁸ and the healing of a sick child (cat. 21).

The other group of illustrations related to Muhammad and his progeny represents shrines and tombs to imply the presence of prophets. Even if the specific identities of these structures are often gleaned from the accompanying text, they still express visually the centrality of religious sanctuaries in Islam (fig. 2.10).³⁹ Whether marking the burial site of a prophet, saint, or mystic, tombs were built as tangible and piously inspired and inspiring memorials, where "Muslims spiritually, physically, and ritually interacted with saints."⁴⁰ They symbolize the point at which the earthly and the heavenly, the temporal and the spiritual, converge. Viewed as a link to the divine, popular shrines played a central role in maintaining social, cultural, and religious identity, especially among the Shi'i Safavids for whom they became the focal point for acts of benevolence, munificence, and political consolidation.⁴¹

Since the inception of Islam, visitations (*ziyara*) to such sacred sites have been an integral part of religious life and customs. They played an even more critical role among the Safavid rulers of Iran, who established Shi'ism as the state religion and lavished particular attention on the maintenance of the sanctuaries in Mashhad, Najaf, and Karbala. Worshipers from all creeds and walks of life, however, gathered at the sites, large or small, to seek intercession, favors, and blessings, a practice that still enjoys widespread popularity in both Sunni and Shi'i circles.⁴² Their centrality, especially among Shi'is, is evident in the *Falnama*, where both text and image consistently underscore the sacredness of these spaces and their association with the divine and, by extension, with the world of the unknown and the unrevealed.

Abrahamic Traditions

Integral to Jewish, Christian, and Islamic sacred genealogies, the Abrahamic prophets—Adam and Eve, Moses, Joseph, Solomon, Mary, and Jesus—represent the second most frequently illustrated subject in the *Falnamas* (fig. 2.11).⁴³ Already present in some of the earliest extant illustrated universal histories,⁴⁴ their

depictions as pictorial auguries are based on relatively scant and “episodic” references in the Koran, where they serve as “moral paradigms, emblematic of all who are good and evil” and stand as “mentors” and as models for Muhammad and his followers.⁴⁵ These fragmentary references were enriched by Jewish exegeses and, to a lesser extent, Christian and Persian sources and were integrated into the *Hadith* (Traditions) and later universal histories.⁴⁶

In the eleventh century, due to the general inaccessibility to the wider public of such hagiographies, the scattered materials on the lives and legends of the prophets were gathered into an independent and more popular work known as *Qisas al-anbiya* (Stories of the prophets), which over time developed into a distinct religious literary genre. The first such text was compiled in Baghdad by Abu Ishaq Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Tha’labi (died 1036); the form gained particular popularity in eastern Iran and central Asia, where Ibn Khalaf al-Nishaburi wrote an original version in Persian.⁴⁷ Another popular Arabic version of the *Qisas al-anbiya* by Ali bin Hamza al-Kisa’i, thought to have been composed circa 1200, was translated into Persian shortly afterward by Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Dayuzami.⁴⁸ Stories

about the lives of the prophets were transmitted orally, embellished, and kept alive through storytellers (*qissa-khwan*), much like those about the heroes of the *Shahnama*.⁴⁹ They were meant to inspire courage and religious conviction and to remind the populace about the exemplary lives and deeds of the prophets, whose patience in the face of suffering and hardship served as a guide for the present.

“Time and again in the Koran,” notes Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., “the former prophets, as well as the Prophet Muhammad, are spoken of as having been charged with a dual function, as bearers of glad tidings as well as harbingers of dire threats and warnings for their people;”⁵⁰ in the words of the Koran (6:48), for example, “We sent the Messengers only to give good news and to warn.” As discussed in “The Art of Bibliomancy” (essay 1), already in the ninth-century *Kitab al-bulhan* (Book of wonderment), Abu Ma’shar linked Abrahamic prophets with astrological mansions (fig. 1.3) and lunar conjunctions and used them as means for prognostication. In the *Falnama*, the cosmological association reserved for Abrahamic prophets in the *Kitab al-bulhan* was supplanted by a hagiographic one, and the focus shifted to iconic scenes from the prophets’ lives, such as the expulsion

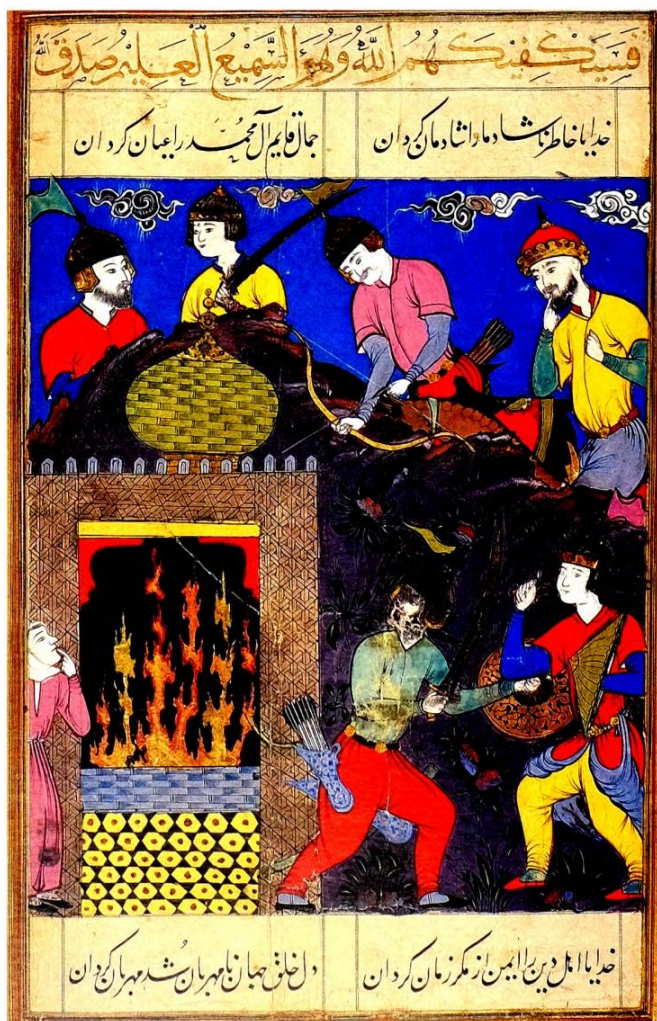
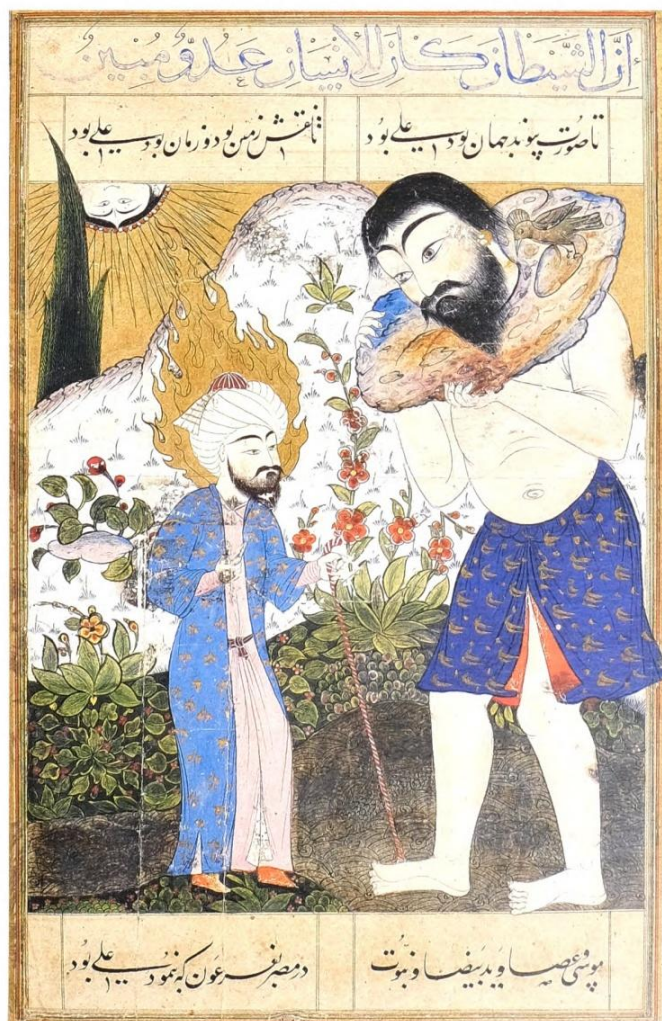


Fig. 2.11 (left): Moses and the Giant Og, *Falnama*, probably Iran, 1570s–1580s, TSM H.1702, f.18b. Fig. 2.12 (right): Imam Mahdi's Abode, *Falnama*, probably Iran, 1570s–1580s, TSM H.1702, f.49b

of Adam and Eve from paradise or the reunion of Joseph and his father. The protagonists now embody different moral qualities and attributes, such as the inevitability of fate or the dire consequences of certain actions.⁵¹ Together with the Islamic prophets, their inclusion in the *Falnama* irrefutably links pictorial prognostication with the prophetic traditions and casts the prophets as the principal guides in the quest for knowledge about the unknown. In his preface to the *Falnama* he compiled for Ahmed I, Kalender Pasha justifies its creation by claiming, "It is especially right for mighty rulers and exalted kings . . . to look upon the tales of prophets and saints and the adventures of past rulers, to contemplate their beginnings and ends, and to comprehend from them the final end of their own affairs."⁵² At the same time, the emphasis on religion-inspired subjects in the *Falnamas* must have helped legitimize the practice of pictorial divination, lending it the necessary moral authority.⁵³

The Hereafter

Arguably, the most dramatic group of illustrations focuses on eschatological themes—the signs of the Apocalypse, the Day of Judgment (cat. 55; fig. 5.8), and mankind's subsequent reward and punishment. Depictions of the Last Judgment, hell, and paradise are known from at least the fifteenth-century copy of the *Mirajnama* (Book of ascension),⁵⁴ but the Antichrist (cat. 53), the Beast of the earth (figs. 4.10, 4.11, cat. 54), and the Mahdi (fig. 2.12) have no iconographic precedents. Like the other auguries, these illustrations foretell the outcome of a series of intents, but they also visually remind seekers of the consequences of their conduct and the afterlife that awaits them. As the Koran explains, God has foreknowledge of all deeds, but humans are free to choose their actions and determine their behavior in this world, choices that in turn decide their fate. Only by following the rightfully guided examples of the prophets, imams, and sages can believers hope to fulfill their desires in this world (*al-dunya*) and be redeemed in the next (*al-akhira*). This central Koranic theme also permeates the visual and the literary content of the pictorial *Falnamas*.⁵⁵

Idolatry

Two illustrations—*Azure Monastery* (*Dayr-i mina*) in the dispersed *Falnama* and *The Poet Sa'di Dressed as a Monk* in the Ottoman volume prepared for Ahmed I (cats. 36, 37)—fall outside the thematic categories and deserve special mention. Instead of focusing on a religious or literary protagonist or event, the two images serve as warnings against idolatry. In part, their inclusion seems to confirm and reinforce the exceptionality of the large and boldly conceived illustrations of the *Falnamas*. As a means to gain insight into the unknown, the illustrations may have been considered grand, seductive, and powerful enough to necessitate an internal warning against idolatry and to justify their use for prognostication.

Sages, Heroes, and Villains

Among legendary heroes, Alexander (Iskandar; cats. 38, 39, 40), the Macedonian conqueror, occupies a special place in the *Falnama*. As he is known in Persian and Ottoman classical literature, he embodies courage, justice, and wisdom. In the dispersed *Falnama*, however, Alexander also is identified with the powerful and just king Zulfarnayn, who is mentioned in sura 18:84–97 of the Koran. Part world conqueror, part religious persona, he represents the link between the physical and spiritual worlds, similar to the *Falnama* itself.⁵⁶

The sage Luqman⁵⁷ (cat. 41; fig. 5.2) and the physician Buqrat (Hippocrates; cat. 43) are traditionally singled out for their knowledge, especially of the occult (*ilm al-ghayb*), which explains their inclusion in the *Falnama*. Their portrayal is much rarer than figures such as King Dara, Alexander's half-brother, or the lovelorn Majnun, who are accompanied by auguries that serve as warnings to the seekers.⁵⁸ Although these compositions draw on established iconographic models, the artists of the *Falnama* compositions added their own pictorial interpretations. In *Death of Dara in Alexander's Arms* (cat. 39), the painter incorporated the lifeless bodies of the two murderers into the background, thus collapsing two episodes into one scene.⁵⁹ In *Alexander Builds a Wall against Gog and Magog* (cat. 38), the hero is accompanied by the prophets Khizr and Ilyas, who do not appear in traditional accounts and illustrations of this particular moment in the narrative. Finally, for an omen relating to the doomed lovers Layli and Majnun in the Topkapı Persian copy, the focus is on the "barren desert of Manjun" (*bar-i majnun*), which now symbolizes the plight of the couple (fig. 2.3).⁶⁰ These and other paintings confirm the artists' freedom in conceiving new compositions or at least modifying existing ones to create new and imaginative images that would function as pictorial auguries.

Planets and Stars

The most extensive cycle of heavenly bodies appears in the Topkapı Persian *Falnama*, which includes illustrations of the seven ancient planets according to their respective distance from Earth.⁶¹ The Moon, Sun, Mercury, Venus, and Jupiter symbolize happiness and success and herald favorable auspices, while Mars and Saturn, with their long-established and unfavorable associations, predict futures that lack much prospect.⁶² Also included is an "eighth" pseudo-planet, *al-Jawzahar*, the dragon of the lunar eclipse (Draco), which signals misfortune (fig. 2.13).⁶³ The Sun, Mercury, and Saturn also appear in the Ahmed I *Falnama*, and the Dresden copy includes unfinished paintings of the signs for Mars and Mercury.

In addition, the Ottoman and Topkapı Persian *Falnamas* each include an illustration of the zodiac (*al-buruj*), which is also the title of the eighty-fifth sura in the Koran. Folio 18a of Ahmed's copy combines both planetary and zodiacal signs, with Saturn, the farthest planet from the Earth and the most inauspicious one, in the center (cat. 49). In the Topkapı Persian volume, the image



of the zodiac (fig. 2.14) is surrounded by couplets that offer an unusual interpretation: "All those who are perfect on the path to God, they all are within the religion of the Twelve Imams." Thus, the twelve zodiacal signs, the "eyes of the night," have been recast as Shi'i symbols and ingeniously fuse astrological and religious knowledge.

Style and Provenance

None of the extant *Falnama* paintings is signed, and only those of the dispersed *Falnama* can be related to a specific metropolitan or court milieu—that of Qazvin. Almost all the compositions in the other monumental copies display a hybrid pictorial style that defies easy identification.⁶⁴

On stylistic grounds, three images in the Dresden copy appear to be the earliest Safavid pictorial auguries and are attributable to the 1540s (see figs. 5.8–10), but the majority probably was created between the 1550s and the 1590s by a number of anonymous painters.⁶⁵ Some of the artists may have belonged to the same workshop or, at the very least, been familiar with one another's work. Some of them probably contributed to multiple *Falnamas*, suggesting they may have specialized in these large-scale and

rather unusual illustrations. Others probably also worked on other contemporaneous illustrated texts, such as *Qisas al-anbiya* and Tusi's *Aja'ib al-makhlūqat* (Wonders of creation).⁶⁶

The provenance of most of the monumental *Falnama* illustrations still remains to be determined. In their monograph on *Stories of the Prophets*, Milstein, Rührdanz, and Schmitz argue that these illustrated texts represent the intersection of "the Ottoman court and aristocracy, the tekkes (retreat for religious scholars and mystics) and the rich bourgeoisie" and situate them within an Ottoman orbit.⁶⁷ Rührdanz also attributes two related copies of *Aja'ib al-makhlūqat* to Ottoman Turkey. A third unpublished but stylistically related copy, however, includes a dedication to the Safavid ruler Isma'il II (reigned 1577–78), confirming that at least the *Aja'ib al-makhlūqat* manuscripts were created in Safavid Iran, and most probably in the capital Qazvin.⁶⁸

As is evident from these illustrated texts, the third quarter of the sixteenth century was a period of tremendous artistic creativity as Qazvin, Shiraz, Istanbul, and Baghdad became flourishing centers for manuscript production. Although each city is associated with its own artistic tradition, they also actively "borrowed" from each other, forging new, hybrid pictorial styles.⁶⁹ In Shiraz, for instance, illustrated texts were created not only for local consumption but also for export to Ottoman

Turkey, where they were avidly collected as status symbols and exemplars of artistic and literary sophistication.⁷⁰ Ironically, this period was also a time of renewed Ottoman-Safavid political rivalry along the frontiers, which must have affected the communities in the contested areas as well as the movement of artists and their work.⁷¹ As a result, new workshops likely replaced old ones, while itinerant Ottoman and Safavid painters may have collaborated and worked side by side, even if temporarily, on special commissions to meet the demand of both local and distant patrons.⁷²

Their different styles notwithstanding, the monumental *Falnama* illustrations are distinguished by an unusual visual boldness and theatricality⁷³ that proves as critical to defining Safavid and Ottoman visual culture as the more traditional court styles of Qazvin and Istanbul in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

Scale

One of the most unusual characteristics of the four monumental *Falnamas* is their scale, which ranges in height from about 41.5 to 66.5 cm.⁷⁴ Illustrations in the dispersed copy and some twenty-four paintings in the Dresden copy clearly have been shorn from their margins and originally must have been even larger in size. According to Abolala Soudavar, the remarkable size of the folios in the dispersed copy may have been intended to accommodate Shah Tahmasb's failing eyesight, either due to the approach of middle age or the result of a medical condition.⁷⁵ This hypothesis, however intriguing and credible, nevertheless does not account for the monumental scale of the other *Falnamas* and four other contemporaneous large-size illustrated manuscripts from India and Turkey: the celebrated 1557–72 *Hamzanama* (Story of Hamza), commissioned by the Mughal emperor Akbar (reigned 1556–1605; see cat. 63),⁷⁶ and two of the three copies of the *Zübdetü't-tevarih* (Essence of histories), a genealogical history written in 1583 that links the house of Osman to Abrahamic and Islamic prophets (fig. 2.15; cats. 61, 62).⁷⁷

In addition to their impressive scale, all of these manuscripts share a number of other formal and conceptual traits. The *Hamzanama* comprises a series of detached folios with text on one side and an illustration on the other. Like the *Falnama*, the images and text folios form self-contained, independent units across two pages.⁷⁸ In the *Zübdetü't-tevarih*, text and images are integrated but the verbal component is relegated to a secondary role, often consisting of short, succinct passages that do not address many of the details shown in the paintings. Frequently, more than one episode appears on a folio to maximize pictorial impact and lend primacy to the visual narrative.

The *Hamzanama* and the three copies of the *Zübdetü't-tevarih* vary in style, content, meaning, and patron, but like the monumental *Falnamas*, they represent highly original and “experimental” illustrated texts that were not repeated again. All boasting illustrations of dramatic size, composition, and palette, they appropriate religious themes and narratives to forge a link between past and present. The hero Hamza's piety, moral standing, and physical courage may have been intended as a model for the young emperor's own endeavors, while the *Zübdetü't-tevarih* affirmed the religious genealogy of the House of Osman for contemporary and future audiences. Like the *Falnama*, these images offered painters an unparalleled opportunity to experiment and create works that stood apart from all other Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal illustrated manuscripts of the latter part of the sixteenth century.

It is tempting to argue that in anticipation of the year 1000 AH in the Islamic calendar, corresponding to 1591–92, the *Falnama* ushered in a new style and format, which in turn inspired a number of other contemporaneous manuscripts. Although different in meaning, content, and scope, each of these large-scale illustrated texts helped to affirm the religious and/or dynastic identity of the Safavids, the Ottomans, and the Mughals, respectively—the three great Islamic empires at the end of the first millennium.⁷⁹ ■



Fig. 2.15. Lot, Hanzala bin Safwan, and the Mythical Bird Anka, *Zübdetü't-tevarih*, Turkey, 1583, TIEM 1973, f.27a

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Baęcı



Fig. 3.1. Coffin of Imam Ali, *Fahnama*, Iran, mid-1550s-early 1560s, MMA 50 23 2 (cat. 26)

The Dispersed Falnama

Massumeh Farhad

The large-scale, boldly conceived compositions of the so-called dispersed *Falnama* are the most widely reproduced and recognizable of all extant illustrated versions.¹ Of its thirty known folios,² one was published as early as 1913³ (cat. 46), but it remains unclear how any of them arrived in Paris, where they initially came to the attention of collectors. The Belgian dealer George Demotte (1877–1923) seems to have been responsible for disseminating several, if not most, of the folios among private and public collectors in the first decades of the twentieth century.⁴

Except for *Four Lions Devour Zaynab*,⁵ the folios of the dispersed *Falnama* represent some of the largest known Persian paintings and measure about 59 × 44.5 cm. By or before 1913, they were removed from their surrounding margins, which would have further increased their size.⁶ The varying degree of surface damage suggests not only the illustrations were frequently used but also perhaps they have been separated for some time. The text-image relationship of the dispersed *Falnama*, however, demands an ordered sequence, since each illustration is linked conceptually to a facing text, and viewing the pair side by side is critical for understanding the full meaning of the augury.⁷ Furthermore, all pictorial *Falnamas* with related textual auguries appear in codex form, even if the text and images are not contemporaneous, as is the case of the Ahmed I *Falnama* and the Dresden volume.⁸ Although it is impossible to determine at this time when the folios of the dispersed copy were separated and the reasons for this alteration, circumstantial evidence suggests that they, too, originally were bound, allowing the seeker to view text and image together.⁹

Based on the text folios of the dispersed *Falnama*, it has been possible to recreate, at least partially, a sequence for the illustrations.¹⁰ Not surprisingly, when augury subjects coincide with those of other *Falnamas*, the order in which they appear differs in each volume because of the central importance of the element of chance in these manuscripts.

Proposed Sequence¹¹

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C.

Recto: No text

Verso: Angels Bow Before Adam and Eve in Paradise

— — — — —

Private collection

Recto: Text unknown

Verso: Image—Solomon and Bilqis Enthroned

— — — — —

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Recto: Text—Solomon and Bilqis Enthroned

Verso: Image—Muhammad Raising the Dead

— — — — —

Private collection

Recto: Text unknown

Verso: Image—Paradise

Harvard Art Museum, Cambridge

Recto: Text—Paradise

Verso: Image—Day of Judgment

— — — — —

Private collection

Recto: Text unknown

Verso: Image—Hell

— — — — —

Private collection

Recto: Text—Hell

Verso: Image—Bahram Gur Hunting

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C.

Recto: Text—Bahram Gur Hunting

Verso: Image—Joseph Enthroned with His Brothers in Egypt

David Collection, Copenhagen

Recto: Text—Joseph Enthroned with His Brothers in Egypt

Verso: Image—Azure Monastery

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles

Recto: Text—Azure Monastery

Verso: Image—Antichrist (Dajjal)

Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva

Recto: Text—Antichrist (Dajjal)

Verso: Image—Death of Dara in Alexander's Arms

Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva

Recto: Text—Death of Dara in Alexander's Arms

Verso: Image—Uvays-i Qaran and the Camel

Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva

Recto: Text—Uvays-i Qaran and the Camel

Verso: Image—People of the Cave

Musée du Louvre, Paris

Recto: Text—People of the Cave

Verso: Image—Imam Riza Saves the Sea People



Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C.
 Recto: Text—Imam Riza Saves the Sea People
 Verso: Image—The Angel of Death Descends on Shaddad ibn Ad

Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin
 Recto: Text—The Angel of Death Descends on Shaddad ibn Ad
 Verso: Image—Salih and the She-Camel

Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva
 Recto: Text—Salih and the She-Camel
 Verso: Image—Circuit of the Ka'ba

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin
 Recto: Text—Circuit of the Ka'ba
 Verso: Image—Ali and Muhammad at the Gates of Khaybar

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin
 Recto: Text—Ali and Muhammad at the Gates of Khaybar
 Verso: Image—Alexander Builds a Wall against Gog and Magog

Bruschettini Collection, Genoa
 Recto: Text—Alexander Builds a Wall against Gog and Magog
 Verso: Image—Moses Challenges Pharaoh's Sorcerers

Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva
 Recto: Text—Moses Challenges Pharaoh's Sorcerers
 Verso: Image—Imam Ali Slays Murra ibn Qays

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C.
 Recto: Text—Imam Ali Slays Murra ibn Qays
 Verso: Image—Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise



Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva
 Recto: Text—Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise
 Verso: Image—Footprints of Imam Riza

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
 Recto: Text—Footprints of Imam Riza
 Verso: Image—Coffin of Imam Ali

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C.
 Recto: Text—Coffin of Imam Ali
 Verso: Image—The Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey (*miraj*)

Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts
 Recto: Text—The Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey (*miraj*)
 Verso: Image—Prophet Zakariya in a Tree

The order of the following is not known:

ex-Binney Collection
 Recto: Text unknown
 Verso: Image—Ali Saves Salman al-Farsi

ex-Tulin Collection, New York
 Recto: Text unknown
 Verso: Qambar and Duldul

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Recto: Fragmentary text—Jesus Kills the Antichrist
 Verso: Image—Four Lions Devour Zaynab (upper section)

Fig. 3.2 (left): Augury text for The Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey (*miraj*), *Falnama*, Iran, mid-1550s-early 1560s, WAM 1935.16. **Fig. 3.3** (right): The Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey (*miraj*), *Falnama*, Iran, mid-1550s-early 1560s, AMSG 51986.253a (cat. 22)

Abolala Soudavar Collection, Houston
Recto: Fragmentary text—Jesus Kills the Antichrist
Verso: Image—Four Lions Devour Zaynab (lower section)

As is evident from this partial list, the illustrations do not conform to a particular order, but some of the paintings form curious conceptual or formal pairs. For example, the compilation includes two images of Adam and Eve (cats. 12, 13), two shrines (cats. 27, 30), a pair of illustrations of a miraculous event centered on a camel (cats. 32, 44), and a representation of a revered aniconic symbol, Imam Riza's footprints at a *ghadamgah* ("station"), which can be interpreted as the antithesis to *Azure Monastery* and its condemned icons (cat. 37). Similarly, the missing image of *Jesus Kills the Antichrist*, which may have related to a similar scene in the Khalili *Falnama* (fig. 3.4), could have been a pendant to Dajjal's arrival (cat. 53).¹² Apart from introducing a sense of symmetry in the otherwise randomly arranged images, the underlying reason for such pairings, which are unique to the dispersed *Falnama*, defies easy explanation.

In general, the illustrations are remarkable for their consistently original and powerful compositions. Some of the paintings, such as *Angels Bow before Adam and Eve in Paradise* (fig. 3.5, cat. 12), for instance, recall familiar compositions, such as the contemporaneous portrayal of Solomon and Bilqis now in the Topkapı Palace Museum (fig. 3.6). In the *Falnama*, the image has now been magnified, recontextualized, and transformed into a pictorial augury.¹³ Most of the folios, however, introduce new iconographic subjects with no precedents, as exemplified by *Footprints of Imam Riza* (cat. 30). They incorporate elegant and idealized Safavid figures, but the intricate designs of sixteenth-century manuscript paintings (fig. 3.3)—with their interlocking cells that simultaneously vie for the viewer's attention—have been abandoned in favor of boldly articulated compositions with a hierarchy of visual information (fig. 3.1). Relying primarily on large, clearly articulated forms and a brilliant palette, the principal elements of the auguries stand out immediately in the overall compositions. After all, it was critical to "see" and understand immediately the nature and meaning of the auguries in order to determine their meaning.

Another formal characteristic of the dispersed *Falnama* folios is the manipulation of pictorial space. While sixteenth-century Safavid paintings tend to appear flat and two-dimensional, these illustrations further exaggerate this artistic convention to maximize its visual impact. Some of the compositions, such as *Azure Monastery* (cat. 37) and *Footprints of Imam Riza* (cat. 30), are organized on a single plane; others, including *Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise* (cat. 13) and *Death of Dara in Alexander's Arms* (cat. 39), are divided into stacked registers with little sense of recession into space. The upper section frequently is occupied by animated figures or witnesses (*shahid*), who intently watch the main event, pointing, gesticulating, or discussing it among themselves. In *Uvays-i Qaran and the Camel* (fig. 3.8; cat. 44), two spectators even lean into the scene below, a formal device that further flattens the composition and lends it the appearance of a stage set. Such figures are by no means unique to the dispersed

Falnama, but they appear to play a more conspicuous role here than in other manuscript illustrations, creating a heightened sense of theatricality.¹⁴ Their lively poses and gestures underscore the miraculous nature of the omens and further accentuate the compositions' almost audible sense of excitement.

The origin, style, and patronage of the dispersed *Falnama* have engendered considerable debate since the early decades of the twentieth century.¹⁵ In 1929, Edgar Blochet suggested it was completed for the second Safavid ruler, Shah Tahmasb (reigned 1524–76), a statement that has been repeated by subsequent scholars, notably Stuart Cary Welch, who attributed the illustrations to the court painters Aqa Mirak and Abdul Aziz.¹⁶ According to Welch and his co-author, Martin Dickson, Aqa Mirak headed the royal atelier in the capital Tabriz, where he both supervised and contributed to Tahmasb's magnificent volume of the *Shahnama* (Book of kings). As one of the shah's boon companions, he moved with him to the new capital Qazvin in 1548. Aqa Mirak stayed there until 1556, when he entered the service of Tahmasb's nephew and son-in-law, Sultan Ibrahim Mirza, the new provincial governor of Mashhad.¹⁷ Although no signed works by Aqa Mirak are known, an impressive group of paintings and autonomous illustrations have been attributed to him.¹⁸ Abdul Aziz, another of the shah's intimates, also collaborated on the royal *Shahnama* in Tabriz. His scandalous behavior allegedly cost him his ear and nose, but the shah

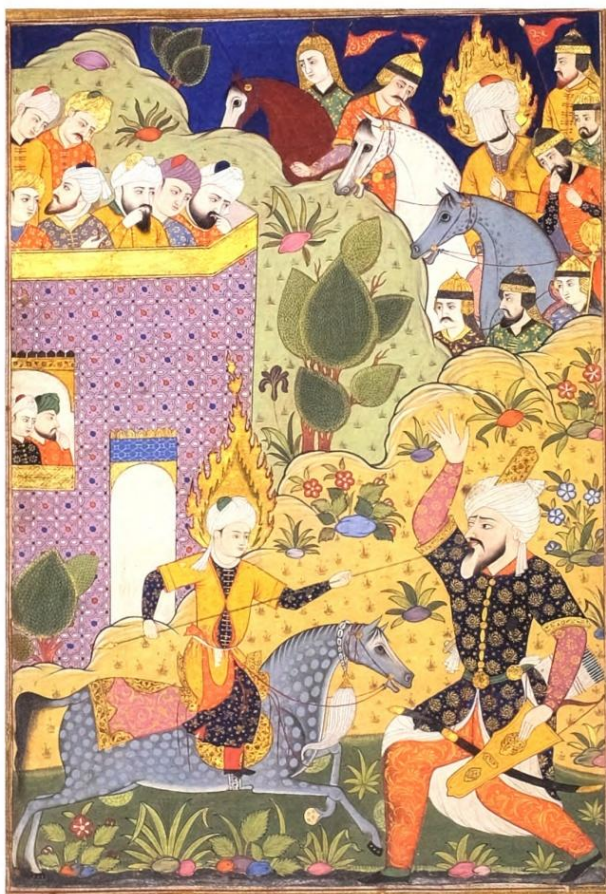


Fig. 3.4. Jesus Kills the Antichrist, *Falnama*, India, Golconda, 1610–30, NDK MSS. 979, f.4b

eventually forgave him. Abdul Aziz also may have spent some time in Qazvin and contributed to the *Falnama* before moving to Mashhad to join Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's court.¹⁹

In comparison to the other monumental *Falnamas*, the illustrations of this volume are the most stylistically homogeneous. Moreover, characteristics that Welch identifies as hallmarks of Aqa Mirak's work—his "lifelong fascination with symmetry" and fully frontal bearded figures—or of Abdul Aziz's stock figures with aquiline noses and prominent lower jaws²⁰ do appear in the paintings, but attributions of specific works to either or both of these artists must remain tentative at this time.

The text of the dispersed *Falnama*, written in relatively large and elegant *nasta'liq* script, shows even greater stylistic consistency than the illustrations and appears to have been penned by a single calligrapher (figs. 3.2, 3.9). Each folio begins with a pair of distiches, a rhyming couplet that refers to the subject of the

illustration. The verses are followed by nine lines of prose with the prognostications. Each half-distich and each of the nine lines of prose is set within a horizontal cartouche whose scalloped ends are bracketed in yellow, blue, or red.

Prompted by its scale, uniformity, and refinement, Armen Tokatlian has attributed the text of the dispersed *Falnama* to the celebrated calligrapher Malik al-Daylami.²¹ A native of Qazvin, Malik began his career at the court in Tabriz and excelled in the *nasta'liq* script. In 1556–57, Tahmasb ordered the calligrapher to Mashhad to join Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's retinue. The shah soon changed his mind, however, and summoned Malik al-Daylami back to Qazvin to design the architectural inscriptions on two newly erected palaces, which were carried out between 1558 and 1562. During his stay, Malik also completed the third *daftar* (book) of the *Silsilat al-thahab* (Chain of gold) in a copy of Jami's *Haft awrang* (Seven thrones) for Sultan Ibrahim Mirza²² as well as the





preface to an album of calligraphy and painting for the Safavid royal treasurer Amir Husayn Beg, compiled in 1560–61 (fig. 3.7).²³ This remarkable album includes several signed calligraphies by Malik that recall the scale and fluid elegance of the dispersed *Falnama* text.²⁴ Although Sultan Ibrahim Mirza repeatedly asked Tahmasb to return Malik al-Daylami to Mashhad, the shah refused, and the calligrapher continued “his studies and discussions, his making of inscriptions and samples of calligraphy in Qazvin until his death there in 1561–62.”²⁵ Indeed, these late works may have included the text of the dispersed *Falnama* (fig. 3.9).

The style of the illustrations also indicates that the dispersed *Falnama* probably was created between the mid-1550s and early 1560s. The scale and treatment of the figures, the more simplified compositions, and the looser, more spontaneous brushstrokes depart from works created in the 1530s and 1540s in Tabriz, and they anticipate paintings such as *Isfandiyar Kills Two Mountain Wolves* and *Rustam Slays Alkus* in the *Shahnama* prepared for Isma'il II (reigned 1576–77).²⁶ This new pictorial mode is also evident in mid-sixteenth-century album-page compositions that were becoming increasingly popular as an alternative format to illustrated texts.²⁷ Thus, the dispersed *Falnama* represents a departure from earlier manuscripts created within the Safavid court milieu, but it was by no means the only work to signal a shift in artistic production during the 1550s, a period marked by several critical developments during Tahmasb's reign.



On 29 May 1555 (8 Rajab 962 AH), Shah Tahmasb and the Ottoman ruler Sultan Süleyman (reigned 1520–66) signed the Treaty of Amasya, which ended Safavid-Ottoman rivalry for the duration of both of their reigns. By that time, the shah had already decided to move the capital from Tabriz, in northwestern Iran and close to the Ottoman border, to the more centrally located city of Qazvin. The new capital was a historically important commercial center and a safe distance from Ottoman territory.²⁸ According to Tahmasb's memoirs, in 1550 (957 AH), he dreamt of “a floating paper moon” (*mah bi tariq-i kaghazi ka dar hava bashad*) that traveled across the sky and settled on top of his throne room in Qazvin.²⁹ He took this dream as an auspicious omen to relocate the capital. The city's focal point was the Garden of Felicity (*Sa'adat-abad*), which included several palaces, such as the still-extant *Chihil Sutun* (literally, forty columns) reserved for audiences and receptions.³⁰ Contemporary sources maintain that Muzaffar Ali, one of the leading royal artists, was responsible for seven wall paintings in the palace, and Shah Tahmasb himself contributed a composition depicting the celebrated literary scene of Yusuf and Zulaykha and the Egyptian ladies.³¹ In 1556, Tahmasb issued the “Edict of Sincere Repentance,” which banned his emirs and notables from “irreligious” (*na-mashru'at*) activities, such as flying pigeons, shaving their beard, and playing certain types of music; he also ordered the closing of taverns, brothels, and opium dens.³² As discussed by Kathryn Babayan in this volume, Tahmasb intended this measure as a further break with the Qizilbash (literally, “red heads,” referring to Turkic tribesmen) past and as a

Fig. 3.6 (left): Solomon and Bilqis, Turkey or Iran, 1570s, TSM H.2148, f.7b

Fig. 3.7 (right): The Prince and the Hermit, *Subhat al-abrar* of the *Haft awrang*, Iran, 1556–62, FGA F1946.12, f.153b



reinforcement of orthodox Shi'i Islam. Some scholars also have proposed that the edict served as a public confirmation of Tahmasb's growing indifference to the arts and signaled the dismissal of his leading painters from court. According to Abolala Soudavar, however, the decree was aimed at the Qizilbash emirs and Safavid nobility, rather than referring to Tahmasb himself, whose own "sincere repentance," inspired by another dream, had occurred in 1534 while he was on route to face the Ottomans at Tabriz.³³ Muzaffar Ali's wall paintings and the shah's own participation in the decoration of the new royal palace imply that Tahmasb did not abandon artistic patronage in the 1550s, but rather he shifted his attention from ambitious manuscript projects, such as the *Shahnama* or the 1539–43 *Khamsa* (Quintet), to other formats and media. In addition to the new palace complex and its wall paintings, which Abdi Beyk commemorated in his celebratory poem, the shah is associated with two albums. One of these, completed in 1562–63, was initiated by Shah Quli Khalifa (died 1558), an important Qizilbash emir and military commander, who was also the keeper of the royal seal.³⁴ Evidence for a second album is a preface written in 1556–57 by Qutb al-Din Muhammad Qissa-khan (storyteller). Although the compilation was never completed, it suggests Tahmasb's continuing interest in the arts of the book, especially albums.³⁵

The Treaty of Amasya and the move to Qazvin gave the Safavids a reprieve from their confrontations with the Ottomans and allowed Tahmasb to focus on internal matters. Following the end of the first civil war in 1534, the shah began implementing a series of public measures to distance himself from his father's messianic identity and dynastic vision and, instead, bolster the Safavid lineage of Imam Husayn and Musa al-Kazim (the seventh imam), descendants of Imam Ali. While Shah Isma'il proclaimed to be the reincarnation of Ali and the Mahdi, the twelfth imam, Tahmasb saw himself as a friend (*vali*) of the imam, with whom he was in constant communication through the medium of dreams, as he described in his memoir (*tazkira*).³⁶

Tahmasb's personal interest in orthodox Shi'ism is evident in the first manuscript illustrations associated with his patronage—the *Ahsan al-kibar* (Best of the greats) of Muhammad Husayn

al-Varamini. Copied in 1521 during the reign of his father, Shah Isma'il, the text is devoted to the lives of the twelve Shi'i imams, but several of its thirty-nine illustrations were completed shortly after Tahmasb's accession to the throne. One of the paintings, dated to 1526, depicts the first sermon of Imam Hasan, Ali's son, which takes place in an elaborate architectural setting. Tahmasb's name and titles appear in the building inscription, thus linking Hasan and the monarch, who regarded Ali as a father figure and spiritual guide.³⁷ During Tahmasb's reign, new narratives about Imam Ali—in the guise of *Shahnama* heroes, a personification of his valor and courage, as well as the deeds of his equally brave



Fig. 3.8 (top): Detail, Uways-i Qaran and the Camel, *Falnama*, Iran, mid-1550s–early 1560s, MAH 1971-107-36. Fig. 3.9 (bottom): Augury text of Paradise, MMA 50.23.1

progeny—were recited together with stories from Firdawsī's epic.³⁸ According to Venetian diplomat Michael Membré, who visited Iran between 1539 and 1542, in the public squares of Tabriz, men were "reading of the battles of Ali, and the combats of the Princes of old. . . ."³⁹ Membré also maintained that the Safavids painted "figures, such as the figure of Ali on a horse, with a sword," to which people bowed as a sign of reverence. These images may have been similar to some of the *Falnama* compositions, such as Imam Riza on his horse, killing a monster (fig. 3.11).⁴⁰

Shah Tahmasb's appropriation of Imam Ali and his descendants as guides and mentors finds full expression in the *Tazkira*, his remarkable memoirs. Completed in 1562, they consist of seven dreams, which Tahmasb skillfully uses to forge a private and public persona and to justify his actions and decisions for posterity. In these vivid dreams, the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny repeatedly intercede, guide, advise, and forewarn Tahmasb, thus playing the same role they do in the pictorial *Falnamas*.⁴¹

Both the memoirs and the *Falnama* belong to a period when Tahmasb became increasingly introspective and preoccupied with piety and purification. Vincentio d'Alessandri, who visited Iran probably in 1571, states that the shah had not left the palace for eleven years and preferred to seclude himself with his women, "who have acquired such influence over his mind that he remains a long time with them deliberating and consulting about the affairs of the state."⁴² A manuscript edition of d'Alessandri's account includes an additional—and crucial—observation: the Shah was constantly casting geomantic figures in the company of his female companions. When his prognostications appeared to come true, the women lavished praise on him as God's chosen recipient of divine revelation.⁴³

The Italian diplomat does not name Shah Tahmasb's female companions and derides their involvement in politics, but contemporary Safavid sources present quite a different view of royal women. One of the most remarkable royal princesses was Mahin Banu (died 1561), better known as Sultanim, "my Sultan" in Turkish. Learned, pious, and erudite, she advised her brother on all state and financial matters (*mur-i mulki va mali*). Sultanim also corresponded with Hürrem Sultan, Süleyman's wife, and acted as an intermediary between Tahmasb and the Mughal emperor Humayun. Like other royal princesses, Sultanim was financially independent and used her personal wealth to support and maintain the shrines and places of pilgrimages.⁴⁴ Tahmasb's favorite daughter, Pari Khan Khanum (died 1576), an accomplished poet and patron of poetry, was another regular at court. Primarily known for her political involvement in the war of succession following Tahmasb's death in 1576, she tended to her father during the last years of his life, which gave her unprecedented power and influence. She presented herself as a champion of the poor and encouraged many of Tahmasb's charitable acts, especially in the Shi'i strongholds of Qum, Mashhad, and Ardabil.⁴⁵ Women like Sultanim, Pari Khan Khanum, and others who formed Tahmasb's inner circle were well informed, pious, and wielded tremendous political power during the shah's final years.

D'Alessandri's observations also confirm Tahmasb's persistent interest in the art of prognostication, especially geomancy, which



began at an early age. As Cornell H. Fleischer has discussed, in 1522 the future Shah Tahmasb arrived in the capital Tabriz from Herat, where he had served as governor and met a certain geomancer (*rammal*) named Haydar, who was active at the court of his father, Shah Isma'il. According to Haydar's own account, Tahmasb was so impressed with the *rammal*'s skills that he decided to take lessons from him for the next six years for fear of becoming too dependent on his art of geomancy. Even if Haydar embellished the facts, his statement confirms Tahmasb's interest and expertise in the art of divination.⁴⁶ In addition to geomancy, the shah also practiced bibliomancy by seeking advice from the *Divan* by Hafiz, as is described in Darabi's *Latifa-i Ghaybiyya* (Story of the unknown).⁴⁷ Aptitude for the sciences, especially astronomy and astrology (*ilm al-nujum*), and for religious studies was already noted in Tahmasb's extant sixteenth-century horoscope.⁴⁸ When his father, Isma'il I (reigned 1501–24), abandoned the idea of restoring the observatory in Maragha, Shah Tashmasb planned to build one in Isfahan. Although the project was never realized, it underscores the shah's commitment to the twin arts of astronomy and astrology and their applications.⁴⁹

In view of this keen interest in a range of divinatory practices, it would seem only plausible that Tahmasb, one of the most celebrated patrons of the arts of the book, also practiced

prognostication through images. The boldly articulated paintings, inspired by the Koran, popular Islam, and Persian literary classics, certainly would have appealed to the shah's interests and sensibilities. Moreover, their scale and format were ideally suited for collective rather than solitary viewing.⁵⁰ Just as Tahmasb practiced geomancy for the royal women, the *Falnama* would enable him to serve as a "seer" at their intimate gatherings. Emphasis on pious acts as a means to secure the future and the unknown also conformed to the religious ideals of an increasingly devout ruler. For the Safavid royal women, too, the images and text of the dispersed *Falnama* would have carried particular resonance, for they validated their charitable acts, the most powerful manifestation of their political and economic power.⁵¹

If, indeed, the shah's close female companions were intended as one of the audiences of the dispersed *Falnama*, they would not have been the first or the only royal women interested in the occult. When Rammal Haydar fell out of favor at the Safavid court, it was Tajlu Khanum (died 1540), the powerful wife of Isma'il I, who protected and saved him before he fled to the Ottoman court.⁵² In 1582, Sultan Murad III (reigned 1574–95) dedicated a copy of the *Matla' al-sa'ada wa manabi' al-siyada* (Ascension of propitious stars and the sources of sovereignty) (cat. 67) to each of his daughters, a gift that attests to their interest in occult knowledge.

Finally, Tahmasb's association, even if posthumously, with the art of pictorial prognostication finds further support in the Khalili *Falnama*, attributed to circa 1610 to 1630 in Golconda, India, which includes an image of the Safavid ruler as one of the omens (fig. 3.12). Identified in the accompanying text and a marginal inscription as Shah Tahmasb fighting the enemy, the illustration features a crowned figure on an elegant, dappled white horse, reviewing a group of prisoners as a fierce battle rages around him. As the only known contemporary figure cast as an augury, the shah has been transformed into a sage-like character, much like Alexander, who was associated with special divine powers.⁵³

The popularity of the *Falnama* and other works on divination and the Apocalypse in sixteenth-century Safavid Iran and Ottoman Turkey coincides with the rise of the millennium fever that gripped a geographic area extending from the Mediterranean to the Indus. Allegedly, Charles V (died 1558), "the Most Catholic Monarch of Spain," wrote gloomily, "If this is not the end of the world, I think we must be very close to it; and please God, let it be the end of the whole world, and not just Christianity."⁵⁴ In the Islamic world and the Muslim calendar, it was the tenth century (rather than the sixteenth), which further intensified the anticipation of a millennial character.⁵⁵ Such expectations, however, were not necessarily informally apocalyptic but also were based on the possibility of "re-ordering the known world,"⁵⁶ as supported by events, such as Shah Isma'il's conquest and consolidation of power in Iran or the military expansion into Egypt, Syria, and eastern Anatolia of the Ottoman sultan Selim I (reigned 1512–20).⁵⁷

Even if Shah Tahmasb attempted to distance himself from the messianic ideals of his father, he could not have completely abandoned all apocalyptic notions, especially with the imminent



arrival of the year 1000 AH (1591–92). According to Membré, the shah's favorite sister, Sultanim, remained celibate, as she was designated to be the Mahdi's bride. She and a saddled white horse were kept ready for the imam's arrival.⁵⁸ Unlike his father, who used poetry to define his personal, political, and religious identity, Shah Tahmasb relied on his dreams and visions, in which he was in continuous dialogue with the Prophet Muhammad, Imam Ali, and the twelfth and last Shi'i imam, the Mahdi, who is to return on the Day of Judgment.

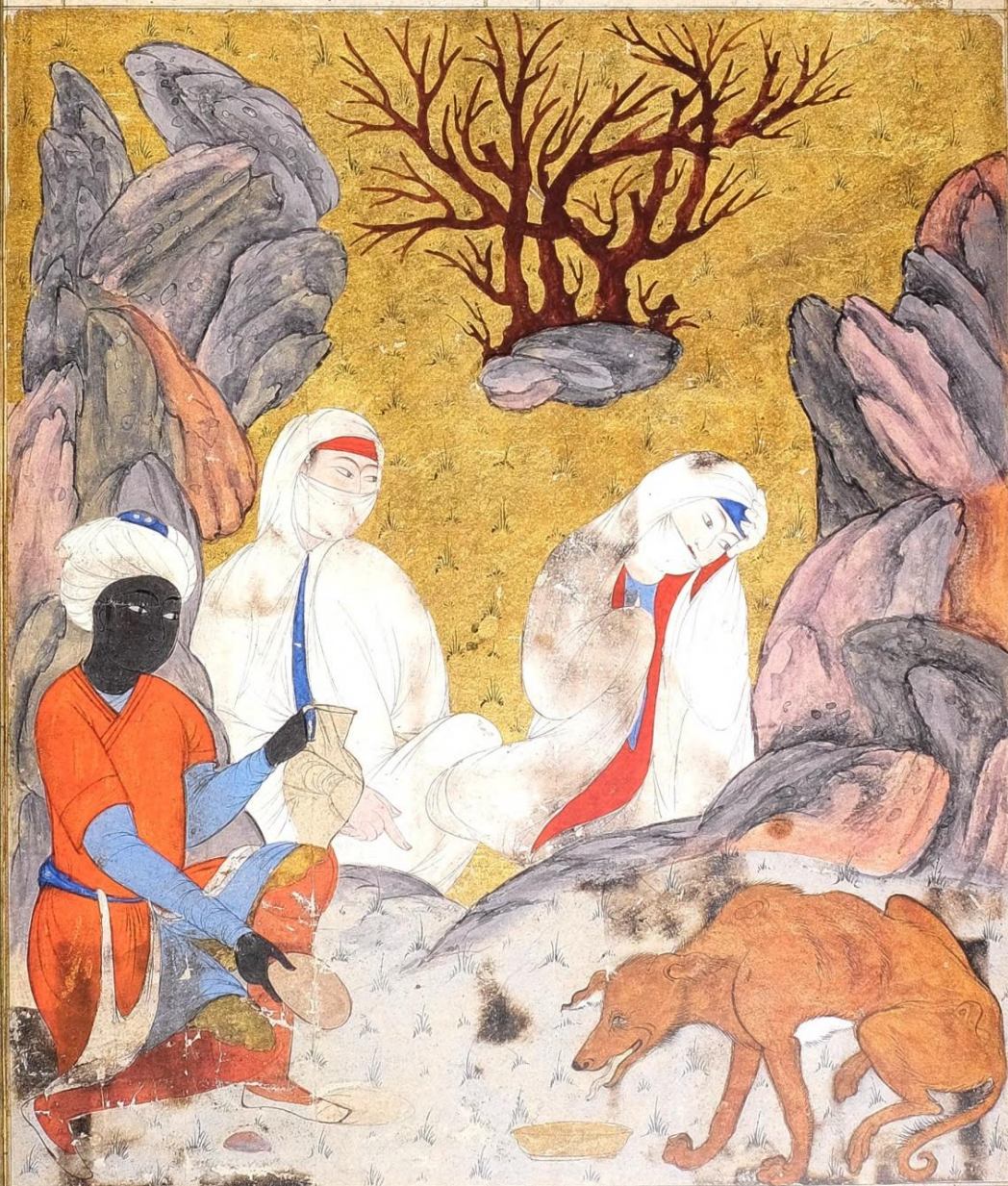
The dispersed *Falnama* is the earliest known integrated body of images and text devoted to the art of bibliomancy, which also includes depictions of the Apocalypse and signs of its imminent arrival. In meaning and content, it recalls works such as the *Miftah al-jifr al-jami* (Key to the comprehensive prognostication) (cat. 60; figs. 8.1, 8.5, 8.6) and the *Kitab al-Daniyal* (Book of Daniel), widely popular at the Ottoman court and consulted by Haydar when he fled to Istanbul in the 1530s and served as Sultan Süleyman's geomancer.⁵⁹ By invoking the divinely inspired powers of the prophets and sages of the past, and by conjuring up verbal and visual descriptions of the Apocalypse and its punishments and rewards, the dispersed *Falnama* functioned unlike any other sixteenth-century illustrated text in warning, counseling, and entertaining at the dawn of the new millennium. ■



Fig. 3.12. Shah Tahmasb Fighting the Enemy, *Fānāmā*, India, Golconda, 1610–30, NDK MSS. 979, f.22b

قَالَ اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى مِثْلَهُمْ مِثْلُ الْكَلْبِ

پای سر و شواری ره ز خود آسان کن
بگرد کو حی جان کرد و طوف کعبه جان کن



برون آید خنیزن چو کشت با آتش
سمای عالم قدسی هوای اوج سرفرازی

The Topkapı Persian Falnama (TSM H.1702)

Serpil Bağcı and Massumeh Farhad

With its fifty-nine paintings, the bound Persian *Falnama* (TSM H.1702), now housed in the Topkapı Palace Library, is the most extensively illustrated copy. Attributable to the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the manuscript's written and painted folios have been carefully integrated into a unified ensemble.¹ The volume must have entered the Ottoman royal collection sometime before the reign of Ahmed III (reigned 1703–30), whose seal appears on the flyleaf and offers a *terminus ante quem* for its acquisition. Its maroon binding dates from the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876–1909), at which time some of the folios may have been re-margined.²

Similar to other *Falnamas*, the manuscript has an image on the right (verso) and a related text folio on the left (recto), but it is also the only monumental copy to integrate text and image on the same page (figs. 4.1, 4.2). Each illustration is framed by a pair of couplets in *nasta'liq* script that introduces the subject and the general nature of the prognostication. In addition, Koranic verses (*aya*), copied in gold, blue, or red *muhaqqaq* script, appear at the top of each illustrated folio. In many instances, the verses refer directly to the subject of the image; in others, only fragments are used and the connection between the illustration and the sacred text is more opaque.³ Such a highly unorthodox scheme simultaneously underscores the source of the images and lends them indisputable authority. No other illustrated religious, historical, or literary manuscript attempts to relate its paintings so explicitly to the Koran, which further adds to the exceptional nature of this particular volume.⁴

This deliberate association with the Koran also is apparent in the layout of most of the text folios, which emulates sixteenth-century Safavid and Ottoman copies (figs. 4.3, 4.4). Each augury comprises fifteen lines of prose that vary in style and scale and are organized into bands of different dimensions. They frequently combine two types of script, *muhaqqaq* and *naskh*, another characteristic of contemporaneous volumes of the Koran. The calligrapher's skill in adapting Persian to *muhaqqaq*, which is more suitable to Arabic, further attests to a self-conscious attempt to imitate the style of sixteenth-century Korans (fig. 4.3).

Several of the folios depart from the Koranic format and explore the inherent graphic potential of the word by manipulating the scale and format of letters. The most striking example occurs on folio 9a, inscribed with an inauspicious augury relating to the planet Saturn (fig. 4.5). Probably intended to stress the ominous nature of the prognostication, the initial phrase, "O augury user, know" (*ay khudavand-i fal bidan*), has been magnified to cover the entire surface with some of the words written upside down or in reverse.⁵ On folio 17a, which is inscribed with the augury of the Day of Judgment (fig. 4.6), the fourth and the sixth lines appear both upside

down and in reverse. These unconventional graphic presentations recall another form of divination, known as the *ilm al-huruf* (science of letters). Considered a key to the spiritual sciences, the "science of letters" uses numerical values of letters and their association with the four elements as a means for accessing esoteric knowledge and the occult.⁶

The remarkable variety of scripts (*naskh*, *muhaqqaq*, *nasta'liq*, *riqa*, *tawqi*, *divani*, and *shikasta*), together with the different layouts, lends the text folios of the bound Persian copy an unprecedented sense of calligraphic dynamism.⁷ Unlike the restrained uniformity of the Ahmed I *Falnama* or the dispersed copy, each folio appears as a separate entity and, with its own boldly articulated graphic characteristics, competes with the paintings for the viewer's attention. The text's visual prominence, in turn, also draws attention to the content.



Fig. 4.2. Spring of Kawthar, *Falnama*, probably Iran, 1570s, TSM H.1702, f.26b

Notwithstanding the diversity of scripts and formats, the calligraphic style is relatively consistent throughout the volume.⁸ Whether the work of one or more scribes, the written auguries demonstrate a remarkable spirit of experimentation in that the intrinsic graphic potential of the words has been exploited to move beyond their explicit meaning.

The auguries of the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* represent the most comprehensive of all known copies. Many of them explain the subject in considerable detail, which gives the text a certain narrative component, a characteristic absent from other volumes.⁹ The omens also deal with the seeker's psychological state, especially noting personal concerns, dilemmas, and distress—the very reasons an individual would consult a *Falnama*. They contain repeated warnings against sharing one's secrets with others and of knowing friend from foe, and they list the types of people to avoid.¹⁰

As in the case of the other pictorial *Falnamas*, it is impossible to link the text to a single author, but thirteen auguries identify their source as Abdullah ibn Abbas (died 687), the most influential early Muslim scholar and the father of Koranic exegesis.¹¹ His association both validates the prognostications and lends them sound religious authority, which was particularly important for such arcane texts. Although Ja'far al-Sadiq, the sixth Shi'i imam, traditionally is associated with the *Falnama*, in this copy he is mentioned only once as a legitimizing source.¹²

The manuscript is notable for its persistent evocations of Imam Ali, many of which barely relate to the specific auguries or the subject of the illustrations. Inserted into the text where and when possible, they underscore the superiority of Shi'ism and situate Ali and his progeny within the prophetic genealogy. This emphasis also lends the text a thematic unity that is absent from other illustrated *Falnama* copies. For instance, the poem introducing Moses and the Giant Og (Uj) (fig. 2.11) reads:

*Since the time the form-maker of the world existed, Ali existed.
Since the time the shape of the earth and time existed, Ali existed.
Musa, and his staff, miracles, and prophecy—
Who showed it in Egypt to the Pharaoh? Ali did.*

The verses surrounding the image of *Imam Ali Slays Murra ibn Qays* (fig. 4.7) give Najaf, Ali's burial place, preference over Mecca.

*Since the time when Najaf became the place for the sun of religion
and reign,
Its ground has excelled in glory over the Zamzam well in Mecca
and the temple of Mecca.
Doubtless, it is the principal Ka'ba for the faithful,
Because the strongest lion [of God] resides in it.*

The pictorial cycle of the bound Persian *Falnama* is also notable for a certain sequential organization. Following the first illustration, which depicts the *Dabbat al-arz* (Beast of the

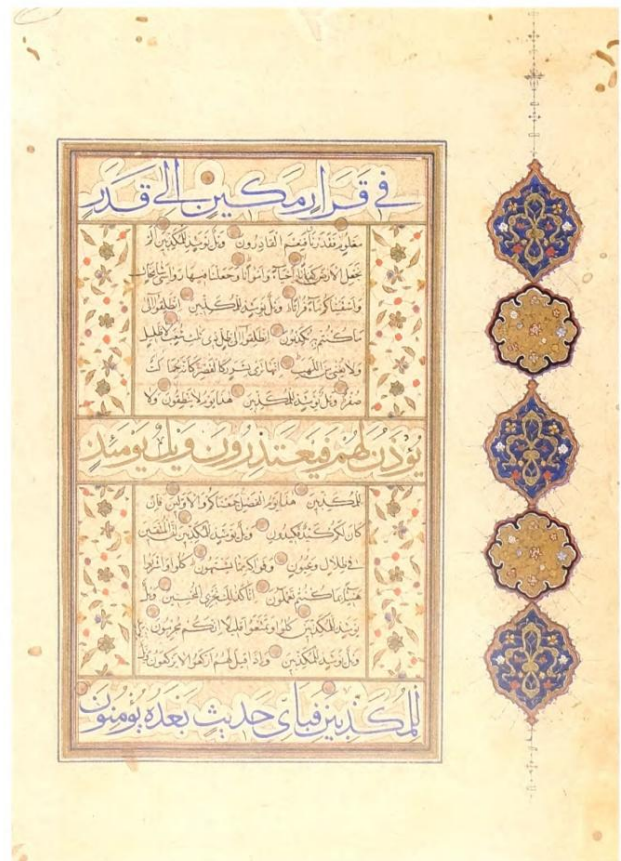
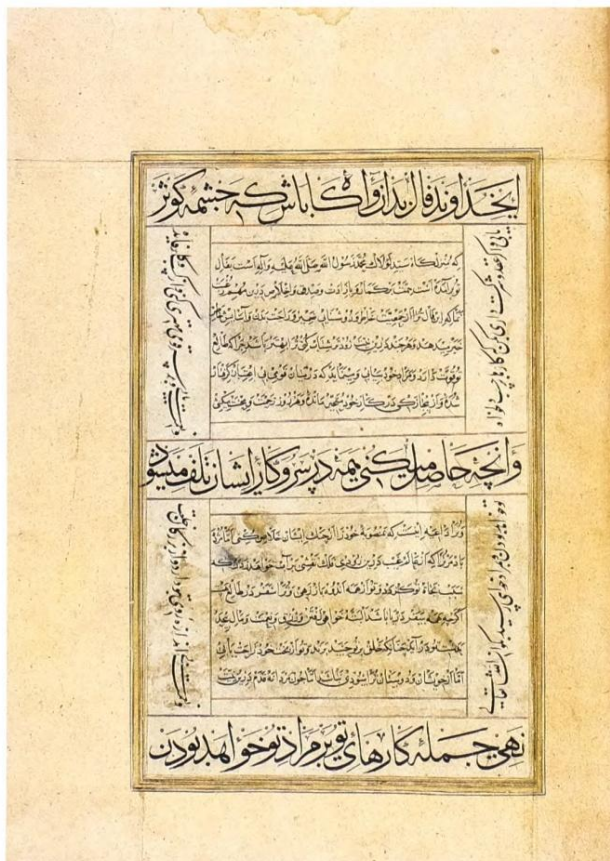


Fig. 4.3 (left): Spring of Kawthar (augury text), *Falnama*, probably Iran, 1570s, TSM H.1702, f.27a. Fig. 4.4 (right): Folio from a Koran, Turkey, 2nd half 16th century, AMSG s1986.80b



earth)¹³ (fig. 4.11), the seven planets appear in order of their distance from Earth. They are followed by the twelve signs of the zodiac and the pseudo-planet, the Dragon (Draco).¹⁴ A similar thematic clustering occurs at the end of the manuscript. Beginning with the second image of the *Dabbat al-arz* (folio 47b, fig. 4.10), the subsequent thirteen paintings relate to apocalyptic subjects.¹⁵ They directly address the Apocalypse and include portraits of the main protagonists—*Dabbat al-arz* (folio 47b), *Dajjal* (folio 48b), and the Mahdi (folios 49b, 59b)—or represent the promised rewards and punishments following the Day of Judgment, such as paradise (folio 55b) and hell (folio 56b). Other illustrations allude more obliquely to the consequences of human actions in the hereafter.¹⁶ Viewed as a whole, the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* begins with the creation of the heavens and concludes with the Apocalypse and the salvation of the righteous by the Mahdi. The images, thus, present a distinct Shi'i-inspired cosmological view, which is unique to this *Falnama*.

Except for some twelve illustrations toward the end of the volume, the paintings in this copy show a distinct stylistic homogeneity. Notable for their relatively simple but imaginative

compositions and harmonious palette, they seem to be the work of several painters, perhaps active in the same workshop or artistic center. So far, however, it has been impossible to identify a provenance. Although two compositions (folios 24b, 43b) include distinct Safavid headgear (*taj-i haydari*), and the first *Dabbat al-arz* (folio 1b), the Moon (folio 2b), and the Sun (folio 5b; cat. 47) recall sixteenth-century Safavid pictorial ideals, the style is not identifiable with any of the major centers of manuscript production. Other illustrations suggest some knowledge of Ottoman motifs, such as the Janissary hats in folio 35b, but they do not conform to the traditional Ottoman painting style of the period.¹⁷

The illustrations toward the end of the manuscript tend to be more crowded and hastily executed and represent the work of another group of artists. At least five paintings in this group include elongated figures shown among boldly designed floral motifs and architectural settings. A similar style, although larger in scale, is also evident in some of the illustrations of the Dresden *Falnama*, suggesting the work of the same painter, or at least group of painters, may have been included in both copies (figs. 4.8, 5.4).¹⁸

Fig. 4.5 (left): Saturn (augury text), *Falnama*, probably Iran, 1570s, TSM H.1702, f.9a. Fig. 4.6 (right): Day of Judgment (augury text), *Falnama*, probably Iran, 1570s, TSM H.1702, f.17a

One of the striking characteristics of the first group of illustrations in the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* is the economy of composition. Rendered with soft brushstrokes in harmonized tones, the paintings focus on the most iconographically essential elements of the auguries, and the protagonists are portrayed as if through a close-up lens. For *The Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey* (fig. 4.9), for example, a composition with a long-established iconographical model, the painter centers his scene on Muhammad and his human-headed steed Buraq, while the archangel Gabriel and three other angels are only partially visible.¹⁹ In *People of the Cave* (fig. 2.7), the Roman king Herod and his entourage, featured in both the dispersed *Falnama* and the Dresden copies, have been omitted, and the augury is centered on the companions in the cave and their dog. This approach implies a close collaboration between the scribe/author and the painters, who consistently minimized the narrative content of the illustrations, transforming them into visual "signs" or talismans that embody the essence of the auguries.

In general, the subjects correspond to those of the other copies but also include several unique scenes that lend this *Falnama* its own iconographic identity. In addition to the images of the planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac, mentioned earlier, three illustrations are centered on inanimate objects: the *zulfīqar*, Ali's legendary two-pointed sword (folio 31b); a representation of two crowns on a throne (folio 24b; fig. 9.7), probably symbolizing earthly and heavenly authority; and a treasure, here guarded by a dragon (folio 38b).²⁰ Moreover, the manuscript comprises not one but two illustrations of the *Dabbat al-arz*, who allegedly will arise from the earth before the Day of Judgment to mark sinners between the eyes with Solomon's seal and tap the saved with Moses's cane (figs. 4.10, 4.11).

According to Islamic popular lore, the *Dabbat al-arz* is sixty cubits high and has the head of a bull, the ears of an elephant, and the legs of a camel. This description differs considerably from its portrayal in the *Falnama*, where the human-headed beast stands erect.²¹ The first image of the beast is pasted on folio 1b and lacks an accompanying text. It is considerably larger in size (56 × 35 cm) than the rest of the illustrations and has been trimmed on all sides. Although it relates stylistically to some of the other compositions, such as the *Moon* (folio 2b) and the *Sun* (folio 5b; cat. 47), it must have been added after the manuscript was completed and bound. It now serves as a frontispiece and helps set the tone for the volume.

The second version of the beast on folio 47b is framed by a couplet, which refers to the Apocalypse (*ghulghula*) and advises the seeker to take refuge in the Mahdi to gain salvation. Curiously, the *Dabbat al-arz* does not appear in any other illustrated Persian text but is incorporated into two Ottoman manuscripts on the occult: *Tercüme-i miftah-i jifr al-jami* (Translation of the key to the comprehensive prognostication) and *Ahval-i kıyamet* (The circumstances of the Apocalypse).²² Completed during the reigns of Mehmed III (reigned 1595–1603) and Ahmed I, these manuscripts include representations of the



Dabbat al-arz that conform more closely to its verbal descriptions as a winged and horned quadruped (cat. 6o).²³ Based on the Koran and Arabic *tafsir* (exegesis) literature, both texts contain extensive descriptions of the beast that correspond to other apocalyptic narratives popular in Ottoman literature after the fifteenth century.²⁴

Another unusual scene in the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* is the penultimate illustration of Imam Hasan raising the dead (folio 58b). The accompanying text maintains that the king of Yemen became inconsolable after realizing he had unjustly killed his daughter and the son of his minister. The same minister, concluding that only Imam Hasan could save the king from his misery, sent a messenger for him. Upon his arrival in Yemen, Hasan prayed and the king's daughter and the minister's son were brought back to life, and the king was released from his anguish. Although the miraculous act of resurrection is most closely associated with Jesus, it also was performed by Islamic prophets, at least according to popular accounts, and representations have been included in several *Falnamas*.²⁵

Finally, this *Falnama* incorporates two unusual paintings of the Mahdi, the hidden twelfth Shi'i imam, who, it is believed,

will return to rule the world before the Day of Judgment. Although unique to this particular *Falnama*, depictions of the Mahdi also are included in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Ottoman illustrated copies of the *Miftah-i cifr al-jami*.²⁶ Folio 49b depicts the place of his occultation, and final folio 59b portrays an enthroned Mahdi in a landscape (fig. 4.12). Based on compositions of secular rulers dispensing justice, this folio portrays the Mahdi gesturing to a man on the left, whose head is surrounded by a flickering nimbus. A bareheaded man with his hands tied behind his back kneels in the foreground. The Mahdi's face is concealed under a veil, which is inscribed with his title, *Ya sahib-i zaman* (O, owner of time). The Koranic verse at the top of the folio—"And we raised him to a lofty station"—is from the sura of Maryam (Koran 19:57) and must refer to the twelfth imam. Although not included here, the preceding verse in the Koran identifies the seated figure with the nimbus as Idris: "And make mention in the Scripture of Idris: Lo! he was a saint, a prophet who is believed to have been brought back to life by God" (19:56).²⁷ In the Persian couplet, the Mahdi, who will arrive in the days of

magnificence and justice, is linked to Imam Ali, who will be at his side helping mankind, thus giving the imam an exalted position among the prophets.²⁸

The size, format, and composition of the illustrated folios in the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* resemble at least three later copies: thirty-five loose-leaf images pasted on cardboard in the Museum of Ethnography, Rotterdam (fig. 2.6)²⁹ and two dispersed copies attributed to a provincial Mughal workshop.³⁰ These smaller *Falnamas* omit the Koranic verses and the more unusual scenes, such as those of the Apocalypse. They were probably intended for a different audience and cultural milieu for which the auguries' visual and verbal content was "purged" and simplified in an effort to present a more standardized divination manual.³¹

The Topkapı Persian *Falnama* is arguably the most unorthodox extant copy. While the fifty-nine pictorial auguries are relatively simple and direct in their style, the text—with its self-conscious references to the Koran, carefully crafted Shi'i doctrinal perspective, and emphasis on the Apocalypse—is both complex and idiosyncratic in concept and execution.



Fig. 4.8 (left): Moses and Qarun, *Falnama*, probably Iran, 1570s, TSM H.1702, f.52b. Fig. 4.9 (right): The Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey (*miraj*), *Falnama*, probably Iran, 1570s, TSM H.1702, f.37b

Together, image and word move beyond mere prognostication. They reinforce the main tenets of Shi'ism and outline a distinct cosmological order that begins with the creation of the heavens and ends with the signs of the hereafter. The auguries are used to warn, guide, and encourage religiously sanctified and moral conduct.

While it is difficult to determine the exact provenance of this volume, certain factors can be deduced from its style and content. Like the dispersed copy, the volume was carefully planned and designed as an integrated work. It must have been created for a patron with strong Shi'i or heterodox leanings and in a cultural environment where such ideas, especially apocalyptic expectations, were familiar and circulated widely. Free to explore and experiment with new ideas and concepts, the painters and calligraphers worked in a distinct style that stood apart from both Ottoman and Safavid court painting and the artistic practices associated with well-established provincial ateliers, such as those in sixteenth-century Shiraz or Baghdad.³² The Topkapı Persian *Falnama* confirms the existence of vibrant yet unidentifiable centers and workshops, where heterodox ideas, as expressed in this manuscript, were given new visual and verbal form. In view of its synthesis of Shi'i doctrines, apocalyptic expectations, and unorthodox

appropriation of the Koran, it is tempting to propose that this *Falnama* was created along the porous Ottoman-Safavid border with its mixed populations of Ottomans and Safavids.³³ For instance, the Ottomans captured Tabriz, the first Safavid capital, briefly in 1514, 1534, and 1548. Between 1585 and 1603, the city came under Ottoman control once again, but it seems unlikely the population changed radically and all artistic activity suddenly ceased. According to one account, in 1575 Shah Tahmasb sent the illuminator Hasan al-Muzahhib al-Baghdadi to Tabriz to oversee all artisans involved "with selling paper, the copying of manuscripts, and the art of the book," which suggests the former capital was still a viable center for book production.³⁴ In a recent study, Zeren Tanindi discusses the bindings of a number of Korans and *Qisas al-anbiya* (Stories of the prophets) manuscripts, dated 1562–81, that also were copied by Tabrizi calligraphers.³⁵ Alternatively, the volume could have been created in another location to which both Ottoman and Safavid painters and literati gravitated intermittently throughout the sixteenth century. The manuscript's imaginative pictorial style, calligraphic dynamism, and literary boldness attest to the tremendous level of creativity outside the Safavid and Ottoman court milieu in the sixteenth century. ■



قَالَ اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى وَرَفَعْنَاهُ مَكَانًا عَلِيًّا

ای دل خدو مهدی صاحب زمان رسید
سنگام عدل و گوهر جهان رسید



بشود تو این دعا که زفت پیمان رسید
یا منظر العجایب عوالمنا علی

The Dresden Falnama (E445)

Massumeh Farhad

The third monumental *Falnama* (E445) is housed in the Sächsischen Landesbibliothek in Dresden.¹ According to a Latin inscription on its first folio, the manuscript was acquired in 1718 in Vienna by Johannes Christopher Raymbach, the royal translator of exotic languages at the Hapsburg court.² Its fifty-one illustrations vary in size from 48 × 36.5 cm to 66.5 × 48 cm, making them the largest extant *Falnama* folios. Many of these were even larger originally, as some have been trimmed and others were removed from their surrounding borders. Like the dispersed *Falnama*, each folio is composed of several fragments of papers, attesting to the difficulty of making or obtaining oversize single sheets.³ In addition, some sheets or fragments of paper appear to have been recycled. The written augury for Bahram Gur (fig 5.1), for example, was copied on top of a fragmentary ink sketch of the torso of two youths seated in a landscape. Datable to the 1540s, the delicate drawing may have been a study for a wall painting or a figurative textile.⁴

Since its arrival in Vienna in the early eighteenth century, this *Falnama* appears to have been rebound several times,⁵ and today a number of folios are out of sequence and others seem to be missing.⁶ Many show evidence of wear and tear, and at least some four out of ten illustrations with extensive water damage have been completely repainted (folios 13b, 18b, 34b, 37b).⁷ Notwithstanding its current fragile condition, the manuscript's style, content, and structure are invaluable in understanding the genesis of pictorial *Falnamas* in the sixteenth century.

In general, the themes of the illustrations correspond to those in the other *Falnamas*, but this copy also incorporates a number of new religious and literary subjects. One such illustration is *Muhammad and Abu Bakr in the Cave* (fig. 5.3). Based on a well-known incident, it is only extant example of the two companions in a pictorial augury. Faced with Meccan hostility, the Prophet and Abu Bakr left for Medina, which also marked the beginning of the *hijra* (migration) referred to in the Koran (9:40), and took refuge in a cave to hide from their enemies. While the Prophet was resting, Abu Bakr was bitten by a snake. He remained silent, however, rather than awaken Muhammad—a sign of his utmost respect for the Prophet.⁸ Another unusual illustration depicts the momentous event of Muhammad's designation of Ali as his successor (*vali*) and executor (*vasi*) at Ghadir Khumm, which according to Shi'i beliefs took place during the Prophet's farewell pilgrimage to Mecca in

March 632 (Zul-hijja 10 AH) (fig. 5.4). Seated on a pile of camel saddles, Muhammad allegedly proclaimed, "Whoever has me for his master, has Ali for his master."⁹ In the *Falnama* illustration, Muhammad and Ali are shown as one body with two heads, which may relate more directly to the story of Ghadir Khumm in the Bekhtashi-Alevi code books (*buyruks*). According to these narratives, after identifying Ali as his successor, Muhammad wrapped his cloak around his cousin to underline their spiritual unity.¹⁰ The painting is the only known example of this scene used as a pictorial augury. Its inclusion in the Dresden *Falnama* implies the manuscript probably was intended for a more religiously heterodox audience that adhered to the Shi'i doctrine and accepted Ali's role as the rightful heir to Muhammad.¹¹

Another characteristic of this *Falnama* is the number of omens with literary subjects, some of which do not have a

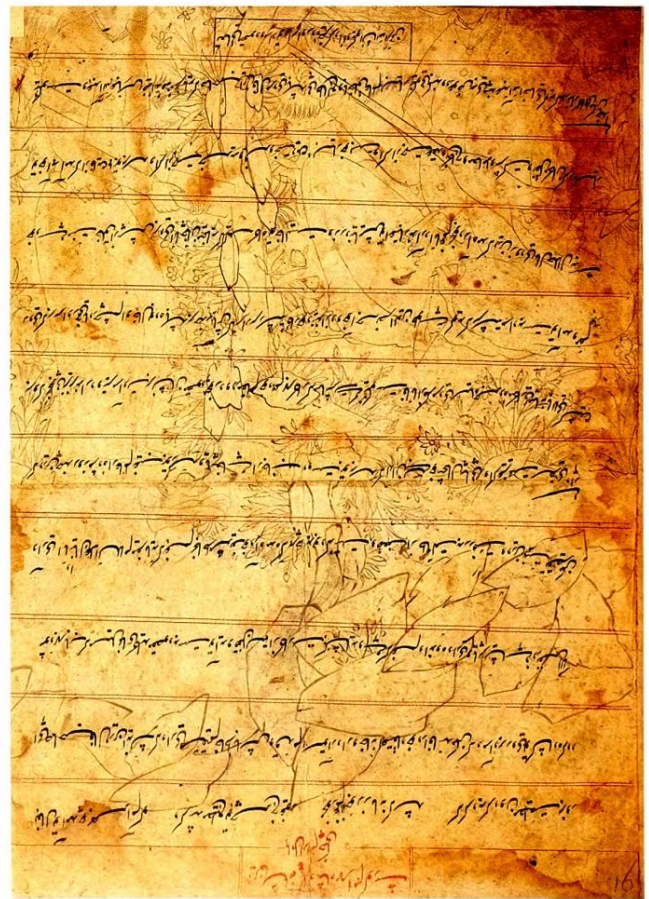


Fig. 5.1. Bahram Gur (augury text), *Falnama*, Iran, 1540s, SLUB E445, f.6b



Fig. 5.2. Hakim Luqman, *Falnama*, Iran, 1550s, SLUB E445, f.16b



related verbal augury. Familiar from the *Shahnama* and other illustrated texts, these images give the Dresden copy a different visual inflection and demonstrate how familiar literary compositions could be recontextualized and their inherent meaning recast as prognostications.¹²

Similar to the Ahmed I *Falnama*, the manuscript represents an assemblage of stylistically diverse and autonomous folios. All the text folios appear to have been written after the illustrations were created, probably at a time when word and image were to be compiled into a codex. Copied in an inconsistent *nasta'liq* script, the verbal auguries appear on separate and extensively repaired sheets of paper pasted on the back of the illustrations. The prognostications vary in length from seven to twelve lines; some begin with a couplet, others devote half the prognostication to poetry, and a third group is written entirely in prose.¹³ The differences in style and format suggest they probably were copied by more than one scribe, and consequently the volume lacks the formal and conceptual uniformity of other illustrated *Falnamas*.

The content of the auguries also varies considerably. Identifications of the subject in the text are minimal at best, and the prognostications tend to be far more general and formulaic than those in other monumental *Falnamas*.

Instead, they consistently invoke one or more of the following authorities: Prophet Daniel, long identified with the art of divination; Abdullah ibn Abbas (died 687), one of Prophet Muhammad's most trusted companions and the leading authority in the *sunna* (tradition); Ja'far al-Sadiq, the sixth Shi'i imam; and Muhammad al-Tusi (died 1274), the celebrated scholar, astronomer, astrologer, and geomancer.¹⁴ In certain instances, more than one authority is mentioned in an attempt to give the text even greater religious validity.¹⁵

Another notable feature of the Dresden text folios is the frequent inclusion of headings in the upper margins, which helps to unite image and text folios. Their orthographic style suggests they were added by more than one scribe, perhaps even at different times, but they consistently refer to the related image as a "sign" (*nishan*) (fig. 5.1). This term seems important to understanding the role and function of the images for sixteenth-century augury users. Unlike traditional manuscript illustrations that were valued primarily for their narrative content, these paintings, and by extension other pictorial auguries, were viewed more as talismans, signifying a meaning other than what was



Fig. 5.3 (left): Muhammad and Abu Bakr in the Cave, *Falnama*, probably Iran, 1580s–1590s, SLUB E445, f.2b
Fig. 5.4 (right): Muhammad and Ali at Ghadir Khumm, *Falnama*, probably Iran, 1580s–1590s, SLUB E445, f.1b



Fig. 5.5. Muhammad Splits the Moon, *Falnama*, probably Iran, 1580s, SLUB E445, f.14b



Fig. 5.6 (top): Cain and Abel, attributed to Siyavush, *Fānāmā*, Iran, 1570s, slub E445, f.45b

depicted.¹⁶ It was this symbolic meaning that held the key to decoding and understanding the world of the unknown (*al-ghayb*); it offered a model (e.g., a prophet or sage) to emulate and steer the seeker towards sound personal, ethical, and moral decisions, which carried both immediate and more enduring implications.

The illustrations of the Dresden *Falnama* appear to be the work of several sixteenth-century artists. Some of the most distinct compositions are characterized by their large-scale format, bright, almost jarring color scheme, and massive, often ruddy-faced figures (fig. 5.2).¹⁷ Several related but more restrained paintings, such as *Muhammad Splits the Moon* (fig. 5.5) and *Pharaoh's Army Drowns in the Sea* (folio 29b), recall the style found in at least two copies of the *Qisas al-anbiya* (Stories of the prophets) dated to 1577. Although the precise provenance of these illustrated texts remains to be determined, some of the *Qisas* illustrations may have been painted by the same artists or at least in the same milieu that produced the images for the Dresden *Falnama*. They not only relate stylistically but also represent similar subjects and themes, and together they contributed significantly to the formation of a new genre of religious-inspired paintings in the third quarter of the sixteenth century.¹⁸

Other paintings conform more closely to the style associated with Qazvin in the 1570s.¹⁹ *Salih and the She-Camel* (cat. 33) and *Cain and Abel* (Qabil and Habil; fig. 5.6),²⁰ stand out among this group. The confident, fluid lines, animated expressive figures, and carefully composed landscape settings of these two images recall the work of Siyavush, one of the most successful Safavid painters of the sixteenth century. A Georgian by birth, he was captured in circa 1544 and brought to the Safavid court, where he became one of the royal household slaves (*qulam-i khassa-yi sharifa*) of Shah Tahmasb (reigned 1524–76). The shah took a personal interest in Siyavush's artistic training and placed him under the tutelage of Muzaffar Ali, one of the leading court artists. In the 1570s Siyavush contributed several important paintings to the *Shahnama* of Isma'il II (reigned 1576–77)²¹ while he also worked for other patrons, as is evident from his illustrations in the copy of Khandamir's *Habib al-siyar* (fig. 5.7), completed in Qazvin for a certain Mirza Abu Talib bin Mirza Ala'uddawla in 1579–80 (987 AH).²² When the nearly blind Muhammad Khudabanda (reigned 1577–87) ascended the throne, Siyavush joined the circle of Hamza Mirza, Tahmasb's son, who was assassinated in 1586. His *Falnama* illustrations may date from this period. By 1596–97 the artist had abandoned painting and moved to Shiraz; he probably died some time in the first decade of the seventeenth century.²³

Hakim Luqman (fig. 5.2) probably represents the work of another noteworthy but anonymous Qazvini painter. The carefully balanced composition, luminous palette, and



animated figures are characteristic of some of the most original works from the third quarter of the sixteenth century. As two of the figures wear the *taj-i haydari*, the typical Safavid headgear with its tall baton, the illustration was probably completed no later than circa 1560.

One of the most visually complex and dramatic compositions in the Dresden *Falnama* is the depiction of the Day of Judgment (fig. 5.8), attributable to the 1550s and Qazvin. The dramatic illustration of the final reckoning relates both stylistically and iconographically to the depiction of hell in the dispersed *Falnama* (cat. 55). Together, these two works represent the only known such compositions in Persian manuscript painting.

The last group of illustrations in the Dresden *Falnama* to be considered in this essay has suffered extensive water damage. Fortunately, the outlines of the original designs as well as traces of color are still visible on at least two paintings, suggesting they represent the earliest extant Safavid *Falnama* illustrations attributable to Tabriz in the



Fig. 5.8. Day of Judgment, Iran, Qazvin, 1550s, SLUB E445, f.19b

1540s. One painting (fig. 5.9) depicts an enthroned Islamic prophet, identifiable by his facial veil and flaming nimbus. He is flanked by seated men with nimbi whose faces are visible and probably represent Abrahamic prophets. Below on the left, a bareheaded man is beaten as he is led away by a noose. The text on the facing page refers to an augury relating to imams Husayn and Hasan, who killed a certain Qalman al-Mosuli. It is uncertain, however, if it corresponds to the illustration, because Hasan and Husayn traditionally would have been shown with their faces covered.²⁴ A second painting of a blue-cloaked man on a camel differs in scale and composition but probably also dates from the 1540s. The veiled figure addresses another man holding a spade as a third watches the exchange from behind a hillside. The rider's veiled face and nimbus indicate his sanctity, and the accompanying text refers to him as Imam Riza but it does not explain the episode (fig. 5.10).

Notwithstanding their state of preservation, these illustrations are of considerable art historical importance. They confirm that the tradition of large-scale pictorial auguries must have predated the dispersed *Falnama*, attributed to the late 1550s and early 1560s, and that at least by the 1540s Safavid painters were experimenting with new subject matter, content, and format. Like the Ahmed I *Falnama*, the Dresden volume represents a compilation of illustrations completed over several decades, from about the 1540s to the 1590s. Most of the painted folios may have been intended originally as independent pictorial auguries, similar to those owned by Hoça Mehmed, which circulated in the sixteenth century both in Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Iran. Alternatively, they may have formed part of one or more bound copies that were taken apart and then compiled into the current volume. Even if the images originally were conceived together with related text folios, these have not survived. Instead, a series of relatively hastily copied folios were penned when the manuscript was collated sometime in the last decades of the sixteenth century, probably in Turkey.²⁵ The inclusion of an image such as *Muhammad and Ali at Ghadir Khumm* (fig. 5.4), which for the Shi'i marks the Prophet's appointment of Ali as his rightful successor, suggests this *Falnama* was probably intended for an individual or cultural and religious environment with relatively heterodox views. While lacking the visual homogeneity of the dispersed or the Persian Topkapı copies or the more finished appearance of the Ahmed I volume, the Dresden *Falnama* affirms the creation of large-scale pictorial auguries in Iran since at least the 1540s. Some of the illustrations were associated with artists active in the Persian capital; others were probably produced at other centers to meet the demand for monumental pictorial auguries, especially in anticipation of the Islamic millennium. ■



Fig. 5.9 (top): Enthroned scene, *Falnama*, Iran, 1540s, SLUB E445, f.39b. Fig. 5.10 (bottom): Imam Riza (?) and Man Conversing, *Falnama*, Iran, 1540s, SLUB E445, f.26b

The Falnama of Ahmed I (TSM H.1703)

Serpil Bağcı

The only extant pictorial *Falnama* in Ottoman Turkish is also the only one with a detailed preface, which offers invaluable information about this particular copy as well as the genre as a whole.¹ Written in elegant *naskh* script, it states that the manuscript was compiled as a gift for Sultan Ahmed I (reigned 1603–17) (fig. 6.1).

This is the Book of Auguries of His Majesty the Padishah, Refuge of the World and Shadow of God. May God perpetuate his regency and kingdom until the day of the last of days. . . . He is the sultan, son of a sultan; emperor, son of an emperor, His Majesty Ahmed Khan, whose lineage goes back uninterrupted to the son of Osman. May God perpetuate the days of his kingship and fortune and strengthen the foundation of his glory and magnificence.

The preface then continues by identifying the *Falnama*'s compiler and the method he used to create it.

This humble writer [i.e., Kalender], the least and most insignificant of his servants and lowliest of the slaves in his retinue, who has been inundated by his generosity and liberality among the respected viziers, the servant Kalender has gathered, arranged, and adorned these above-mentioned pages [evrak] and plates [elvah]—illustrated, gilded, and beautifully written—[and] presented them as a gift to his imperial presence.²

Kalender began his career as a court usher (*çavuş*), and his rise to power was carefully recorded in contemporary sources. The historian Selaniki (died after 1600) reported that in 1598 Kalender was appointed a trustee of the endowments of Selim I (reigned 1512–20), and by February 1600 he had become a steward of the gate (*kapu kedhüdasi*), a courtier of high rank.³ Another contemporary historian, Mehmed bin Mehmed (died 1640–41), describes Kalender's personality by stating he was a mild and abstinent man (*mutedil ve perhizkar*), who enjoyed the support of influential court eunuchs.⁴ As a protégé of Mustafa Aga (died 1624), the powerful chief eunuch of Ahmed I, Kalender was named second treasurer (*defterdar-ı sani*). In 1610 Sultan Ahmed began construction of his royal mosque on an auspicious day (*vakt-i said*) specified by the court astronomer, as was customary with major royal projects.⁵ Soon thereafter, he appointed Kalender as the building supervisor (*bina emini*) and keeper of the revenue (*hafız-ı mal*). In November 1614, Kalender became vizier, a post he held until his death two years later. Since he refers to himself as "pasha" in the *Falnama* preface, suggesting he had already received the rank of vizier, he must have compiled the work in the last years of his life, between November 1614 and May 1616.⁶

The Ottoman historian Mustafa Ali added a verse epilogue devoted to Kalender in his celebrated *Menakib-i hünerveran* (Biographies of artists), completed in 1587. Ali's eulogizing poetry described Kalender as an accomplished and multi-talented artist.



*This distinguished vassal was a man of talent; he had no match among his skillful peers
In every composition where he joined together paper of all colors, a rainbow appeared on the face of the page
No one could possibly detect the seams, even the most visionary eyes would think it a single piece
When he joined paper and leather, not a word, not a sound from those who could split a hair into forty
That perfect Creator decorated him with the art of halkâr [illumination with gold pigment], zerefşân [gold sprinkling], and of affixing pervâz and cedvel [margins and frames] to the works
Like the sweet sherbet of union for heartbroken lovers, he brings withered paper back to life with his remedies
Should they say, "And who is he?" and doubt his fame, come, O pen, and write down your answer with this couplet:
That mine of talent that they call Usher Kalender, do not wonder if the Crescent Moon—a ring on his ear!—becomes his slave
The illuminations he has made around the margins, full of knots, every one of them binds a knot around the feet of mind
No one possessed so many calligraphic compositions, no one expended so much on artistic talent.⁷*



Fig. 6.2. Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise, attributed to Hasan Pasha, *Falnama*, Turkey, Istanbul, ca. 1610-15, TSM H.1703, f.7b (cat. 14)

Prior to the *Falnama*, Kalender assembled two other manuscripts for Ahmed I, who appears to have regularly consulted and even annotated the volumes in his treasury.⁸ The first is a fine album of calligraphies that recalls Timurid and Safavid models in its format and organization. The preface, written by an unidentified chief military judge, records that Kalender prepared the volume as a royal gift to commemorate his appointment as supervisor of the royal mosque in 1610 (fig. 6.3).⁹ The sultan must have been particularly pleased with Kalender's work, for shortly afterwards he commissioned him to prepare another album of paintings and calligraphies. In the preface, Kalender states the content was drawn from existing works in the treasury, including Ahmed's own calligraphic exercises.¹⁰ The album contains calligraphies, together with portraits of Ottoman sultans, narrative scenes, and drawings and paintings of single figures, including an intriguing portrait of Imam Ali carrying his sons Hasan and Husayn on his shoulders (fig. 6.4). While many of the compositions are Ottoman in origin, others are either Safavid or Ottoman adaptations of Safavid themes. The overall design of the folios also recalls mid-sixteenth-century Safavid works in the Topkapı Palace Library, which may have served, in part, as a source of inspiration for Kalender's royal commission.¹¹

In its structure and organization, the *Falnama* resembles Kalender's two earlier royal projects. It opens with a preface, and the content is an aggregate of autonomous elements—independently conceived pictorial auguries that Kalender identified, gathered, assembled, and juxtaposed with newly written prognostications. To integrate text and image and to create a unified ensemble, he added personally illuminated borders as well as frontispieces and finispieces to the volume (fig. 6.5). These illuminated designs (*halkârî*) differ from Kalender's signed monogram (*tuğra*) of Ahmed I on folio 1a, which confirms the manuscript's royal provenance and showcases the vizier-cum-illuminator's skill in working in different styles of illumination (fig. 6.6).

While the illustrations vary in style and execution, the text is written in consistently fine *naskh* and probably was copied by a single calligrapher, which also unifies the volume. Each augury begins with two couplets introducing the subject and concludes with nine lines of prose for the prognostication. The overall content and format recall the text of the dispersed Safavid copy, but it is rendered in Ottoman Turkish and based on different stylistic and aesthetic norms (see appendix A).¹²

In general, the paintings share many of the same themes found in other *Falnamas* with particular emphasis on Abrahamic prophets. Except for one illustration depicting Imam Riza rescuing the sea people from a menacing demon (cat. 29) and another identified as Husayn at Kerbala (folio 15b), Shi'i-inspired scenes are devoted primarily to the miraculous and heroic deeds of Imam Ali. Although most closely identified with Shi'is, Ali was also deeply revered by the Sunnis as the Prophet Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, and as a member of the *Ahl al-bayt* (People of the house), as Muhammad's immediate family is known. Ali's presence in the Ahmed I *Falnama* would not have been considered unusual or unorthodox for a Sunni audience. Depictions of the Prophet were also quite common in sixteenth-century Ottoman illustrated manuscripts, as is evident

from the three copies of *Zübde't-t-tevarih* (Essence of histories) of circa 1583, and the only illustrated manuscript of the *Siyer-i nebi*, a biography of the Prophet, completed in 1595. It is surprising, therefore, that there are no recognizable depictions of the prophet Muhammad in the Ahmed I volume.¹³ Instead, the pictorial omens begin with *The Poet Sa'di Dressed as a Monk* (cat. 36), attributed to the Ottoman painter Hasan Pasha (died circa 1620), followed by *Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise* (cat. 14; fig. 6.2), probably executed by Nakşi (died after 1622)—two of Kalender's well-known contemporaries.¹⁴ Active from about 1580 to 1620, both artists played a critical role in shaping the arts of the book at this time and contributed to several important royal manuscripts.¹⁵ While Kalender claims that he "gathered and arranged" the folios of his *Falnama*, implying that they already existed, these two illustrations were probably commissioned specifically for the volume. They also differ from the other paintings in the volume in representing a "purer" Ottoman style, one that avoids the synthesis of Ottoman and Safavid pictorial conventions, resulting in a new hybrid pictorial language.¹⁶

Other than the paintings of Hasan Pasha and Nakşi, the works in this volume can be divided into two main groups. The majority relies on boldly conceived, brightly colored, and loosely drawn compositions. Details are kept mostly to a minimum, and the stylized figures appear in simplified settings with large flowering plants. The second group shows closer affinity to Safavid pictorial ideals of the third quarter of the sixteenth century, with a preference for more detailed compositions, carefully drawn figures, and a subtler palette.¹⁷ Stylistic nuances within both

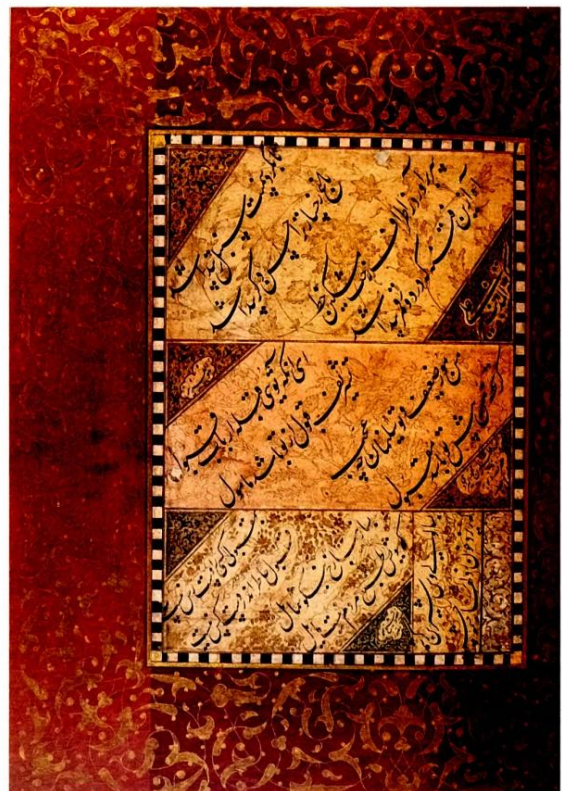
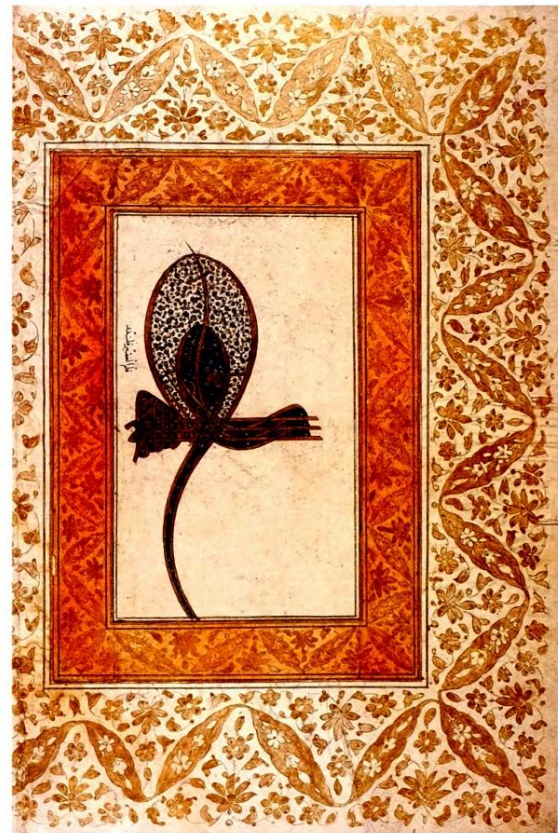
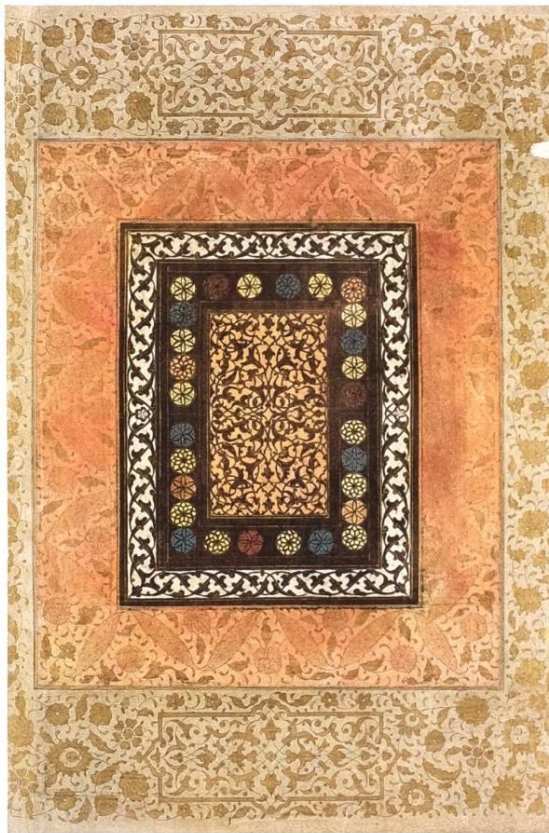


Fig. 6.3. Folio of calligraphy, Turkey, ca. 1610, TSM H.2171, f.26a



Fig. 6.4. Folio of figural compositions, Turkey, ca. 1610, TSM B.408, f.15a



groups suggest the illustrations were painted by several artists who may have been part of the same workshop or lived in the same urban center. Even if the works cannot be identified with a particular location at this time, they represent an alternative visual language to the ones traditionally associated with the metropolitan styles of Safavid Qazvin and Ottoman Istanbul in the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

Kalender makes no reference to extant text folios, suggesting the images must have been originally conceived as autonomous works of the type that were available in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Istanbul.¹⁸ According to Selaniki, on the occasion of the celebrations marking the circumcision of the sons of the *cerrah* (surgeon) and later grand vizier Mehmed Pashain in 1597, wondrous images, allegedly gifts from the Persian ruler, were displayed on curtains and wooden fences around the city.¹⁹ Although Selaniki specifies neither the subject nor the purpose of these illustrations, several independent paintings, which recall the pictorial auguries in the Ahmed I *Falnama*, have survived. Ranging in date from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, they have been identified as possible visual props for storytelling (fig. 6.7).²⁰ By gathering these autonomous images into a codex and adding relevant text, Kalender both transformed and “fixed” their meaning and created a more standardized method of prognostication for his royal patron. Much like the three other monumental *Falnamas*, the addition of text must have eliminated the need for an intermediary; the seeker, in this case the all-powerful sultan, could now serve both as seer of the present and interpreter of the future.

As mentioned in essay 1 (“The Art of Bibliomancy”), the *Raznama* (Book of secrets) dedicated to Murad III (reigned

1574–95), the grandfather of Ahmed I, attests to the popularity of bibliomancy among the Ottoman intellectual elite in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Murad III also commissioned an Ottoman translation of the *Kitab al-bulhan* (Book of wonderment), which became known as the *Metali’ü’s-sa’adet ve yenabi’ü’s-siyadet* (Ascensions of felicity and sources of ascendancy).²¹ In 1582 the sultan presented two illustrated copies of the text to his daughters Ayşe and Fatma, perhaps during the ceremonies related to the circumcision of their brother Mehmed III (cat. 67).²² Both volumes open with a portrait of the sultan, seated in the privacy of a garden pavilion, consulting the very manuscript he has commissioned (fig. 6.8). Although the volumes were intended for the royal princesses, the portraits confirm the sultan’s personal interest in prognostication and his direct link to the text.

Another manifestation of Murad’s interests in the occult and the twin sciences of astrology and astronomy was the construction of the celebrated observatory in Galata, the European quarter of Istanbul (fig. 6.9). The chief astronomer, Taki al-Din Muhammed al-Rasid ibn Maruf (died 1585), requested a new observatory where he could revise astronomical tables based on fresh observations and update astronomical treatises. With the additional support of the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (died 1579) and Murad’s teacher Hoca Sadeddin Efendi (died 1599), the construction began in the early months of 1575 and probably was completed in 1577. That November a comet sighted over Istanbul caused a great commotion and was interpreted by Taki al-Din as a good sign for victory over the Safavids. Although the Ottoman army was relatively successful, the powerful chief mufti (*şeyhülislam*) Kadızade Şemseddin Ahmed attributed a

plague and the numerous deaths among the Istanbul elite to what he called the inauspicious effect of the comet and the incorrect predictions of Taki al-Din. Kadizade's pronouncements played an important role in the final royal decision to demolish the observatory in January/February 1580.²³ During its brief existence, and under Taki al-Din's supervision, fifteen astronomers completed several measurements and recorded the dimensions, distances, angles, and elevations of the stellar bodies.²⁴ Curiously, contemporary Ottoman and Western sources attribute the construction of the observatory to Murad's interest in astrology and prognostication rather than to his scientific concerns.²⁵

In the same decade, Murad III also began to commission texts on dreams, exotic lands, esoteric matters, and mysterious events and stories. These include a lavishly illustrated copy of *Tarih-i hindi gharbi* (Story of the West Indies), an account of the discovery of the Americas and the Western Indies²⁶; Turkish translations of *Aja'ib al-makluqat* (Wonders of creation)²⁷; and stories based on the *Arabian Nights*.²⁸ Another important manuscript was a six-volume copy of *Siyer-i nebi*, the Prophet Muhammad's biography, filled with colorful accounts of his divine and miraculous powers, such as the splitting of the moon and the healing of a sick child, subjects that are also included in the *Falnamas*. With its 814

illustrations, this work pays tribute both to the Prophet's exalted memory and to popular religious narratives.²⁹

Ottoman interest in such texts coincided with the ascendancy of the members of the sultan's household, especially his mother, daughters, sons, slave girls, and other favorites, as well as the eunuchs who guarded and controlled the harem.³⁰ In his *Künhü'l-ahbar* (Essence of history), Mustafa Ali maintained that during the reign of Murad III, court eunuchs grew even more powerful than the grand vizier, and several members of the harem were among the sultan's closest confidants. One was Gazanfer Aga, the chief white eunuch of the harem and overseer of the palace; another was Canfeda Hatun, the mistress housekeeper (*kedbanu-i harem*) in charge of educating the women of the harem and Murad's children. Both individuals were closely related to Nurbanu Sultan, the queen mother.³¹ The influential harem network also included Sufi shaykhs who served as the sultan's dream interpreters and consultants and were believed to possess miraculous powers (*keramet*). At times, the women of the harem, who were primarily attached to the Halveti mystical orders, played an intermediary role between the sultan and the shaykhs and directly supported the Sufi organizations.³²

Murad's two daughters must have belonged to this influential inner circle of women with an interest in the occult sciences.



Fig. 6.7. Hamza Riding the Simurq. Iran, 15th century, TSM H.2152, f.64a



earlier but no longer extant version of the *Miftah*.³⁶ Richly illustrated, it includes depictions of the signs of the Apocalypse, such as the last hidden imam (the Mahdi), the Antichrist (Dajjal), and the Beast of the earth (*Dabbat al-arz*), who also appear in the various *Falnama* manuscripts. Similarly, many of the themes in the anonymous *Ahval-i kiyamet*, such as the Last Judgment, heaven, and hell, also are incorporated into the *Falnamas* as pictorial omens of the punishments and rewards awaiting mankind.³⁷

Like his grandfather, Ahmed I frequently consulted the influential shaykhs of the Halveti order about his dreams.³⁸ According to the author Evliya Çelebi (died 1682), the sultan removed the stone footprints of the Prophet (*kadem-i şerif*) from the tomb of the Mamluk sultan Qaytbay (reigned 1468–96) in Egypt so they could be installed in his newly built mosque. The night before the inauguration, Ahmed I dreamt that Qaytbay had accused him of stealing the reliquary in a law court presided over by the prophets. After listening to the Mamluk ruler, the Prophet Muhammad advised Ahmed I to return the footprints to Cairo. The next morning, the Ottoman ruler consulted his dream interpreters, the Halveti shaykhs, who urged him to send back the relics, which he did immediately.³⁹

Ahmed I was particularly devout, as is confirmed in the *Zübdetü't-tevarih* (Essence of the histories), a two-volume history of his reign. The text was written by Mustafa Safi, the sultan's personal prayer leader (*imam-ı sultani*), who devoted the entire first volume to the sultan's personality and piety. The author also

The lavishly illustrated copies of the *Metali'ü's-sa'adet ve yenabi'ü's-siyadet* include not only different *falnamas* but also chapters on dream interpretation, physiognomy, and talismans (fig. 6.10). Such texts likely were used regularly in the harem for the preparation of talismans. According to the historian Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, Murad's favorite (*haseki*) wife, Safiye, prepared a talisman to keep the sultan away from other concubines. The queen mother, however, cured him with an antidote that countered the talisman's effects.³³ An extant talismanic shirt, probably presented to Murad III by his mother, indicates Nurbanu's reliance on magic and the science of the occult to protect her son.³⁴

During the second half of the sixteenth century, interest in divination, the occult, and eschatology manifested itself in several unusual illustrated manuscripts, including the *Tercüme-i miftah-i jifr al-jami* (Translation of the key to the comprehensive prognostication) (cat. 54; figs. 8.1, 8.5, 8.6) and the *Ahval-i kiyamet* (The circumstances of the day of resurrection) (fig. 6.11), which have been attributed to the reigns of Ahmed I and his father Mehmed III (reigned 1595–1603). Originally written in Arabic by Abd al-Rahman al-Bistami (died circa 1455) perhaps for Murad II (reigned 1421–44), the *Tercüme-i miftah-i jifr al-jami* evidently continued to be interpreted and updated after its completion, for it includes descriptions of Ottoman sultans after the fifteenth century.³⁵ In 1597–98 Şerif bin Seyyid Mehmed bin Seyyid Burhan translated and expanded the text, probably at the suggestion of Gazanfer Aga, chief eunuch for Mehmed III. Şerif bin Seyyid stated that he was given an "illustrated" Arabic copy from the imperial treasury (*Hazine-i amire*), which confirms the existence of an



Fig. 6.8 (left): Murad III in his Library, *Metali'ü's-sa'ada*, Turkey, ca. 1582, PML M788, f.6b. Fig. 6.9 (right): Observatory at Galata Seray, *Şehinşahnâme*, Turkey, 1581, IUL F1404, f.56b



included a fascinating anecdote about an organ-clock with mechanical figurines, a gift from Elizabeth I of England to the father of Ahmed I, which exemplified the sultan's attitude toward sculptural forms. Safi maintained the sultan destroyed the organ-clock with his own hands because he objected to the "images of figures and assemblage of depicted individuals" (*suver-i eşkal ve cem'iyet-i şuhus-ı timsal*) "especially near the abode of worship" (*husususan makam-ı ta'at ve ibadet-i huday-i mute'âlde*).⁴⁰

It cannot be a coincidence that the subject of the first painting in the Ahmed I *Falnama* also refers to the organ-clock episode and serves as a pictorial warning against idolatry, much like *Azure Monastery* in the dispersed *Falnama* (cat. 37).⁴¹ The predominance of prophets and their miraculous deeds, coupled with the unusual use and function of the images, may have persuaded Kalender that the illustrations were more likely to encourage veneration than those of other texts. Kalender's preface both grounds the *Falnama* in the past and justifies its current use.

*Mystics and ecstatics who fully understand and comprehend the way of the world have confirmed that the history of past nations is a manual for people and that it is appropriate to learn lessons from those who have preceded [us]. . . .*⁴²

According to Kalender, the images and text were embodiments of wisdom and knowledge of the past that would guide future generations of sovereigns, such as Sultan Ahmed. In fact, it was essential for rulers to consider and contemplate the deeds of deceased prophets, rulers, and saints and to comprehend, by analogy, the implications and outcomes of their own deeds. The

vizier concludes, "If you wish power and glory to increase for you, let your gaze always be upon past events."⁴³ These past events were made visible through the images and text gathered in the *Falnama*. Kalender's carefully worded preface justified both the practice of pictorial divination and the creation of a personal copy for Ahmed I.

It is difficult to determine Kalender's reason for choosing a *Falnama* as a royal gift, but it probably was compiled and presented to commemorate his appointment to the *divan* (royal privy council) in 1614. The gesture confirms not only the new vizier's close relationship to Ahmed I and his familiarity with the sultan's artistic taste and intellectual interests but also his confidence in gaining royal approval for a rather unorthodox offering. Like most of the other illustrated Ottoman eschatological texts, the *Falnama* was compiled well after the advent of the Islamic millennium in 1000 AH (1591–92), but the paintings probably were produced shortly before the much-anticipated event. Although some of the angst and anxiety about the Apocalypse must have subsided, the Ahmed I *Falnama* suggests interest in the subject had not stopped, and in fact, it continued into the new century. Image and text effectively were still used to describe the end of the known world and encourage seekers to lead righteous lives to fulfill their temporal wishes and gain eternal salvation. By gathering extant illustrations and adding new text and prognostications, however, Kalender fixed and determined the meaning of the images, thus offering his royal patron a more codified series of interpretations that were well suited to guide even the sultan in his actions and decisions. ■

EXHIBITION CATALOGUE

Word as Protection

1

Standard (*alam*)

Inscribed: Koran 48:1–3

Signed by Ustad Ibrahim

Iran, Safavid period, 1711

Pierced steel; 94.5 × 46 cm

The Tanavoli Collection, no. 57

Published:

Allan 2000, p. 53; Allan and Gilmour 2000, p. 275.

Among Shi'i communities, standards (*alam*) are believed to represent replicas of those carried by Imam Husayn during the fateful battle of Karbala in 680.¹ By the latter part of the sixteenth century, they were used during military campaigns and religious ceremonies and in sacred spaces, as depicted in several *Falnama* illustrations.² Placed on top of shafts to maximize their visibility, Safavid standards varied in size, shape, and quality, but the most common type was almond-shaped and rose into an ornamental blade flanked by two arching leaves. They often were stabilized by a tubular frame that terminated in a pair of projecting dragonheads, which created a menacing silhouette.

Safavid standards usually were made from pierced, cut, and incised steel to create elegant designs and inscriptions. With texts ranging from the names of God and Muhammad to elaborate Koranic verses, these standards served as portable memorials that invoked the power of God and his Prophet, the “opener.”

This large standard, dated to 1711, lacks the dragonheads and blade-like finials. Instead, it is adorned with a central revolving sphere. As James Allan has remarked, this type of standard was made up of several parts that were not necessarily all steel. He also has proposed they were probably produced in the Safavid capital of Isfahan, which was known as an important center for the steel-working industry.³

MF



Standard (*alam*)

Signed: *amal-i Kamal al-Din Mahmud Nazuk fi sana 966*
(the work of Kamal al-Din Mahmud Nazuk, in the year 1587)

Central medallion: *Allah wali al-tawfiq*

(Allah, the one who grants success)

Scalloped medallion: *Ya fataha* (O opener)

Top medallion: *Huwa* (He is)

Iran, Safavid period, 17th century

Pierced steel; 95.5 × 26.5 cm

The Tanavoli Collection, no. 59

Published:

Allan 2000, no. 50; Allan and Gilmour 2000, p. 265.

This Safavid standard bears the name of its maker, Kamal al-Din Mahmud Nazuk, and the year 966 AH (1587), a date that is about a century later than other signed works by the same artist.⁴ This “signature” must have been added at a later time, for the style of the elegant standard with its projecting dragonhead and “blade” finials is characteristic of early seventeenth-century Iran.

MF



Standard (*alam*)

Inscribed, central medallion: *Koran* 59:20-21. [the date] 1122

Base of upper section: *amal-i* [work of] *Mir Taj al-Din*

Top: *Allah, Muhammad, Ali*

Iran, probably Isfahan, Safavid period, 1710 (1122 AH)

Cut and pierced steel; 295 cm (h.)

M. A. Collection, Dubai

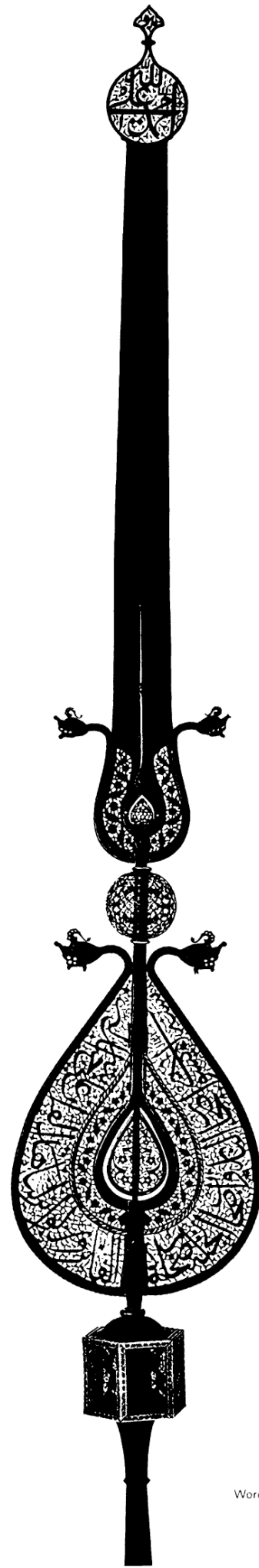
Published:

Christie's, London, 8 April 2008, lot 201.

Inscribed with verses 20 and 21 from sura 59 of the *Koran*,⁵ the central almond-shaped panel of this standard recalls the one in the Tanavoli Collection by Ustad Ibrahim (cat. 1), which has been attributed to an Isfahani workshop.⁶

The imposing standard comprises three sections. In the lower half, a tapering shaft, which originally must have been fitted with a wooden pole, terminates in a pierced hexagonal box. The main panel, with its elegant Koranic inscription, screws at one end into the top of the hexagon and at the other end into a pierced sphere. Like the Tanavoli example, it has a swiveling central core, but in addition it is framed by a twisted steel cord that terminates in two pronounced dragonheads, a typical feature of Safavid and later Qajar standards. A tall, flat blade, nestled in the curve of another pair of dragon finials, rises from the sphere and ends in a round, pierced medallion inscribed with the names of Allah, Muhammad, and Ali. According to an eighteenth-century Russian observer, when the standards were lifted, they swayed gently in the air.⁷ The addition of slender rising blades to the central panels appears in some late seventeenth-century standards, but it becomes typical of nineteenth-century ones, lending considerable height, presence, and visibility to these ceremonial objects.⁸ Together with the central swiveling sphere, the blade must have lent the standard a distinct kinetic dimension, contributing to the drama and theatricality of Shi'i processions and rituals.

MF





4

Talismanic shirt

Turkey, Ottoman period, late 16th century
Gold, black and colored ink on cotton;
85.5 cm (l.); 115 cm (w. between arms)
Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, 13/1184

Published:

Tezcan [2006], pp. 108–10; Sülün [2006], pp. 178–81.

In much of the Islamic world, undergarments adorned with Koranic verses and prayers, talismanic letters, or their numerological equivalents were worn as protection against misfortune, illness,

evil forces, and enemies. Called a suit of armor (*zırh* in Ottoman and *zirih* in Persian), they were associated with the prophet Joseph's shirt, which also is mentioned in the Koran (12:93, 96) for restoring the eyesight of Jacob, Joseph's father. To increase the garments' potency, they allegedly were started and finished on certain days and hours determined by an astrologer. Depending on the rank and status of the wearer, the quality of the material and the design also could vary considerably.

The owner of this short-sleeved shirt is not known, but its lavish design, extensive use of gold and lapis lazuli, and the variety of motifs and calligraphic styles suggest a royal patron. Both the front and back are covered with Koranic verses, and sura 48, "The Victory" (*al-Fath*), is repeated several times. In addition, the inclusion of several verses with words derived from the Arabic root



f-t-h suggest the shirt probably was meant to be worn during battle.⁹

The main decorative panel on the front centers on a pair of rectangles with a large inscription in *thuluth* script.¹⁰ The left one carries the invocation of the *basmala* ("in the name of God"), and the one on the right has the first verse of sura 48. That entire chapter as well as sura 36 (*Ya-sin*), considered "the heart of the Koran,"¹¹ appear within the larger letters. A pair of medallions marked with the seventeenth chapter (*al-Isra*), which begins with the Prophet's night journey, appears above. Below the central rectangles, two large diamond-shaped panels are inscribed with the *shahada* (declaration of faith) and the names of the Prophet and the four caliphs in gold square *kufic* script.

The shirt also is inscribed with the celebrated panegyric on the Prophet Muhammad, known as the *Qasida-i burda* (Poem of the

mantle), by Sharaf al-Din Muhammad bin Said al-Busiri (died 1296). According to some Arabic poet biographies, when Busiri suffered a stroke, he dreamt that Muhammad put his mantle (*burda*) on him and cured his paralysis.¹² Such accounts helped underline the talismanic properties of the *Poem of the mantle*, and it frequently was inscribed on garments for its protective and healing attributes. The rest of the surface is covered with additional verses from the Koran, words, letters, and numbers, thus creating a web of dense and dynamic decorative motifs that transforms the fine white cotton garment into a splendid calligraphic armor. The undergarment's overall style relates to sixteenth-century Ottoman album painting, suggesting it probably was conceived and executed by an artist of the imperial library who was familiar with the principles of manuscript design.

SB

Divination bowl

Iran, Safavid period, mid-16th century

Copper alloy; 5.1 cm × 18.3 cm (h. × diam.)

Courtesy of the Khalili Family Trust,

Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, MTW 1378

Published:

Maddison and Savage-Smith 1997, no. 29; Thompson and Canby

2003, no. 9.2.

Since at least the twelfth century, Islamic belief in the inherent healing properties of the word of God inspired, in part, the production of so-called magic-medicinal bowls.¹³ Although relatively few of these vessels are signed and dated, they seem to have been produced throughout the Islamic world, and each region developed its own distinct style and type.¹⁴

Examples from Safavid Iran frequently combine pious verses with astrological signs; such is the case with this hemispherical bowl. Made from a copper alloy and unusually dark in color, the vessel's exterior is decorated with twelve ogival medallions, each one engraved with a zodiac sign silhouetted against a vegetal scroll. The interior incorporates six large roundels that alternate with smaller ones and enclose one of six planets (counter-

clockwise: Moon, Jupiter, Venus, Mars, Mercury, and Saturn).

A personified Sun rests in the center. The fact that Mercury is shown with an astrolabe rather than the traditional table perhaps indicates the bowl was associated with an astrological rather than a medicinal purpose. On both the exterior and interior, the interstices between the planetary and zodiac symbols are inscribed with densely packed prayers, invocations, and Koranic verses, including *al-Baqara*, the Throne verse (2:55–58), and *al-Fath* (48:1–18), also recited before choosing an augury. Curiously, the bowl omits the names of the *chaharda ma'sum*, the "fourteen infallible ones" (the Prophet, his daughter Fatima, and the twelve Shi'i imams), a common feature of Safavid metalwork during this period.

MF



Divination bowl

Iran, Safavid period, mid-16th century

Chased and engraved copper; 5.7 × 19.8 cm (h. x diam.)

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C., s1997.38

Unpublished.

This hemispherical divination bowl relates to a group that incorporates magic numbers and pious invocations. The inclusion of the names and titles of the twelve Shi'i imams suggests such vessels were made specifically for a Shi'i community.¹⁵

The bowl is centered on a smooth boss with the names of Muhammad and Ali repeated four times; the word "Ali" is skillfully placed to create an elegant four-petal design.¹⁶ An inscription band with the Shi'i imams encircles the central protrusion, while the interior walls are decorated with twelve intersecting circles, perhaps also representing the Twelve Imams. The overlapping areas are filled with magic numbers neatly arranged in rows; the remaining spaces are covered with pious verses and invocations. Prayers in *nasta'liq* script also appear on the vessel's narrow lip,



and another wide band below the bowl's rim on the exterior repeats the imams' names and titles. This particular bowl seems to be the only one of the group to combine magic numbers, pious verses, and astrological motifs: twelve tightly fitted circular medallions, each one incised with a zodiacal sign, surround the exterior's main panel.

As two bowls in this group are signed by a certain Husayn Kashani, and one was owned by a Sultan Kashani, Emilie Savage-Smith has proposed they were made in the central Iranian city of Kashan. An important artistic, commercial, and political center in the mid-sixteenth century, Kashan appears to have been one of the leading producers of divination bowls in the Safavid era. This example is probably also from the same city.¹⁷

MF



Koran

Iran, probably Shiraz, 1560s-1570s

Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper; 36 × 24 cm

Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS.1548,

ff.251a-252b

Published:

Arberry 1955-66, no. 164.

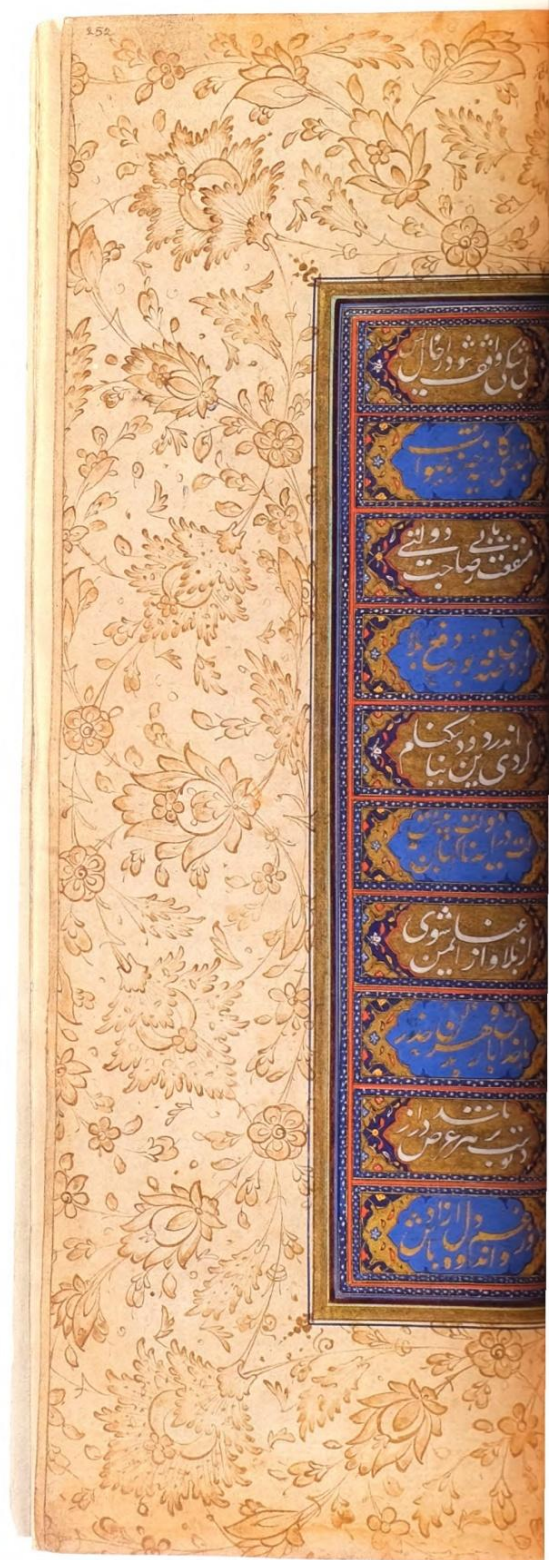
Like many of the finest sixteenth-century Korans, this volume is notable for its sumptuous illumination, fine calligraphy, and inclusion of a *falnama*. Following a lavishly designed double-page spread of prayers, the calligrapher and illuminator introduce the divination tables distinguished by their predominantly gold and blue color scheme. The opening distiches, written in *nasta'liq* script in either white ink on a gold ground or gold ink on a blue ground, outline the method of prognostication, which closely follows those of the Safavid Koran in the Khalili Collection (cat. 8). As is customary, an Arabic prayer in elegant *muhaqqaq* script follows the instructions.

*O God, I trust in you and take an augury from your book, so show me what is hidden in your innermost secret and knowledge of the unseen. You are the truth, and you sent down the truth, in your excellence and generosity through Muhammad, your servant and prophet. Oh God, pray [for] Muhammad.*¹⁸

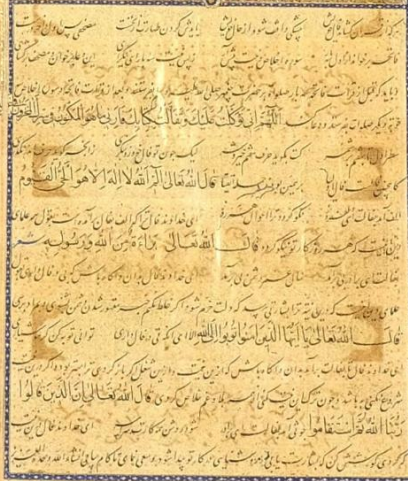
The "table" of prognostications consists of a series of distiches keyed to a letter of the alphabet, beginning with *alif* and ending with *ya*, which appear in a column on the right. For instance, for the letter *dal*, the text maintains that the enemy (*dushman*) has turned the other way; thus, the seeker should be happy, and his or her heart will be free from sadness and melancholy. In comparison to the auguries in the Khalili Koran, these are short and appear only in verse, which is typical of most sixteenth-century Koranic *falnamas*.

The lavish illumination of this unsigned and undated Koran, which marks the different text divisions, relates to several other copies produced in Shiraz between the 1560s and the 1580s. A considerable number of these Korans also conclude with *falnamas* that are as notable for their exuberant illumination as for their content.

MF



[illegible]

[illegible]

Koran

Iran, Shiraz, July-August 1552 (Shaban 959 AH)

Ink, gold, and opaque watercolor on paper; 42.7 × 30 cm

Courtesy of the Khalili Family Trust,

Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, QUR 729, ff.201b-202a

Not in exhibition

Published:

Falk 1985, cat. 66; James 1992, no. 43; Piotrovsky and Vrieze 1999, no. 52; Thompson and Canby 2003, nos. 6.15, 6.16, 6.17; Rogers 2007, pp. 78–79.

One of the most extensive *falnamas* appears in a grand Safavid Koran attributed to Shah Tahmasb's patronage.¹⁹ Titled *fi'l tafa'ul min kalam Allah ta'ala* (For the divination of the word of the Almighty God), this *falnama* begins with an elegantly illuminated *sarlauh* (opening cartouche) and runs for four pages. Written in *nasta'liq*, the lines of Persian poetry and prose are interrupted at irregular intervals with Koranic verses in *muhaqqaq*, lending the folios an unusual calligraphic effect. As is typical of other Safavid Koranic divination manuals, the text opens with relatively detailed versified instructions: the seeker is to perform his or her ablutions (*taharat*); then obtain a complete copy of the Koran (*mashafi az aval ta akhar durust*); repeat three times the *Fatiha*, the Koran's opening chapter, followed by chapter 112, *al-Ikhlās* (Faith), a wish, and a prayer before opening the volume to a random page. Before reading the prognostication, the seeker must repeat the *Fatiha* three times again and then give blessings (*salavat*) to the Prophet Muhammad. After the prognostication has been read, the last steps are repeated (reciting three times the *Fatiha*, *surat al-Ikhlās*, and blessings on the Prophet).

Once the seeker has completed the preliminaries, he or she must count seven lines from the top of the opened page; the

seventh letter is the key to the prognostication.²⁰ Each letter of the alphabet and its significance is the subject of a distich, followed by a detailed gloss in prose and a Koranic verse. For instance, if the seventh letter of the seventh line is an *alif*, the text states it is an auspicious augury and the seeker is blessed in his daily endeavors (*niku gardad tura aval-i har ruz*). Much like the auguries in the pictorial *Falnamas*, the prose glosses begin with *ay khudavand-i fal, bedan va agah bash* (O seeker of the *fal*, know and be aware) but also validate the prognostications by attributing them to the "sayings of religious scholars" (*ba qul-i ulamma-yi din*). Both prose and verse repeat and explain the auguries and lend them religious legitimacy, a characteristic that is as distinct to this Koranic *falnama* as the combination of the two different formats.

The simple yet elegant design also differs from the richly illuminated geometric tables of most sixteenth-century volumes associated with Shiraz. The more detailed prognostications, incorporating Persian verse, prose, and Koranic verses, suggest the compiler must have enjoyed considerable freedom in determining the content and format and in lending this Koranic *falnama* a distinct voice.

MF

Koran

Copied by Shaykh Hamdullah

Illuminated by Hasan ibn Abdullah

Turkey, Ottoman period, 1503 (909 AH)

Ink, gold, and opaque watercolor on paper; 32.2 × 23 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A5, ff.372b, 374a

Published:

Karatay 1962–69, no. 800; Çağman 1983, no. E16;

Raby and Tanındı 1993, no. 40.

Most Korans with *falnamas* were produced in Iran, but a few Ottoman examples are also known. This small, elegant copy is written in *naskh* script on smooth and glossy cream-colored paper of the finest quality. It is signed by the celebrated sixteenth-century calligrapher Shaykh Hamdullah of Amasya (died 1520) for the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II (reigned 1481–1512). The sultan's name appears in a dedication that further states the copy was written "to be read by the Sultan,"²¹ suggesting its enclosed *falnama* also was intended for the royal patron. In the same year, Shaykh Hamdullah received a payment of seven thousand *akçe* and a robe of honor. Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı have suggested the reward may have been for this Koran.²² The calligrapher not only enjoyed the sultan's patronage but also instructed him in the art of calligraphy and served as chief court scribe during Bayezid's reign. Known for his mastery of *naskh*, Shaykh Hamdullah is associated with some forty-seven Korans, of which at least two include divination tables.²³

Inserted at the end of the volume, the *falnama* (folios 372b–374a), titled *fal al-kalam al-majid* (Augury of the word of God), is written in fine *nasta'liq* script in Persian. According to Filiz Çağman, a scroll in the Topkapı Palace Museum (EH2086) includes Shaykh Hamdullah's renderings of the six calligraphic styles established by Yaquṭ al-Musta'sami as well as a seventh one in *nasta'liq*. The

scroll and the *falnamas* confirm the calligrapher's mastery of this later script, which was reserved for text in the Persian language.²⁴

The introduction offers relatively detailed instructions, including an explanation for the popularity of *falnamas*, for "kings and viziers were always delighted with auspicious auguries" (*hamisha chun vaziran va padishahan / bi fal-i nik mibudan shadan*). It advises the seeker to begin with the traditional invocations, but it also emphasizes the need to concentrate (*bibayad khatar-i khud ja'm kardan*). At this point, the instructions become more specific, for once the seeker has randomly opened the volume, he or she must look on the right-hand page and go to the seventh line of text. The first letter of the first word that the seeker sees is the key to the prognostication (*cha harf amad bukun fahm-i in ka guftam*). Each augury consists of a written distich written and a "key" letter, written in gold, integrated into the verse (*agar bashad "a" nikast karat*). The *falnama* terminates with an intricately illuminated panel that fills the lower half of the final folio of this intimately sized exquisite Koran. The illuminator Hasan ibn Abdullah collaborated with Shaykh Hamdullah on three other Korans.²⁵ One other Koran by Shaykh Hamdullah, copied in 1499 "in his old age," includes an almost identical *falnama*.²⁶

MF

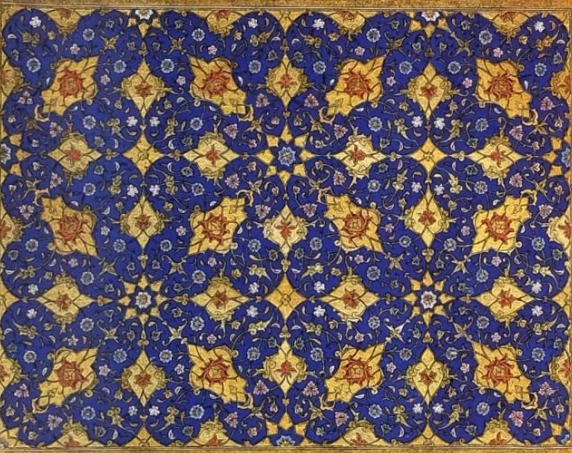
قال الکلام المحمد

بنام ایزد و منبر و جهان
که باشد راحت دلدار
روایت این چنین است از پیغمبر
شوی در حال کفر ای باد
روان بود بنام کردگار
که باشد فاتحه یارست بهر کار
روان مصطفی را شاد گردان
بهزینست که داری دل بانی

اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي تَوَكَّلْتُ عَلَىكَ وَتَفَاتَكَ بِكِتَابِكَ فَإِذَا فِي مَا هُوَ الْمُكُونُ
مِنْ سِرِّكَ الْمَكُونُ مِنْ غَيْبِكَ إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ عَلَّامُ الْغُيُوبِ

بصدقی هر چه خوشتر نیست اور
هر حرفی که بنم از کفتم
بس که فال را کنگر و بگر
اگر باشد اینکست کارت
بوی راست مصحف مظهر
ازین برنج شود دولت کثیارت

اگر است ملت جمع اید
ازین پس بر سر و وقت نیلج
بین نیست اگر تو کایندی
نهاد اقبال و دوزخ تو
اگر و است این نیست
زمن غم و زمان مفرج
که جز حق مرزا فریاد نیست
در خیر ی خدا بر تو گشاید
اگر است این را پیش بگذر
منی دادم بگری یا خفتی
بیای احشام از مال دنیا
مکن ورنه غم اندر غم فزاید
اگر است از ناری تعالی
جو حق مشفق کسی را هیچ نیست



Double folio in a *Divan* (Collected works) by Hafiz

Signed by Sultan Muhammad Nur

Historical Iran (present-day Afghanistan), Herat, 1523

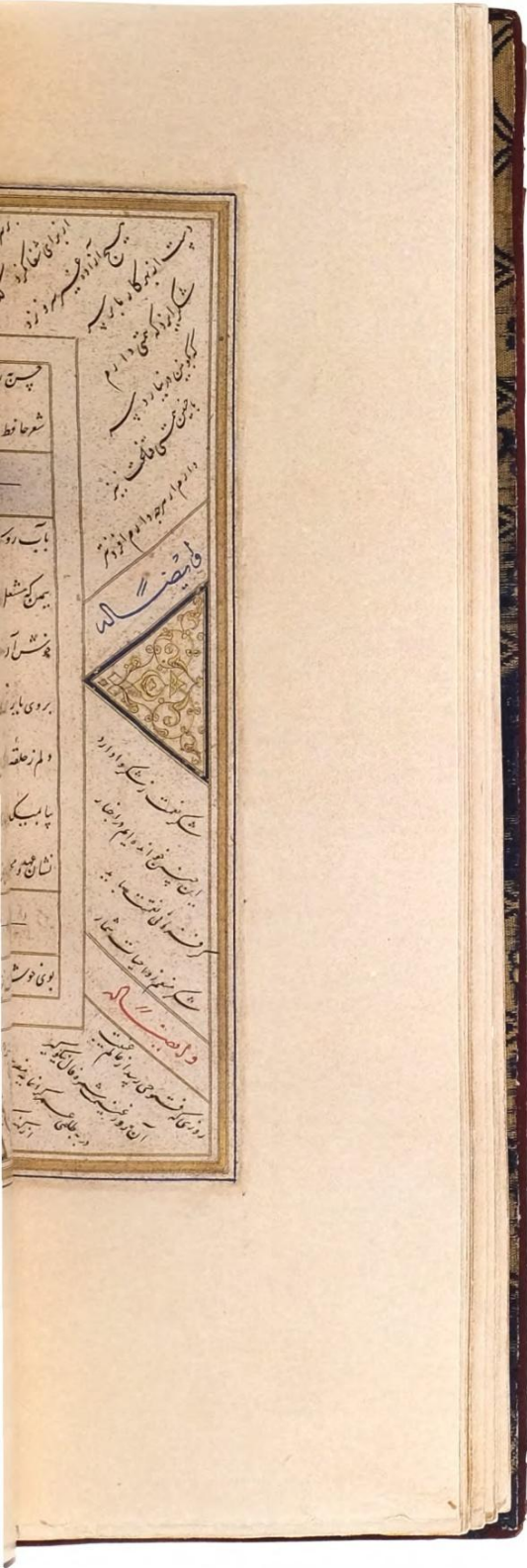
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; 30.4 × 19.5 cm

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., F1932.45

Published:

Pope 1938–39, vol. III, pl. 970, vol. V, pl. 948;

Ettinghausen and Schroeder 1941, pl. 0572.



Shah Tahmasb, who one day, while playing with a ring he valued very highly, dropped it, and though he caused an exhaustive search for it to be made under the carpets and cushions, could not find it. An augury taken from Hafiz gave the following result:

"What cares a heart which mirrors the Unseen and possesses the Goblet of Jamshid for a ring which is mislaid for a moment?"

The king clapped his hands on his knees in admiration for the apposition of this verse, and immediately felt the ring in the folds of his robe, where it had accidentally slipped.²⁷

With the exception of the Koran, the *Divan* of Hafiz (died 1390) is the most popular source for auguries to this day in Iran and was frequently consulted by rulers, such as the Safavid shah. Its subtle language and elegant imagery evoke an array of sentiments that ranges from the mundane to the noble, the worldly to the spiritual. Infused with passion, desire, and stoicism, Hafiz's odes often are referred to as the "tongue of the unseen" (*lisan al-ghayb*) and are considered ideal for prognostication.

The method of choosing an augury from a *Divan*, referred to as *istakhara* or *tafa'ul*, was derived from the one devised for the Koran. The seeker could use specially formulated tables, arranged in multiples of seven or nine that keyed verses to letters, or the more common method of opening a volume to a random page. The omen was either the first verse the seeker saw or the last ode on the page.²⁸

It appears that any copy of a *Divan*, such as this fine volume written by the celebrated Safavid calligrapher Sultan Muhammad Nur in Herat, could have been used for prognostication. As the annotated Persian copy consulted by the Mughal emperors Humayun (reigned 1530–40, 1555–56) and Jahangir (reigned 1605–28) suggests, seeking advice from Hafiz's *Divan* was both an ubiquitous practice and so highly valued that the "questions" (*niyat*) and the "answers" were also recorded.²⁹

In addition to Hafiz's odes, this volume contains extracts from the *Khamasa* (Quintet) of Nizami (died 1209), the *Rubayyat* (Quatrains) of Omar Khayyam (died 1131), and the short poems of Ibn Yamin (died 1368). Between 1611 and 1615, it was among the treasures of the library of Muhammad Qutb Shah, the ruler of Golconda, India.

MF

Folio from a *Munis al-ahrar fi daqa'iq al-ash'ar*

(The free man's companion to the subtleties of poems)

Muhammad ibn Badr al-Din Jajarmi (d. 1287)

Iran, Isfahan, February–March 1341 (Ramadan 741 AH)

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper; 19.5 × 13.4 cm (paper)

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., F1946.14

Published:

Kevorkian 1914, nos. 68 and 264; Hoter 1937, no. 48; Buchthal,

Ars Islamica, 1940, vol. VII, no. 48; Swietochowski and Carboni

1994, p. 9.

This folio originally belonged to a rare dated poetic anthology from the fourteenth century that includes the earliest extant examples of illustrated auguries.³⁰ Written and compiled in thirty chapters, the anthology is devoted to rhetorical artifices that the author explored through different literary genres, including a chapter on palmoscopy (*ikhtilaj*), prognostication based on bodily twitching.³¹ Only the twenty-ninth chapter is illustrated with thirty-three small rectangular paintings on six folios. Titled “Lunar elections” (*Ikhtiyarat-i qamar*), the chapter comprises three poems by Muhammad Ravandi addressed to a male beloved.³²

The Freer folio is the last of six illustrated ones and accompanies the second astrological poem about the passage of a personified moon through the sign of Pisces. Conforming to the stylistic norms of fourteenth-century manuscript illustrations, the composition depicts a cross-legged figure holding a crescent moon against a red background.³³ A gray fish, symbolizing Pisces, rests beside him and looks longingly toward him. The related augury appears in the verses (*ruba'i*) above and states,

With the moon in Pisces, study learning and theology.

Make requests from ministers and judges.

Wear whatever new clothes you possess,

Abstain from bleeding. The tale is ended.

Like those of the later illustrated *Falnamas*, the prognostications or “tale” (*sukhan*) address a series of mundane concerns that can apply as much to a ruler as to a merchant.

Another *ruba'i* separates the astrological image from a second illustration below. Arranged like a series of rebuses, twelve birds, divided into two rows of six, stand facing to the left. They range from the domestic duck to the mythical *huma*, each one symbolizing a different human attribute.

Wiles of the francolin, spirit of the hawk, quickness of the magpie,

Music of the nightingale, splendor of huma, glance of partridge,

Breast of duck, wrath of eagle, beauty of peacock,

Cheek-down like parrot, hair like raven—attainable as simurgh.

The inclusion of this composition may also refer to the use of birds in divination practices, as is parodied by the fourteenth-century satirist Ubayd Zakani (died 1371) in his *falnama-i tuyur* (Book of bird omens).³⁴

MF

ماجرای خواه از صدور و حکایت
و ز فضا بر همین سخن گشت نام

ماه اندر جوت علم آموز و کلام
در پوش هر ابر دارت از حامه و نون



ملیک نغمه های فر کبک دلال
طوطی خط و ذراع زلف و سیم و مال

در آغ فن و بار منش، عک فغان
بجای سینه عقاب کشتاوس، جال





Abrahamic Traditions

12

Angels Bow before Adam and Eve in Paradise

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59.3 × 44.5 cm

Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C., 51986.254

Published:

Tentoonstelling 1927, no. 17.2; *Persian Art* 1931, no. 244b; Migeon 1930; BWG 1933, no. 213b (subjects misidentified as Solomon and the queen of Sheba); Lentz 1988, fig. 11; Lowry et al. 1988, no. 172; Lowry and Nemazee 1988, no. 32; Thompson and Canby 2003, fig. 1.4; Tokatlian 2007, no. 5.

The text adjoining this painting has not been located, but the Dresden *Falnama* (E445) includes a closely related but heavily repainted image (folio 13b) and text (folio 14a) that identifies the subject as “the sign of the paradise of Adam and Eve.”

In this joyful illustration, Adam and Eve appear enthroned in a lush and flower-strewn landscape, attended and adored by a host of sixteen rainbow-winged angels. Flaming nimbi emanate from the couple’s crowned heads, an indication of their status as prophets. The Koranic version of the creation (see 7:11–25 in particular) mentions the angels’ veneration of the newly created Adam, but this takes place before God has fashioned Eve (who is not mentioned by name in the Koran) from one of Adam’s ribs. Compilers of *Qisas al-anbiya* (Stories of the prophets) elaborated on the sparse Koranic account of the first man and woman, and this painting is informed either by such literary sources or by the oral folklore on which those sources were based. The medieval author known as al-Kisa’i, for example, describes Adam and Eve as entering paradise dressed in brocaded silken garments, and once there, they are “crowned, diademed, and honored,” seated on a splendid dais, and offered the fruits of paradise.¹

Only *shaytan* (Satan), the disobedient angel who was damned when he refused to honor God’s creation of Adam, regards the scene with dismay. He is represented here and in other paintings as a gray-faced, bearded figure from whose collar protrudes a curved, snake-like form. A small graffito, added later, labels him “accursed Satan.”

In the Dresden *Falnama*, the omen accompanying the depiction of Adam and Eve in paradise is favorable for all sorts of future events, from financial and business success to the return of absent friends. The missing text of the dispersed *Falnama*, while not literally identical, doubtless would have reflected a similarly favorable outlook.

The painting relates closely to two compositions of Solomon and Bilqis enthroned, which explains its identification as such by Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray in 1933.² Stylistically, both also are attributable to Qazvin, but they postdate the *Falnama* image and illustrate the continuing popularity of this composition, which was appropriated for different literary and artistic contexts.³

JB

Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59.7 × 44.9 cm

Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C., s1986.251a

Published:

International Exhibition of Persian Art 1931, no. 260a; BWG 1933, no. 213c; Guillaume 1936, p. 135; Corbin et al. 1938, no. 72; Lowry et al. 1988, no. 169; Lowry and Nemazee 1988, no. 33; Brosh 1991, no. 36; Sims 2002, p. 296; Thompson and Canby 2003, fig. 4.35; Tokatlian 2007, no. 6.

Adam and Eve—naked except for leafy loincloths—ride out of paradise on the backs of a spectacular, dragon-like serpent and an equally fanciful peacock. Startled angels observe this scene from above and below. A figure in Safavid court dress and turban prods the serpent to hurry her along. The gray-faced old man, labeled “accursed Satan,” who was present in the scene of angels adoring Adam and Eve in paradise (see cat. 12), reappears here in the lower left.

In the Koranic account of the expulsion from paradise (see Koran 2:35–36, 7:19–25, 20:120–21), Iblis (Satan) encourages Adam and Eve to eat from the forbidden tree, which he says will make them immortal. They eat, perceive their nakedness, and sew leaves together to cover themselves. God commands them to leave paradise and dwell on earth. The compilers of prophetic tales added many details to this sketchy narrative, including, in the accounts of al-Tha’labi and al-Kisa’i, a peacock and a beautiful, four-legged female serpent.⁴ Iblis beguiles these two creatures with promises of immortality and thus bribes his way back into paradise, hidden between the serpent’s fangs. He then convinces Eve to sample the fruit of the forbidden tree, and she in turn persuades Adam. In al-Kisa’i’s vivid account,⁵ their throne disappears, their clothes and jewels fly off, and the leaves of

paradise cover them only reluctantly. God rebukes the couple, and the archangel Gabriel expels each of them separately from paradise, after which the angels pluck out the peacock’s feathers, the serpent is dragged and stoned until her limbs disappear, and both creatures are likewise ejected to live henceforth in enmity.

The expulsion from paradise appears as an omen in both the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* and the Ahmed I copy in the Topkapı Palace Library (H.1702 and H.1703); in each painting, the peacock and the serpent also are included. Nevertheless, the conceit of Adam and Eve riding these two creatures seems to have been invented by the artist of this folio. It does recur in the illustrations of several later manuscripts of prophetic tales, which in many cases bear a derivative relationship to those of the dispersed *Falnama*.⁶

Given the eventual misfortune of all the protagonists, their appearance here in such magnificent procession—Adam and Eve sitting tall on their mounts and conversing with cheery animation, and the beasts still in their full glory—might be unexpected and encouraging to the user of the augury. Indeed, the omen accompanying this illustration is initially very unfortunate but ultimately can be favorable if the user, as stated in the dispersed *Falnama*, “shuns diabolical suggestion and bad company”—in other words, avoids the mistakes of Adam and Eve.

JB



Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Turkey, Istanbul, ca. 1610–15

Attributed to Nakkaş Hasan Pasha

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 49 × 36.4 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.7b

Published:

And 1974, p. 79; Çağman and Tanındı 1979, fig. 58; And 1998, p. 91;

Topkapı à Versailles 1999, cat. 147a; Bağcı et al. 2006, fig. 157.

This sensitively rendered painting of Adam and Eve has been attributed to Nakkaş (painter) Hasan Pasha (died after 1620). A notable government official and artist under three successive sultans (Murad III, Mehmed III, and Ahmed I), he was appointed governor of Rumelia in 1604 and rose through the highest ranks of government.⁷ Although he was not a professional member of the atelier of salaried court artists, he worked with the head painter Nakkaş Osman in the 1580s on several royal manuscripts. Numerous illustrations of the six-volume biography of Prophet Muhammad (*Siyer-i nebi*), completed in 1595, are attributable to him,⁸ and he also created portraits of Sultan Mehmed and his father, Murad III.⁹

For his version of the expulsion of Adam and Eve, Nakkaş Hasan Pasha chose a slightly later moment in the narrative than did the painter of the dispersed *Falnama* scene, where the couple is still in paradise. In the Ottoman illustration, the two already have been expelled. Firmly clasping Eve's hand, Adam leads his companion away from the gates of a richly tiled building with a marble arcade that recalls the archways of the Topkapı Palace courtyards. A crowned angel, possibly Rizvan, the custodian of paradise, stands in the doorway of the pavilion and watches as the two take small, hesitant steps into the unknown. The angel holds on to the doorframe with one hand and raises the other to her mouth in a characteristic gesture of astonishment. Of the other protagonists, a small, black snake scurries out behind Adam and Eve while the peacock remains on the threshold of the pavilion, reluctant to venture outside.

Conforming to descriptions of the expulsion, Adam and Eve are stripped of their garments and heavenly crowns, and they wear short, leafy skirts. In addition, Eve holds a sheaf of wheat, identified as the fruit of a forbidden tree in some historical and popular religious accounts,¹⁰ and Adam's complexion is darker than that of Eve. According to some versions of the *Qisas al-anbiya*, Adam's skin darkened, and he was prohibited from wearing heavenly clothing as part of his ten punishments for defying God's will.¹¹ While the dispersed *Falnama* painting focuses on the very moment of expulsion, the Ottoman version poignantly underscores the consequences of disobedience. Banished and isolated, Adam and Eve symbolize the moral dimension of the fall.

Like the augury in the dispersed *Falnama*, the text begins as inauspicious but proves to be favorable in the end. It advises the seeker to be content with his or her fate and to resist Satan's temptations.

SB







Moses Challenges Pharaoh's Sorcerers

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, ca. 1550s–1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59 × 44 cm

Bruschettini Collection, Genoa

Not in exhibition

Published:

Palais Galliera 1970, lot 54 and cover; Curatola 1993, cat. 288; Sims 2002, no. 216; Thompson and Canby 2003, 4.36; Tokatlian 2007, p. 26 (attributed to Abdul Aziz).

According to the Koranic account leading up to and including the episode depicted here (primarily Koran 7:103–26; see also 20:49–76), Moses (Musa), in the company of his brother Aaron, is challenged by the pharaoh to show signs of his authority. Moses throws down his staff, which becomes a serpent, and reveals his right hand, which has turned white. The pharaoh summons sorcerers from the cities of the land and orders them to outdo these miracles. While the ruler and his nobles watch, the sorcerers throw down their staffs, which thanks to their conjurer tricks, appear to run about like serpents. Moses then throws down his own staff, and it becomes an even bigger serpent that devours all the sorcerers' staffs. Bested, the sorcerers embrace Moses's god and renounce the pharaoh, who puts them all to death. Prophetic tales by Tabari, al-Tha'labi, and al-Kisa'i expand this narrative. In al-Kisa'i's account of this initial confrontation with the pharaoh, for instance, Moses's staff becomes "a writhing dragon the size of a camel" and his hand shines "as brilliantly as the sun."¹²

Centered on a pair of dynamically spiraling dragons, the illustration conveys a heightened sense of energy and drama that reverberates throughout the composition as frenzied, semiclad sorcerers on wild animals brandish snakes. The carefully balanced palette, with its accents of azure blue and bright orange, further animates the image.

The illustration seemingly conflates the meeting of Moses and the pharaoh, in which Moses reveals his white hand, with the

subsequent contest with the sorcerers. It also includes imaginative details that are neither in the Koran nor in the early prophetic tales. The pharaoh and Moses are portrayed on horseback like Safavid nobles while the sorcerers appear as savages astride wild felines or dragons. Furthermore, Moses's staff has been transformed into a huge red dragon that is about to gobble up one of the magicians.

That the sorcerers themselves are devoured is not simply the artist's pictorial invention. It is specified by the text of the once-adjacent page, which explains the augury concerns the prophet Moses, whose staff "became a serpent and swallowed the magicians." The text then declares that enemies of the fortune-seeker will be vanquished, but it recommends saying a prayer to counteract magic and to keep the seeker "safe from the evil of sorcerers."

The Topkapı Persian *Falnama* includes an image of the same subject (H.1702, folio 39b). Simpler in composition, it adheres more closely to the literary accounts in that it depicts a standing Moses, with covered hands, watching his staff in the form of a dragon devour the sorcerers' staffs—which had been turned into snakes, a dragon, and a scorpion—while the pharaoh and other witnesses observe from the horizon.¹³ This episode is also frequently illustrated in the *Qisas al-anbiya*, the popular accounts of the lives of the prophets, and the paintings are largely based on the composition in the dispersed *Falnama*.¹⁴

JB

Joseph Enthroned with His Brothers in Egypt

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59.4 × 44.5 cm

Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian

Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C., 1986.255a

Published:

Lowry et al. 1988, no. 173; Lowry and Nemazee 1988, no. 29; Canby

1990, dust jacket (color reproduction); Tokatlian 2007, no. 20

(attributed to Abdul Aziz).

This painting depicts the prophet Joseph (Yusef), seated outdoors on a low dais, as he is reunited with his brothers. Jealous of their father's affection for Joseph, they had hid their younger brother in a well, where he was found by traders and sold into slavery in Egypt. The story represented here derives from the Koran's twelfth chapter, a narrative of uncharacteristic length that is nevertheless elaborated by the chroniclers of prophetic tales.

Dressed in fine Safavid attire, all eleven of Joseph's brothers, including the youngest, Benjamin (the boy next to Joseph, holding the royal handkerchief), seem to be represented here. Other onlookers, guards, and servants are also present, identifiable by their darker skin and less sumptuous headgear.

On their first trip to Egypt to buy food, Benjamin was not among the brothers. On their second visit, Joseph, still unrecognized by

his siblings, had a drinking cup secretly placed in Benjamin's saddlebag. By accusing the boy of theft, Joseph contrived to keep him in Egypt. The confusion and rancor that followed make it unlikely that this feast scene, modeled on royal banquets, depicts events immediately following the cup's recovery, as has been suggested.¹⁵ The illustration probably represents Joseph's revelation of his true identity during the brothers' third visit, when they beg for Benjamin's release.

The augury that once faced this image praises Joseph's majesty and beauty, and it states that the seeker has become "the ruler of the Egypt of the world." Joseph, to whom his brothers have come out of necessity, the text promises, will bring the seeker all manner of good things, including the power to meet the needs of family and friends.

JB









Prophet Zakariya in a Tree

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 55 × 44 cm

Jerome Wheelock Fund, Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts 1935.16

Published:

Grube 1962, no. 61; Milstein 1990, p. 72 (attributed to Aqa Mirak);

Schmitz 1990, pp. 207–13, no. 3; Tokatlian 2007, no. 1.

The prophet Zachariah (Zakariya), the father of John the Baptist (Yahya), is described in the Koran (3:37–41, 6:85, 19:2–11, 21:89) as one of the righteous ones, but in later Islamic lore he also became a symbol of martyrdom within both Sufi and Shi'i circles. He was sent by God to the Israelites with a law (*shari'a*), and in his old age he was granted his most ardent wish and fathered a son, Yahya. When Yahya, who chose to be a hermit, was executed by the tyrannical ruler of the Jews, Zakariya fled and took refuge in a tree that had opened miraculously in front of him. Satan, however, noticed the edge of his robe poking through a hole in the trunk. He revealed Zakariya's hiding place to his pursuers and advised them to cut the tree in half while the prophet was inside. The subject of this painting is the moment of Satan's betrayal and Zakariya's imminent martyrdom, a scene that was subsequently repeated in the Dresden and Topkapı Persian *Falnamas* as well as in several copies of the *Qisas al-anbiya* of the 1570s and 1580s.¹⁶

Like other paintings in the dispersed *Falnama*, the composition is symmetrically organized and dominated by a large, central plane (*chinar*) tree. Alternating dark and light green leaves create a canopy over the tormenters, while flickering flames, emanating

from the center of the tree, suggest Zakariya's sacred presence. A dark-skinned figure, identified by a later hand as *shaytan-i la'nati* (the cursed devil), sits at the foot of the tree on the right. He holds on to the hem of the prophet's robe visible from an opening in the tree and gestures to a crowned figure standing beside him. Since al-Tha'labi maintains that it was Herod who had ordered Yahya's execution, the crowned figure probably portrays the Galilean king.¹⁷ As the two converse, a turbaned figure on the left is about to cut the tree in half with a large saw. Both he and the crowned man have animal heads protruding from their necks—a recurring iconographic motif in depictions of Zakariya's murderers—that probably are intended to reinforce visually the tormentors' base and vile character.¹⁸ A row of large-scale figures stands behind the hills along the horizon line, lending the scene a distinct theatrical appearance. The accompanying text page has not been located, but one relating to a similar illustration in the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* is inauspicious. It warns the seeker: "If you can, turn away from this intention and choose another matter, because there is no good in this omen."¹⁹

MF

Mary and the Infant Jesus

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Turkey, Ottoman period, or Iran, Safavid period, ca. 1570s–1580s;
volume compiled in 1614–16 in Istanbul

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 49 × 36.4 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.32b

Published:

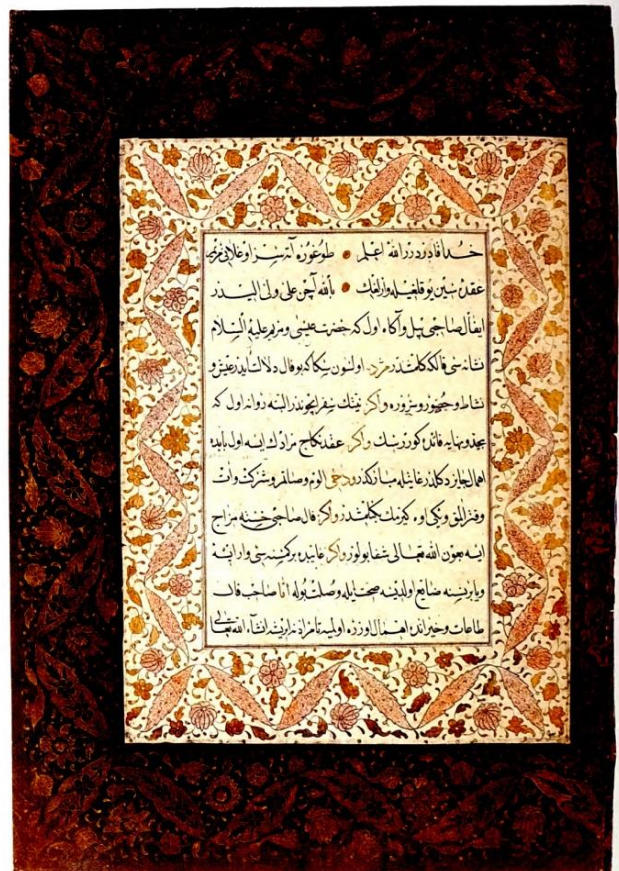
And 1974, p. 80; Okasha 1981, pp. 69, 73; And 1998, p. 91;

Topkapı á Versailles 1999, cat. 147b; And 2002, p. 303.

According to the accompanying text, this image represents Jesus (Isa) and Mary (Maryam), the only woman mentioned by name in the Koran.²⁰ Wearing a blue veil over an orange robe, Mary sits by a stream in a verdant landscape, while the flames of a flickering halo frame her head and suggest her sanctity. A disproportionately small infant Jesus, who resembles a miniaturized adult, sits on her lap. Lovingly, he offers her a small pomegranate with one hand and with the other points to her unnaturally elongated, exposed breast. Mother and child are oblivious to their surroundings, but they are not alone: a figure wearing a headgear of serrated leaves, which is often associated with angels and other heavenly creatures, watches intently from behind a hill on the right.²¹

The painting's vibrant palette and exaggerated forms, such as the swirling clouds and oversized flowers, heighten the drama, which is further accentuated by the absence of a consistent sense of scale. At the same time, the landscape elements create a protective frame around the two figures, as if shielding them from harm.²² On the facing folio, the introductory couplet states, "Mary gives birth to a child without a father," which is based on the Koranic reference (3:37–38) to Jesus's miraculous birth.

As one of the most revered women, whose name is used for the title of the nineteenth chapter in the Koran, Mary figures prominently in Islamic history. In his biography of the Prophet, Ibn Ishaq (died 773) describes how Muhammad removed the paintings in the Ka'ba except for one showing Mary and Jesus.²³ According to the Anatolian author Ahmad Aflaki (died 1360), when a Greek painter heard about a certain picture of Mary, he went to Istanbul and stayed in a monastery for a year in order to see it closely. Later he stole it, took it to the city of Konya, and showed it to the



poet Rumi, who admired its exquisiteness but warned against the danger of venerating images.²⁴

The figure of Mary also plays a critical role in Islamic popular piety, especially Shi'ism, as she is closely identified with Fatima, the Prophet's daughter and Ali's wife, and shares her attribute of purity.²⁵ This affinity also may explain the frequent use of Mary's portrait as pictorial auguries and autonomous compositions in both Safavid and Ottoman albums.²⁶ The Virgin's depiction, together with that of her infant son, was an integral part of Islamic religious memory and inspired one of the most auspicious omens in the *Falnama*.

SB



The Sacrifice of Abraham

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Probably Iran, Safavid period, 1580s;

volume compiled in 1614–16 in Ottoman Turkey

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 48.5 × 34 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.11b

Published:

And 1998, p. 142.

Revered as the founder of the monotheistic faith, the builder of the Ka'ba, and the breaker of pagan idols, the prophet Abraham (Ibrahim) is mentioned in twenty-five different Koranic suras. His willingness to sacrifice his son as proof of his loyalty and devotion to God is regarded in Islam as one of the most profound moral acts.

The Islamic version of Abraham's sacrifice relates closely to the Jewish version. It is mentioned briefly in the Koran (37:99–111), but it is elaborated in exegeses, universal histories, and popular religious accounts. Since neither the name of the sacrificed son (Ishaq/Isaac or Isma'il/Ishmael) nor the location (Jerusalem or Mecca) are included in the Koran, they remain a topic of debate among Muslim authors.²⁷

In the pictorial *Falnamas*, however, the son is identified as Isma'il, who was born to the elderly Abraham. After the boy grew up, God appeared to Abraham in a dream and asked him to sacrifice his son. Abraham obeyed and took Isma'il to the mountains and told him about the dream. With his son's consent, he tied his hands and covered his eyes, but whenever Abraham placed the sharpened knife on his son's throat, it would not cut. At that moment, a voice called out to Abraham, telling him he had fulfilled God's will and he should sacrifice a sheep instead of his

son. Abraham then saw the angel Gabriel hovering above him, holding the animal.²⁸

The *Falnama* illustration represents the miraculous moment of God's announcement to Abraham and the appearance of the archangel Gabriel.²⁹ Suspended in midair, the angel cradles a beautiful white ram in his arms. A bewildered Abraham still holds a knife in his hand; a second one is stuck in a rock beside him. As described in the narrative, Isma'il is bound, blindfolded, and ready to be sacrificed. The painting includes a fourth figure on the right watching the scene. His dark complexion and iron noose identify him as Satan. According to al-Tha'labi, when Satan found out about Abraham's dream, he proclaimed, "By God, either I seduce the family of Abraham in this way, or I will never be able to seduce any of them."³⁰ He tried unsuccessfully to convince both Abraham and his wife to defy God's orders to sacrifice their offspring.³¹ This characterization of Satan bears a striking resemblance to his depictions in the dispersed *Falnama* and suggests a possible Safavid provenance for the illustration.

With its pastel-colored landscape, golden sky, and elegantly dressed figures, the composition has a sense of calm that emphasizes Abraham's absolute devotion to God.³²

SB





Solomon and Bilqis Enthroned

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Probably Iran, Safavid period, 1580s;

volume compiled in 1614–16 in Ottoman Turkey

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 49.5 × 36

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.8b

Unpublished.

According to Islamic tradition, the biblical king Solomon (the prophet Sulayman) was one of the four universal sovereigns who carried the title of *sahib qiran* (possessor of the conjunctions).³³ Solomon's qualities and life story are described at length in the Koran and were further embellished by later Islamic authors, most of whom relied on rabbinical literature.³⁴ Revered as the embodiment of the ideal ruler, he reigned over a world of humans, animals, birds, jinns (supernatural creatures), and demons; even the wind was under his command. Solomon symbolized power, wealth, authority, wisdom, discernment, justice, and compassion—attributes of ideal kingship. In addition, he possessed magical and esoteric knowledge.



This painting is described in the augury as a paradisiacal assembly (*meclis-i behiṣti*) and follows the long-established pictorial norm reserved for this popular scene since at least the fifteenth century.³⁵ The carefully delineated figures and balanced composition recall the paintings *The Sacrifice of Abraham* (cat. 19) and *Khizr and Ilyas Find the Water of Life* (cat. 40) in the Ahmed ı *Falnama* and may be the work of the same artist.³⁶

Bilqis, the queen of Sheba,³⁷ and Solomon sit on his gold throne, constructed by the jinns. According to legend, the four sides of the throne were embellished with mirrors engraved with talismans. One revealed whether a sick person would recover, while another reflected the true face of a spouse whose loyalty was suspect—concerns that also are addressed in the *Falnama* auguries.³⁸ The hoopoe (*hudhud*) that introduced Bilqis to Solomon and carried letters between them perches on the edge of the throne, and the vizier Asaf bin Barakhya sits on a smaller replica of Solomon's throne. The vizier traditionally is identified as the "one who possessed knowledge from the book" and who miraculously brought the throne/mansion of Bilqis to Solomon in the blink of an eye.³⁹ The rest of the painting is inhabited by the legendary members of Solomon's court: animals range from a rhinoceros to a tortoise, birds, and such fantastic creatures as the phoenix (*simurgh* or *al-anqa*), siren (*bahri*), and dragon. The jinn and demons, also part of Solomon's retinue, stand behind the hills. The composition clearly demonstrates how illustrated *Falnamas* appropriated familiar scenes from other types of manuscripts and replaced the narrative content with new text intended to clarify decisions and actions.

SB



Islamic Traditions

21

Muhammad Heals the Sick Boy

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 58.6 × 44.5 cm

Purchase, Francis M. Weld Gift

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1950 (50.23.1)

Published:

Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 1978, p. 32; Milstein 1990, p. 72 (attributed to Aqa Mirak); Tokatlian 2007, no. 22 (identified as *Christ Resurrecting Lazarus*, attributed to Aqa Mirak).

The subject of this illustration traditionally has been identified as Jesus raising Lazarus from the dead, but it probably represents one of the Prophet Muhammad's miracles.¹ According to the 1594–95 *Siyer al-nebi* (Life of the Prophet), on his migration from Mecca to Medina, Muhammad stopped at the tent of the poor, elderly woman Umma Mabid and healed her ailing sheep. She then begged Muhammad to resuscitate her paralyzed son, which he did by reciting a long prayer. The grateful mother and son converted to Islam.²

According to Islamic belief, the Prophet denied that he had the ability to perform miracles other than revealing the word of God (Koran 6:50), which is regarded as the supreme miracle. Subsequent accounts of his life, however, are replete with references to supernatural events, such as the celebrated *miraj*

(night journey)³ and the splitting of the moon.⁴ The Prophet's healing of Umma Mabid's son must have been another popular story, for it is included in the Dresden *Falnama* and the *Siyer al-nebi*, the illustrated Ottoman biography of Muhammad.⁵

Instead of setting the event in front of Umma Mabid's tent, the *Falnama* artist selected a ruined structure as the backdrop for the moment of divine intervention. As the crouching Umma Mabid asks for assistance, the veiled figure of the Prophet raises his hands in prayer, and the boy, with a help of a turbaned man, lifts his head out of a coffin. A crowd, including an elegantly dressed and crowned figure, witnesses the event with astonishment and wonder. With the veiled Prophet standing in the center, the subtly balanced composition effectively conveys the power of this quiet miraculous moment.

MF

The Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey (*miraj*)

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 58.9 × 44.9 cm

Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian

Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C., s1986.253a

Published:

Tentoonstelling 1927, no. 17.1; *International Exhibition of Persian Art* 1931, no. 244a; BWG 1933, no. 213a; Corbin 1938, no. 71; Lowry and Nemazee 1988, no. 31; Lowry et al. 1988, no. 171; Renard 1998, fig. 59; Milstein et al. 1999, p. 70; Thompson and Canby 2003, fig. 1.6 (attributed to Aqa Mirak); Shani 2005, pl. 1; Tokatlian 2007, no. 2 (attributed to Abdul Aziz).

One of the most familiar and frequently published images from the dispersed *Falnama*, the Prophet Muhammad's night journey is based on a long-established iconographic model.⁶ Astride Buraq, his human-headed steed, the Prophet soars through the night sky dotted with flames. A brilliant white veil covers his face, and a flickering nimbus surrounds his head. Carrying a green banner, the archangel Gabriel leads the way, while six other elegantly dressed angels carry trays of light, refreshments, an incense burner, the divine sword (*sayf-Allah*), and a pair of gold sandals.

A notable exception to most representations of the *miraj* is the crouching, growling lion in the upper left corner to which the Prophet extends a ring. Traditionally, the feline figure has been identified as Ali, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law and the first Shi'i imam, who is referred to as the "lion" (*asad*, *haydar*, *shir*) and the "lion of God" (*asad-Allah*). Ali's role as Muhammad's rightful heir is corroborated in the accompanying text: "Everything that happened that night, blow by blow, Murtaza Murtaba [i.e., Ali] recounted to him the next day."

Recently, a more nuanced interpretation has been proposed. According to Bektashi lore, while ascending to heaven the Prophet encountered a fierce lion in his path.⁷ God told Muhammad to proceed and advised him to give a token to the lion. Muhammad took off his ring and threw it into the lion's mouth, and the beast humbly stepped back to let him pass. Some time later at the assembly of the forty saints, Ali removed the same ring from his mouth and returned it to the Prophet, who recognized his cousin's superior qualities.⁸ As the transfer of the ring appears specifically in this Bektashi story, it also may have represented the source for the *Falnama* illustration.⁹

Depictions of Muhammad and other Islamic prophets with veils have been accepted as a standard iconographic feature in the pictorial arts of the Islamic world, but the motif was introduced only at the beginning of the sixteenth century when the Safavid dynasty came to power and Shi'ism was established as the official state religion. It recently has been proposed that by obscuring Muhammad's facial features with a brilliant white veil, Safavid artists may have intended to develop a visual equivalent to the religious idea of divine light (*nur-i illahi*), a concept central to Shi'i beliefs and especially promulgated during the formative years of the Safavid era.¹⁰

As a pictorial embodiment of the Shi'i-Bektashi interpretation of the Prophet's ascent, this monumental illustration is a masterful study in visual balance and symmetry. The Prophet is both the formal and conceptual center of the painting, with the other elements carefully arranged around him to create an interlocked surface of brilliant colors and bold designs.

The other two *Falnama* illustrations of the sacred night journey offer somewhat different compositions. The Dresden folio also includes a lion in the upper left corner, but there the Prophet has been reduced to a flickering nimbus on the back of Buraq. In the Topkapı Persian copy, a more simplified composition depicts the archangel Gabriel holding a green banner. Together with three partially visible heavenly creatures, Gabriel leads Muhammad across a star-filled, light-blue sky. Although the text of this *Falnama* is the most "Shi'ified" of all the extant copies, the image omits the crouching lion, and the augury makes no reference to Imam Ali.¹¹

ALI



Ali and Muhammad at the Gates of Khaybar

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s-early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59.5 × 45 cm

Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS 395

Published:

International Exhibition of Persian Art 1931, no. 262a; BWG 1933,

no. 213; Robinson 1967, no. 147; Tokatlian 2007, no. 10;

Wright 2009, fig. 8.

In 629, the Prophet Muhammad attacked the oasis of Khaybar near Medina, which was inhabited by Jewish tribes. When his companions Abu Bakr and Umar failed to capture the fortress of Qamus near Khaybar, Muhammad entrusted Ali, "a man who loves God and his Prophet and whom God and his Prophet love," with command of the forces. During the ensuing battle, Ali lost his shield but proved his valor and physical strength by lifting the door of the fortress off its hinges and using it to protect himself. According to al-Tabari, the door was so heavy that it required eight men to put it back. Later Shi'i accounts embellished the incident by suggesting the door could be moved only by eighty men.¹²

The animated, densely packed illustration depicts the miraculous moment when Ali, carried aloft by the archangel Gabriel, wrenches the door off its hinges with his bare hands. In the lower right corner, a groom firmly holds the reins of a rose-colored mule. Its brilliant red saddle, topped with flickering flames, identifies the animal as Ali's faithful mount Duldul; the groom might be Qambar.

Imam Ali's supernatural powers are also the main focus of the accompanying text, which states, "O augury user, let there be good

news to you that the palm [*panja*] of his Khaybar-seizing, Khaybar-opening majesty . . . has appeared in your augury." A gray-bearded astrologer emerges from the top of a tower and gazes intently at an astrolabe to announce the hour of battle to the waiting soldiers. Observing the scene on the right, the Prophet Muhammad sits on an elegant white horse, while a figure dressed in a long red robe gestures toward him. Green and red banners flutter behind the Prophet's head and draw attention to his presence.

One of the notable characteristics of this composition is the identical stature and costume of the Prophet Muhammad and Imam Ali. Amid the almost audible clamor of anticipated battle, their nearly indistinguishable appearance underscores their spiritual and sacred bond as well as Ali's exalted status as Muhammad's rightful heir, even his "double." Another curious feature of this vibrant and carefully balanced composition is the inclusion of a woman in the extreme upper right tower. This female figure probably represents Saffiya, the wife of a Jewish chief. She was taken prisoner and eventually married the Prophet after her husband was executed for disobedience.¹³

MF





Khaybar: The Conquering Palm of Ali

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Iran, Safavid period, or Turkey, Ottoman period, ca. 1580s;

volume compiled in 1614–16 in Istanbul

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 49 × 36 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.33b

Published:

And 1987, p. 122; And 1998, p. 13.

At first glance, this composition recalls images of the “Hand of Fatima,” the Prophet Muhammad’s daughter and Imam Ali’s wife. A popular and ubiquitous symbol throughout the Islamic world, it long has been associated with talismanic and healing properties. In the related *Falnama* text, however, the illustration is identified as “Ali’s Khaybar-conquering palm,” which refers to the imam’s celebrated conquest of the fortress in 629. Considered one of the most important victories in early Islamic history, the event also marked the recognition of Imam Ali as a valiant hero worthy of succeeding the Prophet.

Flanked by two tall cypress trees, the monumental hand is outlined in gold, and its blue ground is covered with small, schematized flowers. It floats against an abstracted, cream-colored hillside strewn with orange, blue, and purple rocks and large flowering plants. In the center, the final letter of Ali’s name, which is repeated four times, forms a diamond and encloses the names of the *ahl-i bayt* (family of the Prophet). “Fatima,” “Ali,” and their sons “Hasan” and “Husayn” are written in a somewhat awkward angular *kufic* script, as if carved into a seal. The names of the Prophet and Ali, written in a more cursive script, are repeated four times to form a circle around the diamond, while “Hasan,” “Husayn,” “Ja’far,” “Musa,” and again “Hasan” appear on the five fingers. Together, they represent the appellations of the Twelve Imams.¹⁴ All the names are written in reverse.¹⁵

The aniconic nature of this illustration surpasses perhaps even that of the *Footprints of Imam Riza* in the dispersed *Falnama* (cat. 30). Here, all vestiges of a narrative have been distilled to create a simple yet powerful symbol for prognostication in the shape of a palm. Whether coincidental or not, the illustration and the written augury are also most overtly Shi’i in tone and content, stressing the importance of the Twelve Imams and, in particular, Ali. The introductory verses claim that Ali’s palm “has the form of the word Allah. This became in truth a sign of God’s hand,” thus equating the imam with God.¹⁶

The stylistic features of the landscape, such as the outline of the hillside, rocks, and floral sprays, suggest the illustration might be the work of the same painter who was responsible for *Mary and the Infant Jesus* and *Hakim Luqman* in the same volume (cats. 18, 41).

SB



Standard (*alam*)

Iran, early 18th century

Silver with black inlay; 48.9 × 22.9 cm

Gift of Dr. Marilyn Jenkins

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1984.504.2-D

Published:

Islamic Calligraphy 1992, fig. 56.

Standards in the shape of a palm were a popular feature of religious ceremonies in Iran. Referred to as a *khamisa* (meaning five in Arabic) or *panja* (which in Persian refers to the number five and the palm or hand), this type of standard was also particularly popular among the Shi'i communities in India.¹⁷ Although they appear in early seventeenth-century paintings, most extant examples date from the eighteenth century and are covered with Shi'i-inspired inscriptions and invocations.

This standard recalls the Khaybar-seizing hand of Ali in the Ahmed i *Falnama* (cat. 24). Written in elegant *nasta'liq* script, one side of the palm is decorated with a medallion, inscribed with the name of the twelfth imam, *hazrat-i mahdi*, *imam-i qayib-i akhar al-zamam* (The Lord, the Mahdi, the hidden imam of the end of time), who is referred to as *wali al-Allah*, "the deputy of God." A band with the imam's epithets surrounds the medallion, and in the outer circle, the names of the twelve Shi'i imams appear in





roundels. The fingers also carry inscriptions that include, from right to left, "Help from God and near victory" (Koran 61:13), followed by verses from the *nad-i Ali*, the call of Ali, a celebrated Shi'i prayer.

On the other side, the palm is centered on a series of concentric circles anchored by a medallion with the names of Allah and members of the Prophet's family, the *ahl-i bayt* (Arabic) or *panjtan* (Persian): Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hasan, and Husayn. An outer crescent-shaped area is inscribed with the celebrated Throne Verse (2:255) that is often included as a talisman on objects. The inscriptions on the fingers begin with the invocation, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate," and include the names of the Twelve Imams. This dense calligraphic program transformed the standard into a potent apotropaic symbol (i.e., one intended to remind the viewer of the protective role of the Prophet and his descendants), which became particularly important in religious rituals.¹⁸

MF

Coffin of Imam Ali

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 56.7 × 42.8 cm

Purchase, Francis M. Weld Gift

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1950 (50.23.2)

Published:

Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 1951–52, p. 109;

Tokatlian 2007, no. 3 (attributed to Aqa Mirak).

In this unusual illustration, a veiled figure leads a camel with a coffin, while two other veiled men watch from behind a hillside.¹⁹ Later inscriptions identify them as the imams Hasan and Husayn, and the figure in the lower left is their father, Imam Ali. Each one wears traditional Safavid headgear (*taj-i haydari*) and is distinguished by a flaming nimbus. With no additional observers, the scene seems far more “quiet” and private than almost all other *Falnama* illustrations.

According to the traditions of the Bektashis and Alevis of Anatolia, Imam Ali not only predicted his own death but also told his two sons that when he died, a veiled man would come to their house, load his coffin on a camel, and carry it away for burial. Under no circumstance were they to follow the person or question him. When Ali's prediction came true, Hasan and Husayn could not refrain from inquiring about the man's identity. The figure lifted his veil and revealed that he was in fact their father, who was carrying his own body to its grave.²⁰ The story not only confirms the imam's divinely inspired, miraculous powers but also presents him as the ultimate “seer,” who foretells and enacts his own death for his sons.

The accompanying augury is favorable and states, “Gladness will come to him [i.e., the seeker] through a saint or from the world of the unseen.” This is also a rare instance in the dispersed *Falnama* when the prognostication is attributed to a specific source—the prophet Daniel—who is considered a principal authority on the art of divination. Although the illustration occurs only in the dispersed *Falnama*, it is still popular today in Bektashi and Alevi circles as an example of Ali's divine power.²¹

MF







Imam Ali Slays Murra ibn Qays

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59.5 × 45 cm

Aga Khan Trust for Culture, IR. M.65

Published:

Sotheby's 1972, lot 195; A. Welch 1972–78, pp. 67–72;

A. Welch and S. C. Welch 1982, no. 25 (attributed to Aqa Mirak);

Canby 1998, no. 31; Tokatlian 2007, no. 7.

Glancing furtively over his shoulder and wielding a saber, a crowned, dark-skinned figure steals out of a mausoleum. As all eyes turn toward him, two fingers emerge from a large, draped sarcophagus and shoot flickering flames toward the fugitive. The entire space has burst into light as flames cascade out of a massive central gold lamp that is surrounded by smaller ones. A large, twisted banner stands on the right.

A similar illustration appears in the Topkapı Persian and Dresden *Falnamas*, attesting to the popularity of this enigmatic subject.²² The accompanying text offers a relatively detailed description of the subject.

O augury user, know that in your augury has appeared the sign of the miracle-manifesting, Khaybar-conquering two fingers of His Majesty the Lion of God, the Conqueror Ali ibn Abu Talib—upon him be mercy and peace—which appeared from the blessed grave of His Majesty and struck in two the accursed Murra ibn Qays.

Just as Ali miraculously lifted the gate of Khaybar with his bare hands, here he uses his two fingers, much like his legendary



two-headed sword, the *zulfikar*, to cleave Murra ibn Qays.²³ In addition, the prognostication in the Topkapı copy mentions Najaf, Iman Ali's burial place, as the location of the miracle. Although schematized, the large mausoleum, with its central tiled dome and two tapering minarets, bears a notable architectural similarity to Ali's now much-restored shrine in Najaf. Together with the Ka'ba in Mecca and Imam Riza's *ghadamgah* (station) in Nishapur, this illustration represents another principal site of veneration in Shi'i Islam in the dispersed *Falnama*.

Murra ibn Qays must have been one of Ali's fiercest adversaries—the prophet pursued him even after his own death—but Murra's exact identity has yet to be determined.²⁴ For the artist, the dramatic demise of the villain clearly offered new pictorial possibilities, but the principal subject of the composition is Imam Ali, even if his presence and divinely inspired power are suggested only by the two fingers emerging from the sarcophagus. The drama and theatricality of the scene is characteristic of other "miraculous" compositions in the dispersed *Falnama*.

MF





Imam Riza Saves the Sea People

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59 × 44 cm

Musée du Louvre, Paris, MAO 894

Published:

Palais Galliera 1970, lot 53; Druout 1992, lot. 117; Tokatlian 2007, no. 14; Melikian-Chirvani 2007, no. 137.

Galloping over dark, churning waves on a dappled gray horse, Imam Riza pierces the chest of a large *div* (demon) with the end of a long lance. With its flaming eyes and mouth and its orange-colored skin, the demon is both menacing and comical in appearance. It is about to hurl a helpless female into the air with one hand, and with the other it tries to withhold the impact of the lance's thrust. The creature wears an elaborately designed blue and yellow skirt that is cinched at the waist with a lion-shaped buckle and gold belt. Gold armbands, necklaces, and anklets adorned with bells, including three that dangle capriciously from a string between the gold horns, complete its attire. Clearly, this imposing creature was meant to be seen and heard, and its appearance recalls similar demons in the early volumes of the *Hamzanama*, prepared in the 1570s for the Mughal emperor Akbar (reigned 1556–1605).²⁵

In contrast to the demon's unruly, whimsical look, Imam Riza is the personification of grace and control, even at such a dramatic moment. Wearing elegant Safavid attire, his face is concealed under a veil, and his head is surrounded by a flaming nimbus.²⁶ The imam clearly has arrived just in time to save the sea people in the waters below. Frightened and agitated, the naked figures scurry for shelter and beseech the prophet for help; one takes refuge on a rock along the edge of the water. Even the trees and shrubs on the far shore appear to be drawn into the tense confrontation as their branches sway, bend, and recoil in response. An apparent altercation between two monkeys in the central tree further adds to the drama of the moment. The spontaneous, loose brush strokes, coupled with a carefully balanced palette of warm hues, give the composition a sense of immediacy.

As one of several scenes in the dispersed *Falnama* that underscores Imam Riza's miraculous powers, the image also is repeated in the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* and Ahmed I volume²⁷ and probably represented a well-known story. Its exact source remains obscure, however, and the accompanying text offers few additional details other than the fact that the augury is particularly auspicious for sea travel. Battles between prophets and supernatural beings, however, were not unique to the *Falnama* and also were included in the *Taziya*, the Shi'i ritual commemorating Imam Husayn's death. A related episode describes how Imam Ali saved a group of people by binding a demon's toes with a strand of hair.²⁸

MF







Imam Riza Saves the Sea People

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Iran, Safavid period, or Turkey, Ottoman period, ca. 1580s;
volume compiled in 1614–16 in Istanbul

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 48.5 × 35 cm
Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.29b

Published:

And 1998, p. 360.

The accompanying augury states, “With his blessed lance he struck the filthy demon in the breast so hard that the tip of the lance came out through its back, and thereby he delivered the sea people from the evil of the demon.”²⁹ Unlike the illustrations in the dispersed and Topkapı Persian *Falnamas*, where the dark waters dominate half of the composition, here the sea has receded into a pool with white-capped curling waves in the foreground. Purple-edged pink rocks rise in the middle ground, creating a backdrop for the combat between Imam Riza and his evil adversary, who clutches several long-haired sea people in its arms as others run to safety. Like the composition in the dispersed *Falnama*, the demon’s characterization, with its blue-spotted black hide, spiky horns, and partially pink face, strikes a vivid contrast to the prophet’s restrained appearance. Two angels, carrying trays of light, stand in the back, calmly watching the unfolding scene.

This painting is among the most meticulously executed in the Ahmed I *Falnama*. Its pastel color scheme infuses the image with a distinct luminosity, while the expressive figures, including the grimacing faces in the rocks, enhance the drama. Even the tight, curling waves and finely detailed flowers in the foreground seem to reverberate with tension as Imam Riza vanquishes the demon.³⁰

MF

Footprints of Imam Riza

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s-early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59 × 44.5 cm

Musées d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, 1971-107/35

Published:

Robinson 1974, no. 35; *Arts of Islam* 1976, no. 612a (attributed to

Aqa Mirak); Welch 1985, no. 63; Robinson 1992, no. 90;

Thompson and Canby 2003, 4.34 (attributed to Aqa Mirak);

Tokatlian 2007, no. 4 (attributed to Aqa Mirak).

"Any place that Imam Riza sets foot, there hyacinth and basil always grow." Taking a cue from the opening verses of the related augury, the artist created one of the most original and visually compelling paintings of the sixteenth century. It represents the *ghadamgah* (stepping place or station) of Imam Riza, the eighth Shi'i imam, who died in 818 and is buried in Mashhad in northeastern Iran.³¹

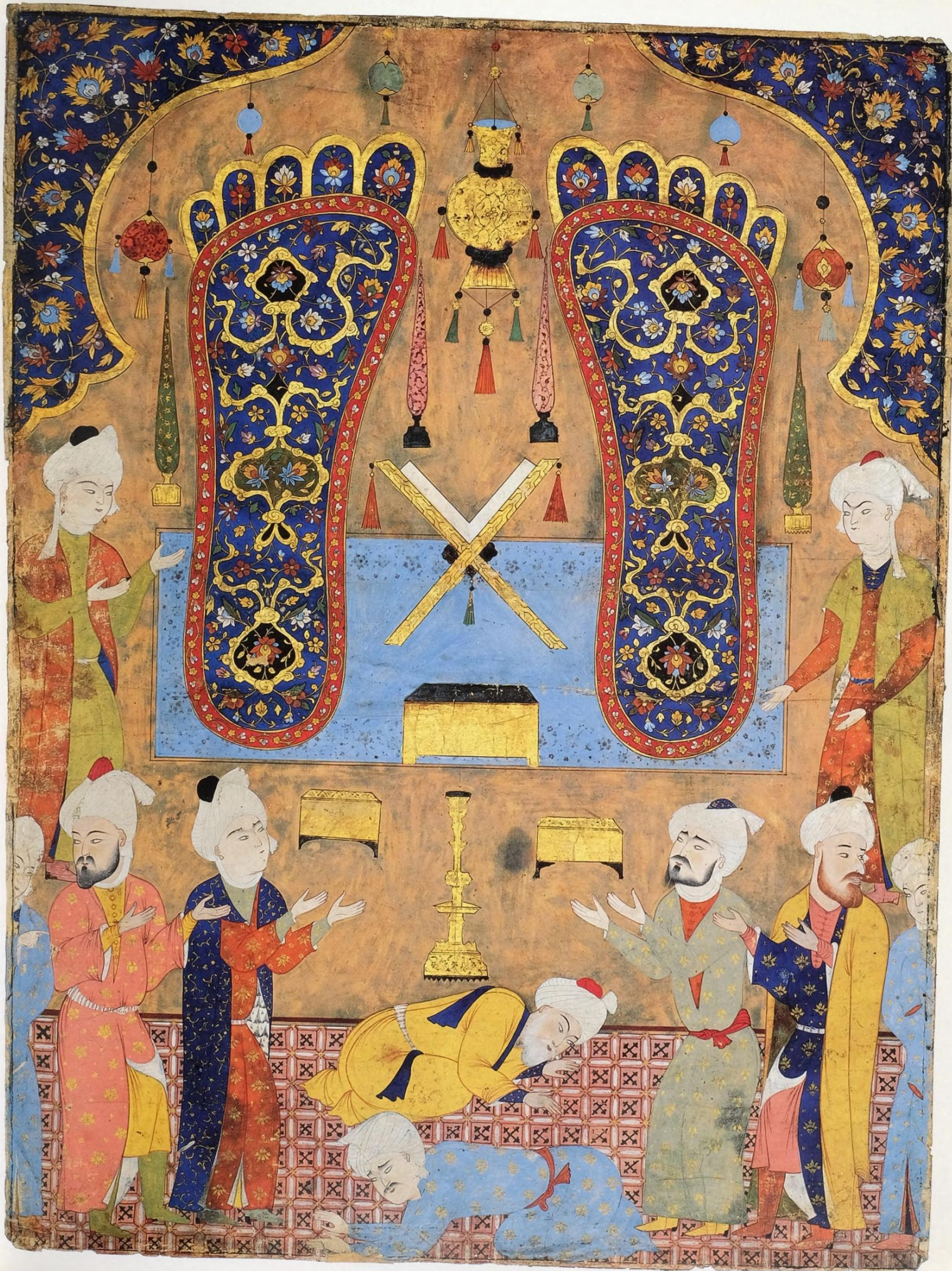
Set within an arch, a pair of large, elaborately illuminated footprints forms the focal point of the composition. A group of worshipers stands around the "fragrant" relic in a loose semicircle. Some gesture and point to the footprints; others pray and urge still others to do the same. The flattened interior also includes a series of carefully arranged objects associated with holy sanctuaries, such as a gold mosque lamp, a folding bookstand with a Koran, three chests (probably holding additional volumes), and a gold candlestick. As if standing guard, four stylized cypress trees, alluding to the garden of paradise, are located behind the footprints. Like most other illustrations from the dispersed *Falnama*, the painting is strongly symmetrical, which has been skillfully countered by the unusual scaling of compositional elements and the use of different decorative patterns. The

animated gestures and poses of the figures further help to offset the symmetry.

Devotees throughout the Islamic world erected shrines around stones that were believed to carry traces of the Prophet's footsteps. Considered holy relics, such stones became the subject of popular veneration, as exemplified by this illustration. Several shrines associated with Imam Riza were built in Iran, but the most important one is the still-extant *ghadamgah* in Nishapur, outside of Mashhad, which originally was surrounded by a lush and fragrant garden.³²

This painting, the only representation of Riza's "station," differs from other *Falnama* illustrations of holy sanctuaries in its emphasis on a potent aniconic symbol.³³ Stripped of a narrative content, it serves much like a sign or talisman. In its structure and meaning, the image recalls the depiction of the equally enigmatic *Azure Monastery* (cat. 37). Both follow a similar formal composition and lack an obvious narrative component. As *Footprints of Imam Riza* represents a religiously sanctioned aniconic emblem, it can be viewed as the antithesis to the *Azure Monastery* with its condemned statues.

MF





Standard (*alam*)

Turkey, Ottoman period, third quarter 16th century

Gold; (h.) 59 cm

Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, 1/1967

Published:

Tezcan and Tezcan 1992, pp. 95-96, figs. 42-44; Aydın 1995,

pp. 59-61; Kafadar and Bağcı 1999, no. 92.

The distinct shape of this finial recalls representations of the Prophet's sandals, which were frequently depicted in popular pilgrimage manuals. Like Imam Ali's hand or Imam Riza's footprints, the aniconic symbol served as an amulet with apotropaic associations.³⁴ A large scalloped medallion occupies the center of the finial and is decorated with the ubiquitous Ottoman triple-spot motifs (*çintemani*) executed in niello, a black enamel-like alloy. The small and finely executed designs lend the surface a subtle touch of color and also enhance its talismanic powers.

The standard's principal design motif, however, is the inscriptions. Across the central medallion, a band in *thuluth* script carries the *shahada* (Muslim profession of faith) while verse 255 from the second sura (*Baqara*) frames the finial. The names of Muhammad and the four caliphs also appear in smaller medallions at the top and along the sides, and the tip carries a small palmette with the word "Allah."

On the basis of a similar finial, dated 1567 (975 AH), this particular example has been attributed to the reign of Selim II (reigned 1566-74) and probably was carried in military campaigns.³⁵

MF





Salih Bids the She-Camel from a Rock

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59.5 × 45 cm

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, 16945

Not in exhibition

Published:

Kröger and Heiden 2004, no. 81; Tokatlian 2007, no. 12.

One of the most popular subjects in the *Falnama* and *Stories of the Prophets* is the miracle of the prophet Salih, which also is repeated several times in the Koran.³⁶ When the people of Thamud in Arabia turned to idol worship, God sent Salih, Noah's grandson, as a messenger to guide them toward the righteous path. The inhabitants of Thamud first demanded Salih perform a miracle during one of their festivals and bring forth a she-camel, "big-bellied, covered with hair, in the tenth month [of gestation] as proof of the validity of his message."³⁷ As soon as Salih prayed to God for assistance, a nearby rock began to rumble and groan, and from it came forth a she-camel, who soon gave birth to an offspring that was almost as big.³⁸

One of the earliest illustrations of this popular scene appears in the 1315 *Jami' al-tawarikh* (Compendium of chronicles) by Rashid al-Din, which has served as a model for subsequent depictions.³⁹ In the *Falnama* composition, a group of stunned men witnesses Salih bid a camel to come forth from a rocky outcrop. The surging pink, purple, and blue boulders seem both to protect the hesitant animals and to lend them visual prominence as they proudly strut out. Close to the top, a leafy plane tree (*chinar*) gives the composition a sense of balance and symmetry.

The same scene is also included in the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* (H.1702, folio 25b), but it is reduced to the main protagonists, with only one camel emerging from the rocks. Instead, a whimsical dog or wolf is seated in the lower right corner. Like other omens relating to prophetic miracles, the image of Salih denotes auspiciousness.

MF



Salih and the She-Camel

Attributed to Siyavush

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, 1570s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 50 × 35.8 cm

Sächsisches Landesbibliothek, Dresden, 445, f.31b

Not in exhibition

Published:

Rühdanz 1987, pl. 5.

The Dresden *Falnama* consists of a series of text and illustrated folios that were assembled in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century in Ottoman Turkey. Its fifty-two extant illustrations include the remarkable *Salih and the She-Camel*, attributed here to the celebrated Safavid painter Siyavush the Georgian.⁴⁰ In the foreground, Salih, dressed in an orange robe and a large, sumptuous turban of gold cloth, raises a staff in one hand as he looks over his shoulder toward the camel that has just emerged from the rocks and trots obediently behind him. The flames rising from the animal's hump suggest the owner's sanctity.⁴¹ Prophet and camel seem oblivious to the four astonished men who watch them from beyond a rocky hillside.

A Georgian by birth, Siyavush was one of the most talented painters in the sixteenth century, and he worked for four successive Safavid rulers of Iran. He was captured and brought to the capital Tabriz around 1544, where he became a member of the royal household slaves (*ghulam-i khassa*) under Shah Tahmasb (reigned 1524–76). Siyavush must have shown considerable artistic talent, for the shah took a personal interest in his training. Tahmasb assigned him first to work with the artist Hasan Ali and then with Muzaffar Ali, one of his favorite painters who was also



responsible for the wall paintings in the new palace in Qazvin. Whether Siyavush contributed to the palace project is not known, but the animated composition of *Salih and the She-Camel* relates closely to his work in the *Shahnama* (Book of kings) for Isma'il II (reigned 1576–77) and the *Habib al-siyar* (Companion of biographies) of 1579–80.⁴² According to the historian Qazi Ahmad, Siyavush was known for the “expressive force of his brush [*qalam*] and his power of design,” artistic traits that are also evident in the Dresden *Falnama* illustration.⁴³ The lively figures and vibrant landscape, especially the skillful use of the cream-colored paper to suggest a rocky terrain, attests to Siyavush's tremendous artistic talents, which he was able to adapt to different subjects throughout his productive career.

MF



Circuit of the Ka'ba

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59 × 44.5 cm

Musées d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, 1971-107/37

Published:

Robinson 1974, no. 37; *Arts of Islam* 1976, no. 612b; Welch 1985, no. 65 ("designed and partially painted by Aqa Mirak, assisted by Abd ul-Aziz"); Robinson 1992, no. 92; Tokatlian 2007, no. 11.

The accompanying augury for this striking image begins by stating, "The circuit of the Ka'ba of the heart is better than the circuit of the Ka'ba of clay," thus identifying the subject as Islam's holiest sanctuary. Situated in the center of an octagonal courtyard, the Ka'ba is represented as a hexagonal building with colorful tiles and a bulbous dome engulfed in flames. Curiously, the Ka'ba's iconic black cube has been transformed into a typical Persian tomb tower. Four tall minarets stand at the perimeters of the large courtyard, where worshipers gather around the central structure. A bareheaded figure, dressed only in a blue skirt with a black scarf around his neck, knocks at the sanctuary's door. He may represent the lovelorn literary figure Majnun. According to the poet Nizami, Majnun's father took him to Mecca in the hope that his son would overcome his love for Layli.⁴⁴ Alternatively, the youth might be an anonymous dervish, much like the man standing next to him in a long-sleeved orange robe and a bell-shaped brown cap.

Another group of worshipers stands around the outer walls of the holy precinct at the top. Silhouetted against a deep azure sky, each figure wears distinct headgear, probably suggesting different social and ethnic backgrounds. A bearded figure in the center stares straight out, arresting the viewer's gaze.⁴⁵ Visible in the lower section is an arcade with a central entrance. Three of its niches are occupied by scholars, and two youths stand in another. The design recalls that of zodiacal symbols in astrological manuscripts and probably was intended as a deliberate visual reference.⁴⁶ Together, the pilgrims at the top of the composition

and the figures in the niches below create an outer "circuit" around the Ka'ba, reinforcing the concept of a physical and spiritual circumambulation.

One of the most unusual characteristics of this illustration is the transformation of the Ka'ba into a tiled tomb tower.⁴⁷ Moreover, it is not the only hexagonal structure identified as Islam's holiest sanctuary; similar styled buildings representing the Ka'ba appear in at least two copies of *Qisas al-anbiya* (Stories of the prophets) by al-Nishaburi, dateable to the 1570s and 1580s (cat. 64).⁴⁸ A passage in the Topkapı Persian copy relating to the illustration of *Imam Ali Slays Murra ibn Qays* (H.1702, folio 21b; cat. 27) may offer an explanation.

*Since the time when Najaf became the place
for the Sun of religion and reign,
Its ground has excelled in glory over the Zamzam well
in Mecca and the temple of Mecca.
Doubtless, it is the principal Ka'ba for the faithful,
Because the strongest lion [of God] resides in it.*

This passage refers to Najaf as Mecca and transforms Imam Ali's resting place into the physical and spiritual center of the faith. In another verse from Ottoman folk literature, Ali is characterized as, "His office is the House of God, his house the Ka'ba."⁴⁹ This identifies the imam with the holy precinct, a concept that may have been translated into pictorial form first in the *Falnama*.⁵⁰

MF



Plate

Probably Iran, 17th–18th century

Stone paste painted under glaze; 42 cm (diam.)

Aga Khan Trust for Culture, AKM 00589

Published:

Momtaz 2004, pp. 32–33; Makariou 2007, no. 15;

Path of Princes 2008, pp. 152–53.

This large blue-and-white plate is decorated with a detailed design that comprises a series of structures with bulbous domes of different sizes and shapes in cross section. A *mimbar* (pulpit) stands on the left, while a pavilion with long eaves, perched on a column (perhaps a minaret), is seen on the right. Two of the buildings carry illegible inscriptions, and most are illuminated with hanging lamps. An arcade, filled with vases of flower and lamps, runs across the bottom, centered on a domed structure that holds a pair of footprints or sandals (*na'layn*) usually linked to the Prophet Muhammad or one of his descendants. Immediately to the left, a double-headed sword (*zulficar*), the symbol of Imam Ali, is visible. Together, these symbols impart a distinct religious significance to the plate. The rest of the area is filled with a motif of schematized floral sprigs that is also echoed on the rim. Here, flowering trees and bushes are arranged around another *mimbar* at the top, which in turn is surrounded by domed structures and a tall banner. The compartmentalization of the design on the rim relates to Chinese-inspired Safavid blue-and-white wares. Generally referred to as “Kraak,” they became particularly popular in seventeenth-century Iran.⁵¹ For the rest, however, the decoration of this dish is unique. It probably depicts a mausoleum or shrine complex reminiscent of the illustrations found in pilgrimage manuals, such as the *Futuh al-haramayn* (The triumph of holy places), that were common in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵²

The singular design suggests the plate must have been a special commission intended to commemorate a pilgrimage to a particularly important site. By including some of the most celebrated aniconic symbols of Islam—the Prophet’s sandals, Ali’s double-headed sword, mosque lamps, *mimbars*, and heavenly gardens—the dish serves not only as a memento but also as a potent apotropaic object.

MF





Idolatry

36

The Poet Sa'di Dressed as a Monk

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Attributed to Nakši Bey

Turkey, Ottoman period, ca. 1610–15;

volume compiled in 1614–16 in Istanbul

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 38 × 21 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.6b

Published:

Islamic Art 1981, fig. 86; Bağcı et al. 2006, p. 192.

This first illustration in the *Falnama* of Ahmed I (reigned 1603–17) is identified in the upper margin as “Shaykh Sa’di travels in the guise of a monk.” Based on a well-known anecdote in the *Bustan* (Orchard) of the Persian poet Sa’di (died 1292), the text relates how, while in China, Sa’di saw an ivory idol on an ebony platform in a church/temple (*kilisa*) called Sumnat. He remarked that worshipers would “rub their faces on its feet,” and periodically the statue would raise its arms. Puzzled by this occurrence, Sa’di hid in the church at night to learn the statue’s secret: he discovered a priest behind a curtain pulling a rope to move the idol.¹ In the *Bustan*, the anecdote is more detailed and takes place in India. The revised story in the *Falnama*, however, was necessitated by the illustration, which depicts the imposing figure of Sa’di in Chinese garb. This demonstrates once again the primacy of the image and its role in determining the text. Wearing an elaborately embroidered red robe, the figure of Sa’di dominates the scene. His pose and meticulous appearance were inspired by the composition of two fifteenth-century Chinese royal grooms, of which three versions on silk have survived in the Topkapı Palace collection.²

The principal subject of the painting, however, is relegated to the upper left, where a small sculptural female figure—the idol of Sumnat—floats under a canopy. She is half-naked, and her headgear, made up of large, serrated gold leaves, recalls that worn by celestial beings in both Ottoman and Safavid painting. A gold ram stands on a base behind the statue, and an open book rests on the platform. The book may have been inspired by the biblical story of the golden calf. Waiting for Moses to return from Mount Sinai, where he received God’s commandments, the doubting Israelites worshiped the golden calf (Exodus 32). Several passages in the Koran mention this idolatry, the punishment of the Israelites in this world, and God’s mercy (2:51–93, 4:153, 7:148–53, 20:83–98). The open book may symbolize the Covenant Code, which was broken when the Israelites worshiped the golden calf.³ The related augury, however, refers neither to the book nor to the ram.



This unusual illustration is attributable to the artist Nakši Bey, about whom almost nothing is known except for his sobriquet “nakši” (painter) and his distinct style. Active during the reigns of Ahmed I and his son Osman II (reigned 1618–22), Nakši is known for his album-page paintings and for his contributions to several manuscripts that were commissioned by Osman II and his courtiers. In an illustrated biography of the Ottoman scholars and shaykhs (*Şekâ'ik-i numaniye*), Nakši Bey is identified as an unrivaled master with a sense of humor, who was also responsible for most of the illustrations in the volume.⁴ His innovative, hybrid style integrates Safavid, Indian, European, and Chinese pictorial conventions, which he must have studied in manuscripts and albums in the court treasury, as is evident from his depiction of Sa’di in the *Falnama*.⁵

Both image and prognostication suggest Kalender Pasha, who compiled the Ahmed I *Falnama*, and Nakši must have collaborated closely on this cautionary tale concerning idolatry. The text focuses more on the content of the story than its meaning as an augury. By placing *The Poet Sa’di Dressed as a Monk* at the beginning of this *Falnama*, Kalender specifically addressed the sultan’s concerns about the role and function of images. The need to do so seemed all the more critical, for Ahmed’s attitude towards images is elaborated by Mustafa Safi, his prayer leader (*imam-ı sultani*), who describes how the sultan personally destroyed an organ-clock because he considered the moving mechanical figurines as “idols.”⁶

SB



درین دایره مصور در میان



Azure Monastery

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Inscribed: *vara-q-i dahum-i musavir, dayr-i mina*

(tenth illustrated folios, azure monastery)

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59 × 44.5 cm

The David Collection, Copenhagen, 79/2006

Published:

Folsach 2007, no. 39; Tokatlian 2007, no. 18.

This mysterious painting is identified as *dayr-i mina* (Azure monastery) both in the accompanying augury and in a later inscription along the upper edge. In Persian literature, the term *dayr* originally referred to a Christian monastery or hermitage, but by the sixteenth century it also denoted Zoroastrian and Hindu temples or any religious space other than a Muslim one. When used in conjunction with the word *mina*, which means “azure,” “enameled,” or “turquoise,” it serves as a metaphor for the firmament, suggested here by the illuminated spandrels that represent the sky or the heavens.⁷

The composition is divided roughly into three bands. The upper one is occupied by a large, enthroned statue flanked by two smaller ones that have been placed a little further back on salmon-colored floor coverings. With their hands resting on their thighs in a gesture of control and authority, the sculptures are dressed in gold robes and originally were painted in silver that is now tarnished. A long-haired man in a salmon-colored garment prostrates himself before the central statue. Two figures in flowing robes and red-and-gold trimmed caps stand above him on either side. One reads from an illuminated text, and the other holds his hands in a gesture of benediction. Two other men watch the scene from the sidelines. Along the lower edge, a gray-bearded figure has fallen to his knees. His gold-trimmed red cap lies on the ground, and he has raised his hands as if preparing to prostrate himself. Three other figures watch in stunned bewilderment.

The exact significance of the enclosure and the identity of its occupants are unclear, but the verses of the accompanying augury might offer some clues. After introducing the subject, they counsel the seeker to trust in God and “after this, wash from your heart the picture of any other.” This warning, together with the three gold statues, suggests the space represents a refuge or monastery for those venerating images: the statues or idols probably represent Hinduism,⁸ the hooded and robed figures in the lower left might depict a Christian monk with a novice behind him, and the two figures with long, disheveled tresses are perhaps ascetics or Zoroastrians.

Azure Monastery differs stylistically from all other illustrations in the dispersed *Falnama*, in which the figures are portrayed in bright, traditional Safavid costumes. Here, the men wear pale-colored robes with accentuated folds of the type first seen in the fourteenth-century copy of Rashid al-Din’s *Jami’ al-tawarikh* (Compendium of chronicles)⁹ and later in many of the fifteenth-century compositions that depict peasants and farmers, which are now gathered in two albums in the Topkapı Palace Library.¹⁰ The distinct head coverings of some of the figures in the *Azure Monastery* also recall certain Timurid models, especially those worn by some of the same peasants in the Istanbul albums.¹¹ Moreover, one of the albums includes an illustration of a monastery inhabited by Christian monks and ascetics who resemble the hooded man and his disciple in the lower left of this work.¹² Curiously, the only other composition to incorporate fifteenth-century iconographic elements is *The Poet Sa’di Dressed as a Monk*, the first illustration of the Ahmed I *Falnama*, which also addresses the issue of idolatry.¹³ While the Ottoman artist depends on Sa’di’s well-known anecdote, his Safavid counterpart chose a more abstract and enigmatic approach to the doctrinal concept of idolatry.¹⁴

The composition’s strict symmetry and flattened spatial organization, as well as several decorative elements, such as the illuminated arch and the colored tiles at the bottom, relate to the *Footprints of Imam Ali* (see cat. 30) in the dispersed *Falnama*. The two illustrations may even represent the work of the same artist, but they embody diametrically opposed meanings. In one painting, worshipers gather around an aniconic symbol—the traces of a prophet’s footsteps—that are commemorated, revered, and celebrated. Both the text and the depiction of the *Azure Monastery*, however, condemn religious icons and “pictures of any kind” for worship. The disquieting air and sense of foreboding that permeate *Azure Monastery* must have had a profound impact on those who chanced upon this inauspicious augury.

MF



Sages, Heroes, and Villains

38

Alexander Builds a Wall against Gog and Magog

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59.4 × 45 cm

Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, ms 395

Published:

International Exhibition 1931, no. 262b; BWG 1933, no. 213;

Robinson 1967, no. 147; Sievernich and Budde 1989, no. 1/259,

Abb. 612; Thompson and Canby 2003, no. 4.36 (attributed to

Abdul Aziz); Tokatlian 2007, no. 9.

In the Islamic tradition, the Macedonian conqueror Alexander (Iskandar) often has been identified with Zulqarnayn (Dhu'l-qarnayn). According to the Koran (18:83–98), Zulqarnayn was divinely ordained to travel throughout the world and spread the word of God, and his attributes as ruler, sage, seeker, warrior, and prophet fueled some of the most fantastic narratives in Persian and Turkish literary traditions. His name means "one with two horns," a term perhaps referring to the extent of his dominion, which stretched from the East to the West.¹

The dispersed *Falnama* text refers to Alexander, shown seated under a tent on the left, as *Iskandar-i zulqarnayn*, thus collapsing the historical and legendary figures into one. Both the written and visual auguries synthesize different episodes and characters from more traditional accounts to create a new, composite image of the sage-king that is perhaps more suitable as a pictorial omen.

The Koran as well as later historians and poets maintain that when Alexander reached the end of the world, he encountered the villainous people of Gog (Yajuj) and Magog (Majuj), who also are mentioned in Ezekiel 38–39 and are considered one of the signs of the Apocalypse. To protect the civilized world from these creatures, Alexander ordered the construction of an iron wall to contain them, depicted here in the lower section.² The brightly colored, spotted demons that assist in building the wall are an unusual addition, but they also appear in the slightly later *Shahnama* of Isma'il II, dated 1577–78.³

A more curious feature of this illustration is the inclusion of two prophets seated next to Alexander under a tent. The text refers to one of them as Khizr, who is identified in the Koran as Moses's

anonymous guide in his search for the confluence of the seas (18:60–82). In the *Shahnama*, Khizr is transformed into Alexander's guide as he travels in the land of darkness looking for the water of life. Alexander fails in his search, but Khizr succeeds in finding the source of immortality. Although not mentioned by name, the second seated prophet is Ilyas (Elijah), another of Alexander's guides in the land of darkness. No known account of the Alexander story incorporates either prophet into the same episode as his encounter with the people of Gog and Magog, an iconographic anomaly of this *Falnama* illustration. Just as the image combines both Alexander and the two sages in a single scene, the written augury also appropriates and synthesizes different attributes of Alexander and Khizr to foretell an auspicious future for the seeker.

*Anyone for whom, from all eternity, the grace of God
has become a guide*

*Has built, like Iskandar, the wall against the Gog of oppression,
Has gained, like Khizr, eternal life on account of his grace. . . .*

Another illustration of Alexander supervising the construction of the wall, but without Khizr and Ilyas, appears in the Topkapı Persian copy (H.1702, folio 20b). It is identified as "the wall of Gog and Magog," and unlike the augury in the dispersed *Falnama*, it is "extremely evil" and foresees instability, fear, danger, and debt for the seeker. The two illustrations exemplify how on rare occasions the same ostensible subject could signify quite different outcomes. By emphasizing certain iconographic elements over others, the inflection of the augury could therefore change dramatically and carry a far different meaning for the seeker.

MF

Death of Dara in Alexander's Arms

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59 × 44.5 cm

Musées d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, Pozzi 1971-170/34

Published:

Robinson 1973, no. 34; Welch 1985, no. 62 (attributable to Aqa Mirak); Robinson 1992, no. 89; Tokatlian 2007, no. 17.

This poignant scene of Alexander of Macedonia attending the death of his half-brother Dara belongs to a relatively small group of literary-inspired auguries in the dispersed *Falnama*.⁴ Based on the iconography of the image in earlier copies of Firdawsi's *Shahnama* and the *Iskandarnama* of Nizami, the painting resembles a magnified version of a traditional Safavid manuscript illustration.

According to Firdawsi, Alexander's parents were the Persian ruler Darab and the daughter of Philip of Macedonia. Darab sent his Greek wife home because of her bad breath, unaware that she was pregnant. Their son Alexander eventually became the ruler of Macedonia. When Darab's other son Dara (Darius) succeeded his father on the throne, Alexander went to Iran as an envoy, not then knowing he was Dara's half-brother. Dara decided to attack the Macedonian forces but was defeated. After he failed to secure peace, Dara was murdered by two of his counselors. Alexander rushed to Dara's side, comforted him, and told him they were half-brothers, which he had heard from his elders. Alexander promised to care for Dara's family and rule justly over Iran. He also ordered the two murderers to be hanged for disloyalty to their master.

Anchored by a tree, the composition shows Alexander kneeling in the lower right, with Dara's head in his lap. An attendant

sprinkles the lifeless body with rosewater, and an astrologer and his assistant consult an astrolabe and make notations, respectively. A group of grieving figures has gathered around the protagonists. Behind the rocky landscape on the left, the bodies of the two murderers hang from the gallows, while on the right, a distraught groom dabs at his eyes with a red handkerchief. He wears a distinct Ottoman Janissary cap, a curious addition to this otherwise Safavid composition.

The appropriation of this well-known story as a pictorial augury defies easy explanation, but the introductory verses offer a clue. By focusing on Dara as the subject of treachery and disloyalty, the omen seems to advocate moral generosity and rectitude: "Since the world will be faithful to no one, if you do some good for the people of the world, it will be better." In general, the prognostication is inauspicious, except if the intention is charitable work, "such as the repair of mosques, madrasas, bridges, and way stations on the hajj route or the route of the holy shrines." With Alexander as one of the protagonists, the illustration can also be viewed as a complement to *Alexander Builds a Wall against Gog and Magog* (cat. 38).

MF







Khizr and Ilyas Find the Water of Life

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Probably Iran, Safavid period, 1580s;

volume compiled in 1614–16 in Istanbul

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 49.3 × 36 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.9b

Published:

And 1998, p. 36.

Although Khizr is not mentioned by name in the Koran, he is one of the most important popular religious-spiritual figures in Islam. Referred to as a prophet (*payghambar* or *nabi*), companion, or deputy (*wali*), he is associated with esoteric knowledge and immortality. In the Koran (18:59–82), he is identified with the anonymous “servant of God” who guides Moses during his spiritual journey,⁵ while his companion Ilyas (Elijah) is described as a messenger and prophet (37:123–32). Ilyas, too, is granted eternal life, and together Ilyas and Khizr are believed to be still alive as spiritual guardians, saving desperate humans in difficult situations on land and sea.⁶ The third protagonist in this composition is Alexander of Macedonia (Iskandar), who often is identified with Zulqarnayn (Dhu’l-qarnayn, meaning possessor of two horns), the sage-king mentioned in the Koran (18:83–98). Zulqarnayn is said to have traveled to the far eastern and far western corners of the world and built an iron rampart against the people of Gog and Magog, deeds traditionally attributed to Alexander (see cat. 38).⁷

The association of Khizr and Ilyas with Alexander’s quest for eternal life is an integral part of a literary rather than a religious tradition. The story most likely is rooted in the Greek Alexander romance, known in the Islamic world by the general name *Iskandarnama*. These stories describe Khizr as a spiritual guide who accompanies Alexander on his journey to the land of

darkness in search of eternal life. In the *Iskandarnama* of Nizami (died 1209), one of the most frequently illustrated literary texts in Iran and Turkey, both Khizr and Ilyas accompany Alexander on his quest. Once in the land of darkness and separated from the Macedonian conqueror and his men, the two sages sit by a spring to eat a meal of salted fish and bread. One fish falls into the water, revives, and swims away. When the two witness this miraculous event, they realize they have found the fountain of life. They drink from it and gain immortality.⁸

The focus of the *Falnama* illustration is the land of darkness, painted black and surrounded by jagged blue, purple, and brown rocks. Khizr, who traditionally is depicted as an elderly man, and the younger Ilyas sit in a flowering meadow beside the eternal spring; they watch with astonishment as the revived fish swims away. Their horses, which allegedly also become immortal, stand by patiently. Alexander and his men, some of whom hold torches, appear along the horizon, oblivious to the miraculous discovery of Khizr and Ilyas.

The strong colors and carefully arranged composition are characteristic of the work of an anonymous painter, who was probably responsible for several other illustrations in this *Falnama*, such as *Solomon and Bilqis Enthroned* and *The Sacrifice of Abraham* (cats. 19, 20).

SB

Hakim Luqman

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Probably Iran, Safavid period, 1580s;

volume compiled in 1614–16 in Istanbul

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 49 × 35.1 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.23b

Published:

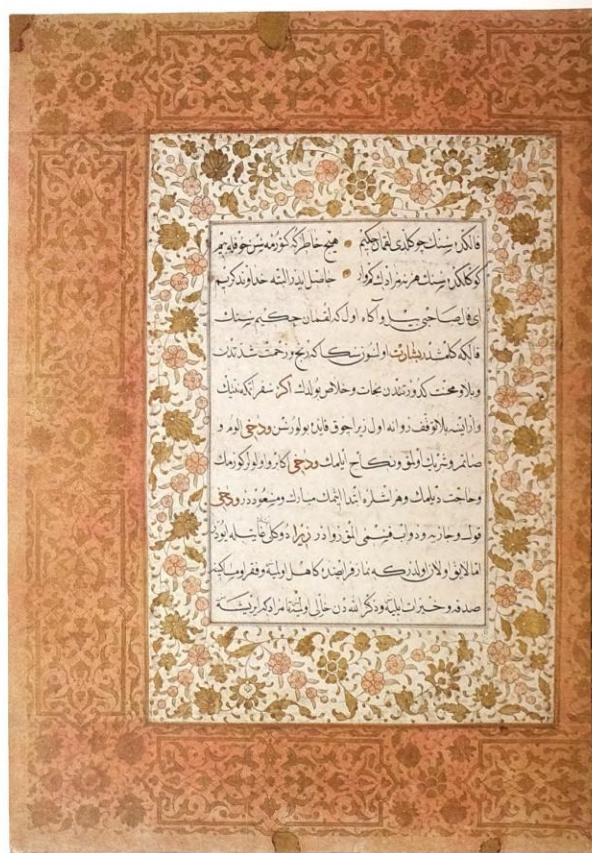
And 1998, p. 382.

Riding a growling leopard, the sage (*hakim*) Luqman is depicted as an elderly, dark-skinned man with a well-groomed gray beard and eyebrows. He firmly clasps a silver bowl with a gold lid and wears an elaborately designed blue coat, embellished with writhing phoenixes and dragons, over an orange robe.⁹ The composition's overall palette, coupled with the commanding scale of the figures and flowers, recall several other illustrations in this volume. Although it is difficult to associate the style with a particular artistic center, the painter's inclusion of animal and human faces in the rocks relates to an earlier and popular Safavid pictorial convention.¹⁰

A legendary pre-Islamic figure, Luqman belonged to the tribe of Ad. As his Ottoman namesake Lokman Aşuri wrote in the 1583 *Zübdat al-tawarikh* (Essence of the histories), his exact origin and profession and whether he was a prophet or a sage have been disputed by Islamic writers.¹¹ The thirty-first chapter of the Koran is named after him; it includes verses on his pious counsel to his son (31:19–21), which have helped shape his reputation as a proverbial sage within Islamic tradition. Allegedly, when God asked Luqman to choose between prophethood and wisdom, he chose the latter and was given a thousand chapters on all kinds of knowledge. In addition, God granted him longevity (*al mu'ammār*).¹² His sobriquet *hakim*, meaning both sage and physician, and his long life account for his identification as a legendary physician (mostly in Turkish lore) to whom the herbs and flowers talk and inform him of their healing qualities.¹³ The covered silver bowl may contain a remedial mixture and allude to his knowledge of medicine.

The Dresden *Falnama* includes a different and quite unusual illustration of Luqman, where he is shown in a well with a skeleton (see fig. 5.2). According to legend, following slanderous accusations, the king threw the sage and his son into a well, where they were forgotten. Luqman managed to survive by eating nuts in a small niche he dug into the wall, but his son died. After many years, when the new king was taken ill and no one was able to cure him, Luqman was rescued from the well to save him.¹⁴ As Luqman's noble personal attributes would suggest, the accompanying prognostications are favorable for all kinds of endeavors, from travel to marriage.

SB





People of the Cave

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper: 58.4 × 45 cm

Rogers Fund

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1935 (35.64.3)

Published:

Bloch et al. 1929, pp. 26–27; Milstein et al. 1999, p. 67; Tokatlian 2007, no. 15.

The miracle of the “People of the Cave” (*ashaf-i kahf*) or the “Seven Sleepers of Ephesus” was first mentioned in Syriac sources, but it also appears in the Koran (18:9–25) and was elaborated by subsequent authors. According to these accounts, some time before the birth of Christ, three youths fled a pagan town, identified by some as Ephesus in present-day Turkey. Soon they were joined by four others, including a shepherd and a dog known as Qitmir. At first they refused to take in the dog for fear its bark would give away the location of the cave they had chosen as their refuge. When the dog addressed them in an eloquent human voice, however, and told them that it, too, was looking for God, they changed their minds. Once in the cave, the seven fell asleep, and God ordered the angel of death to take their souls, but two other angels were ordered to turn over their bodies once a year “so that the earth would not consume their flesh.”¹⁵ The pagan king Daqyanus ordered the entrance of the cave to be blocked, and the youths and the dog remained asleep for three hundred nine years, until God decided to breathe life into their spirits again.¹⁶

One of the most visually powerful illustrations in the dispersed *Falnama*, the painting depicts a large, dark cave in which the interlocked figures of the seven sleepers create a wide crescent around the contented, slumbering dog. Colored rocks in hues of muted orange, light blue, salmon, and pink surround the cave like a protective aura and are anchored by three small trees.

Accompanied by a group of roaming soldiers, a crowned figure on an elegant white horse stands in the upper right. He probably represents Daqyanus, who is led by Satan, recognizable by his dark skin and collar.¹⁷ Surprisingly, Satan is the only figure in the

composition who wears a typical Safavid headgear, characterized by a tall, ribbed *baton*.

An early illustration of the seven sleepers appears in Rashid al-Din’s *Jami’ al-tawarikh* (Compendium of chronicles), in which a vertically oriented cave is squeezed into the left part of the composition.¹⁸ In the *Falnama* painting, the artist transformed the cave into a circular space and, moving it center stage, has artfully intertwined the slumbering figures into an arc around the dog. The arrangement recalls Byzantine models, but a fifteenth-century Timurid composition, now in Istanbul, may have provided another visual source for the artist.¹⁹

Depictions of the seven sleepers also are included in copies of the slightly later *Qisas al-anbiya*, the Dresden *Falnama* (E445, folio 24b), and the Topkapı Persian copy (H.1702, folio 12b).²⁰ The Dresden illustration relates closely to the dispersed *Falnama* illustration in scale, composition, and color scheme, and it even includes the crowned figure and Satan at the top. As is typical of the simpler illustrations of the Topkapı Persian copy, the artist omitted secondary figures and focused attention on the sensitively rendered men. The slumbering figures are shown in poses identical to those in the dispersed *Falnama* but in reverse, which suggests the artist used a stencil to transfer the composition (see figs. 2.7, 7.1). The accompanying augury is favorable and emphasizes the importance of Qitmir. Addressing the sleepers’ initial reluctance to allow in the dog, the prognostication in the Topkapı Persian copy begins, “I am the dog of the family of Ali; how can I not be safe?”







Hippocrates

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Probably Iran, Safavid period, ca. 1580s;

volume compiled in 1614–16 in Istanbul

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 47.5 × 35 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.38b

Published:

Atasoy and Çağman 1974, pl. 41; And 1998, p. 299.

The prognostication for this unusual composition begins:

O augury seeker, know and be aware that Hippocrates the Physician, seated on the neck of the simurgh and going to Mount Qaf for treatment, has turned up as your omen.

Sweeping through the cloud-streaked sky, Hippocrates (Buqrāt) straddles the neck of the mythical *simurgh* and, while looking over his shoulder, gently holds on to the back of the majestic bird. With its controlled palette of orange, blue, and purple hues highlighted with gold, the composition is a tour de force of color and movement. The *simurgh*'s long, serrated tail swirls through the azure skies, already animated by whirling multicolored knotted clouds.²¹

The most celebrated physician of antiquity, Hippocrates (circa 460–circa 375 BCE) is responsible for the development of medical methodology and ethics, including the Hippocratic Oath that is still recited today.²² Born on the Greek island of Cos, Hippocrates frequently is mentioned in medieval Arab sources as someone who cares for and heals the sick and as the builder of the first hospital. He was also highly respected for his knowledge of alchemy, astrology, and magic, which explains his inclusion in this *Falnama*.²³ Although the physician is the principal protagonist, his association with the mythical *simurgh* and its abode on the legendary Mount Qaf further increases his stature as the possessor of specialized knowledge.²⁴

This boldly conceived illustration is the only one of the Greek physician in all the extant *Falnamas*. Although it is uncertain where it was painted, the fantastic, multicolored cloud formations and Hippocrates's facial features also can be seen in several illustrations of the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* (H.1702).²⁵ These stylistic similarities suggest some of the pictorial auguries, distributed among different volumes, may have been created by the same artists or at least in the same artistic milieu.

MF







Uvays-i Qaran and the Camel

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59 × 44.5 cm

Musées d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, 1971-107-36

Published:

Robinson 1973, no. 36; Welch 1985, no. 64 (attributed to Abdul Aziz); Robinson 1992, no. 91; Tokatlian 2007, no. 16 (attributed to Aqa Mirak).

The accompanying augury identifies the protagonist as the semi-legendary Uvays-i Qaran. A camel herder from Yemen who preferred a solitary life, he was one of the Prophet's closest companions and also may have fought with Imam Ali at the battle of Siffin in 657.²⁶

The composition centers on a large, agitated dromedary. Its hump is covered with an elegant saddlecloth from which flickering flames emanate to imply the sanctity of its rider. A white-bearded man, perhaps representing Uvays, desperately tries to control the camel with a slender black stick. A second figure crawls along the lower edge of the painting, possibly in an effort to help. As in a number of other dispersed *Falnama* illustrations, several large-scale figures stand along the horizon and gesture toward the protagonists, lending the flattened composition a pronounced sense of theatricality.

This animated scene has defied identification. Some scholars propose that it might depict a later moment in the story of the prophet Salih (see cats. 32, 33), when the inhabitants of Thamud tried to hamstring and kill the she-camel.²⁷ Visually, the two images certainly seem to relate and complement each other, but the text clearly identifies the protagonist as Uvays. In the accompanying augury, he is addressed with the honorific title "sultan," and the omen is an auspicious one.²⁸

MF



The Angel of Death Descends on Shaddad ibn Ad

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59.3 × 44.8 cm

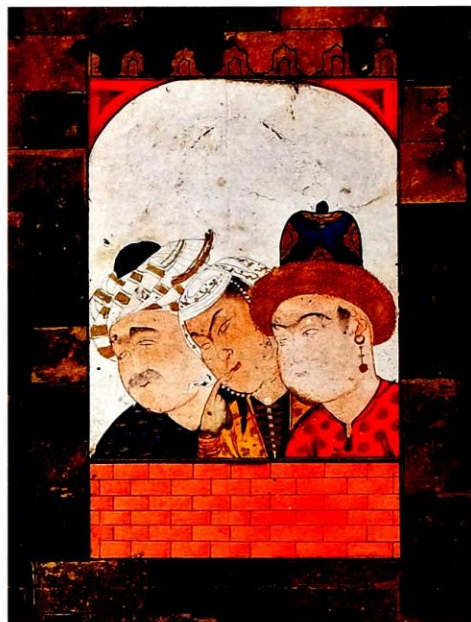
Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C., 51986.252a

Published:

Tentoonstelling 1927, no. 17.1; *International Exhibition of Persian Art* 1931, no. 260b; BWG 1933, no. 213d; Milstein 1990, p. 72 (attributed to Aqa Mirak); Lowry and Nemazee 1988, no. 30; Lowry et al. 1988, no. 170; *America's Smithsonian* 1996, p. 88; Seyller 2002, cat. 4; Tokatlian 2007, no. 13.

The Koran (89:11) identifies Shaddad ibn Ad as one who “transgressed beyond bounds” but who was also punished accordingly: “Have you not seen what your Lord did to Ad of Iram of the Pillars, the likes of which were never created in the realm?” (Koran 89:6–7). Like many brief Koranic references, the story was elaborated in later popular stories of the prophets. According to al-Tha’labi, Caliph Muawiyya (died 680) heard of a camel keeper who stumbled upon a magnificent city near Aden in Yemen. It had “castles built in the air supported underneath by pillars of topaz and sapphire, with chambers on top of each castle built of gold, silver, pearl, sapphire, and chrysolite.” When the caliph inquired further, he was told the city, called Iram, had been built by the tyrannical Shaddad ibn Ad, who wanted to recreate a garden of paradise on earth. When it was completed, Shaddad set out to visit Iram, but while he was still a day away from his destination, God dealt him “a noisy punishment from Heaven” that killed him and his retinue. Mirkhvand’s *Rawzat al-safa* (Garden of purity) maintains that the angel of death (Israel) came before Shaddad, and when the king found out his identity, he asked for a chance to see the garden, but his request was refused. Realizing that his end had come, Shaddad dismounted his horse, and with one foot still in the stirrup, he expired, paying for his hubris.²⁹

The most elaborate pictorial interpretation of Shaddad’s demise occurs in the dispersed *Falnama*.³⁰ Much of the action takes place at the gate of a walled lush garden, densely planted with tall, fruit-laden trees and inhabited by harpies and other exotic birds. With

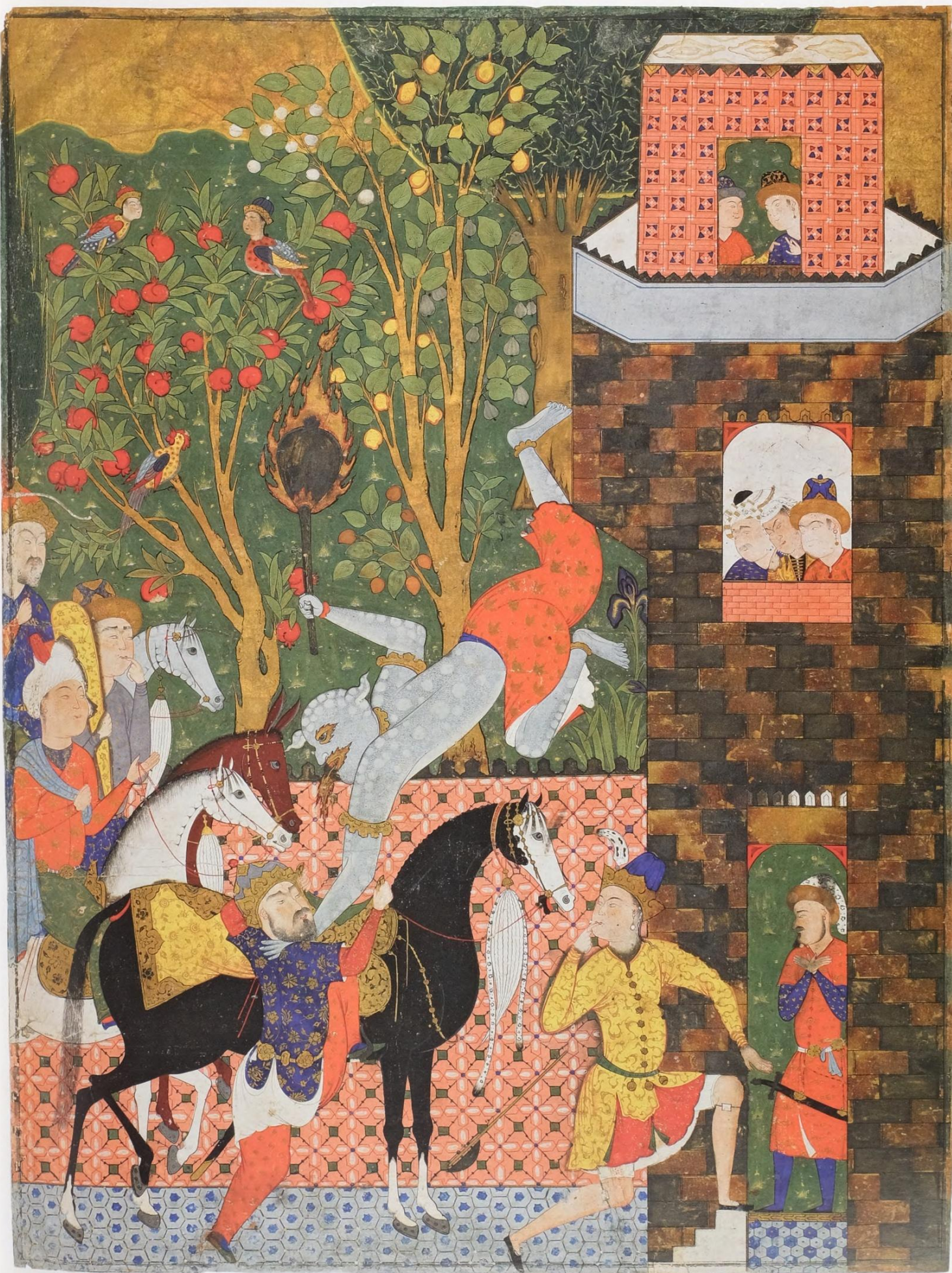


its brilliant colors and richly patterned surfaces, the flattened composition exudes a sense of joy and excitement that belies its cautionary message. In the very center of the composition, the angel of death, resembling a ferocious gray demon (*div*), breathes fire and hurtles through the air. With one hand he grabs a terrified Shaddad by the collar, and with the other he wields a flaming mace, a symbol of divine wrath. The king’s companions, some of whom crowd at the windows and door of a tower on the right, witness the incredible event in stunned disbelief.³¹

The dramatic composition has no earlier models, but an illustration of a talisman against nightmares in the *Kitab al-bulhan* (Book of wonderment) and one in the *Metali’u’s-sa’adet ve yenabi’u’s-siyadet* (Ascensions of felicity and sources of ascendency) of circa 1582, commissioned by Murad III (reigned 1574–95), include a demon in an almost identical pose to the one depicted here.³²

An illustration of Shaddad’s hubris also occurs in the *Topakpi* Persian copy, but here the image is reduced to the most critical compositional elements. As two figures peer from a window in a nearby tower and two others look out from behind the opposite hill, Shaddad dismounts his horse in front of Iram’s gate and is confronted by a grimacing, dark-skinned angel. Barring Shaddad’s entrance, the frightful angel raises a gold mace to strike the errant king.³³ Not surprisingly, *The Angel of Death Descends on Shaddad ibn Ad* is an inauspicious omen and warns against “depraved and incorrect thoughts” and all new endeavors.

MF



Four Lions Devour Zaynab

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper

21.9 × 30.2 cm (top); 23.5 × 34.5 cm (below)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14.690 (top)

Abolala Soudavar Collection (below)

Not in exhibition

Published:

(MFA Boston); Marteau et Vever, 1912, pl. LXIV;

Tokatlian 2007, no. 29.

(Soudavar) Tokatlian 2007, no. 29; Marteau et Vever, 1912, pls. LXIII;

Druout, 28 May 1975, lot. 180; Soudavar 1995, no. 72

(attributed to Abdul Aziz).

In 1912 this composition became the first folio from the dispersed *Falnama* to be published. At the time, it already had been cut in half, and the upper section also was trimmed on all sides. Now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, it depicts an elegantly garbed, veiled figure with a flaming nimbus standing in a columnar hall. He addresses a bearded, crowned man on the left.³⁴ Two groups of male observers, dressed in colorful robes and turbans, stand at both ends of the hall. The artist devoted considerable attention to individualizing these men, as is evident from the short, portly figure on the left, who recalls some of the portraits found in contemporaneous Safavid albums.³⁵

The group is intently focused on the scene below, where four ferocious lions tear into a woman. Wearing a red robe, she lies unconscious on the floor; a fifth chained lion rests in the background. Two men stand in doorways on either side of the scene, watching in horror.

The related augury is missing, but the painting has been identified as possibly representing the story of Jargis (Georges), who was accused of sorcery by the wife of the governor of Mosul. Jargis was killed and thrown to the lions, but the animals refused to touch him. Eventually, his accuser, the governor's wife, was subjected to the same fate.³⁶

An almost identical scene appears in the later Indian *Falnama* in the Khalili Collection. In the related augury, the female protagonist is identified as *Zaynab-i kaza*, the "vile Zaynab," who is devoured by four lions. So far, it has not been possible to identify the

protagonist, but allegedly, during the time of Caliph Mutawakkil (reigned 847–61), a certain Zaynab claimed to be a descendant of Imam Husayn. Doubting the woman, Mutawakkil consulted with the tenth imam, Ali al-Hadi (died 868), who advised him to throw the woman to the lions. If she were telling the truth, she would not be harmed. While the upper section can be interpreted as an exchange between Ali al-Hadi and Mutawakkil, the lower section does not corroborate the story. When Zaynab heard of the ordeal, she panicked, admitted her lie, and was saved from death.³⁷

The text on the reverse of the two halves is equally curious. A series of auspicious prognostications that terminate in an incomprehensible line of *tawqih* script appears on the lower half.³⁸ The back of the upper section is covered with brown paper, but x-ray technology has determined it still retains its original text. Although only fragmentary, it refers to an image of Jesus piercing the mouth of Dajjal (the Antichrist), an illustration that has yet to be located. This scene, however, appears in the Khalili *Falnama* and may have been modeled on the now-lost version in the dispersed copy. Interestingly, in both *Falnamas* the two images follow each other, and the Khalili test is identical to the fragmentary dispersed one.

The partial augury confirms that the dispersed *Falnama* included at least one additional illustration that would have complemented the image of the still extant *Arrival of the Antichrist* (cat. 53). Based on the Khalili text, the image of Jesus killing Dajjal denotes a positive augury, for it emphasizes the defeat of the Antichrist.

AMF





The Zodiac

47

Sun

From the H.1702 *Falnama*

Probably Iran, Safavid period, 1580s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;

39.5 × 24.5 cm (with margins)

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1702, f.5b

Unpublished.

Carried aloft by four angels, a majestic, human-faced sun disk illuminates a cloud-streaked sky with its golden rays.¹ According to Islamic astronomy, the Sun is the fourth of seven planets, a calculation based on its distance from Earth in ascending order. It rotates within one of the seven spheres (*falak*) while the constellations, including the twelve signs of the zodiac, occupy the eighth. During the course of twelve months, the Sun also travels through the zodiac. This movement, in part, forms the basis of astrological investigations, the most popular form of divination, which allegedly also affects human behavior.²

This composition is characteristic of the most original illustrations in this undated copy of the *Falnama*.³ In style and execution, the image recalls Safavid artistic norms of the second half of the sixteenth century, which favored fewer but larger figures and minimized intricate surface decoration.⁴ The colorful knotted clouds, incorporated into almost all of the planetary and zodiacal depictions, are strikingly similar to those in *Salih Bids the She-Camel from a Rock* from the dispersed *Falnama* (cat. 32) and also appear on a pair of sixteenth-century detachable silk sleeves to a kaftan attributed to Qazvin.⁵ These details suggest that at least some of the illustrations in the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* draw on the metropolitan Safavid style, which now has been adapted to new subjects and scale.⁶

The manuscript is the only *Falnama* copy to include illustrations of the seven known planets and the eighth pseudo one (see fig. 2.13), which are organized relative to their distance to Earth, and a representation of the twelve signs of the zodiac. The attention devoted to the heavenly bodies seems to acknowledge their critical role in determining and predicting human fate, which was habitually explored through the twin arts of astronomy and astrology. The related auguries, however, have been stripped of all “scientific” associations, and the astrological signs are treated like other omens depicting religious, literary, or heroic themes. The Sun, for instance, is identified as a highly auspicious augury for all endeavors, but the seeker still needs to wear an amulet as protection against certain foes, especially those who are short and sallow-faced with a blemish.⁷

MF



Fragmentary plate

Inscribed: *amal-i Abd al-Vahid, fi sana 971 AH* (work of Abdul Vahid, in the year 1563–64)

Probably northwestern Iran, 1563–64

Stonepaste ware with painted underglaze; 41 cm (diam.)

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, I.1292

Published:

Kühnel, 1924, fig. 10; Enderlein n.d., cover; Pope and Ackerman 1939, p. 1692; Canby 1999, pl. 66; Melikian-Chirvani 2007, pl. 56.

This large and impressive blue-and-white fragment is one of the few dated and signed pieces from later sixteenth-century Iran. In the very center, an inscription states that it was completed in the year 971 AH (1563–64) by a certain Abdul Vahid. Set within a large medallion, the name is surrounded by a fluid scroll motif punctuated by flowers and palmettes. The principal design element, the twelve signs of the zodiac (*buruj*), appears in a wide outer band. Each of the emblems is set in a roundel that at times is embellished with tufts of grass or cloud-like flourishes. They conform to the long-established norms for depicting astrological signs in the Islamic world, but the artist also has added his personal touches, such as the emerging face of the Sun in Virgo or the kid in Capricorn that balances on a three-legged stand.⁸

Chinese-inspired blue-and-white vessels and tiles, already popular during the rule of the Timurids in fifteenth-century Iran, continued to be produced in the Safavid period.⁹ This particular fragment, however, differs from other examples in its decoration. Instead of emulating Chinese motifs, the design tends to be more Persian in concept and relates closely to the depiction of the zodiac in other media. Its fine execution suggests it must have been intended as a special commission by a Safavid master potter whose work represents a style different from the more traditional Chinese mode of decoration.

MF







Celestial sphere

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Probably Iran, Safavid period, ca. 1580s;

volume compiled in 1614–16 in Istanbul

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 49 × 36 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.17b

Published:

And 1998, p. 309.

In this illustration from the Ahmed I *Falnama*, the seven planets and twelve signs of the zodiac are integrated into a celestial disk held in place by four angels floating against a stylized, cloud-streaked sky. Set in medallions, the signs of the zodiac occupy the outer band, while six of the seven planets appear in an inner one.¹⁰ Saturn (*zuhal*), the seventh, the most negative, and the most distant planet from Earth, presides in the center of the disk. Shown as a dark, elderly figure with multiple arms and carrying various objects, Saturn's personification, like that of the planet Mars, originally derived from Indian visual sources.¹¹

In astrology, the continuously changing relationship of the constellations and the zodiac forms the basis for calculating, determining, and forecasting. As an augury in the *Falnama*, however, the meaning of the planets and the signs of the zodiac has been largely fixed. Still, the prognostication suggests an element of uncertainty and warns the seeker, "Although this omen is not devoid of inauspiciousness, do not worry, for it indicates that felicity will triumph over infelicity."¹²

MF



Calendar (*taqwim*)

Compiled by Yusuf bin Umar al-sa'ati al-munajjim

Turkey, Istanbul, Ottoman period, dated 3 Muharram 919 AH

(11 March 1513)

Ink, opaque watercolor, and ink on paper; 29 × 21 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, E.H.1710, ff.6b-7a

Published:

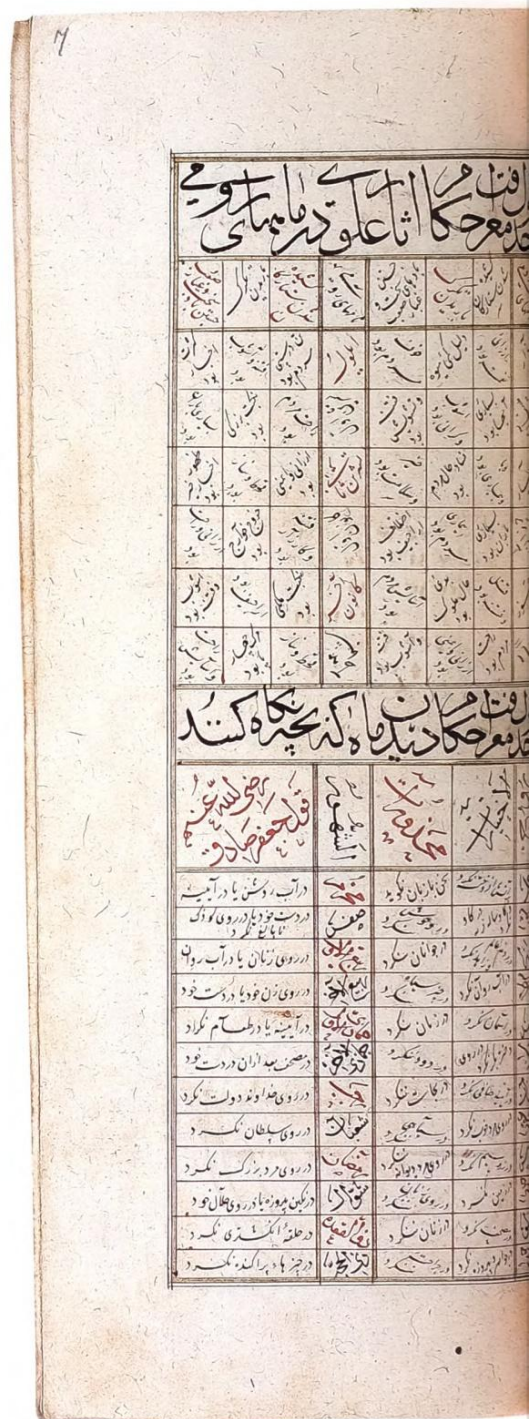
Karatay 1961, no. 255.

In Ottoman Turkey as in other parts of the Islamic world, *taqwims* (calendars) were compiled annually for the populace and the elite alike. Based on astronomical calculations, they included different calendrical systems, astronomical and meteorological predictions, horoscopes, the ideal times for harvest and other agricultural undertakings, and the identification of days most suitable for a variety of activities, from visiting friends to commencing a military campaign. Prepared each March at the time of the vernal equinox (Nowruz), they were intended to give guidance (in the form of tables) for the coming year.¹³

According to an inscribed medallion on folio 2a and a colophon on folio 31b, this elegant volume was completed for Sultan Selim I (reigned 1512–20) on 3 Muharram 919 AH (11 March 1513) by Yusuf bin Umar, al-sa'ati al-munajjim in Istanbul. It is the first such almanac of Sultan Selim's short but eventful reign, prepared during the year after his accession in April 1512. This was the same period when the sultan was primarily preoccupied with consolidating his power and dealing decisively with his rival brothers Korkud and Ahmed.¹⁴ Unlike later *taqwims*,¹⁵ which were simpler in design and written in Turkish, this copy is still indebted to Timurid models in that it is written in Persian and decorated with astrological drawings and diagrams.

The text includes the Alexandrine calendar (in which the year is 1824), the Yazdigirdi¹⁶ and the Jalali calendars,¹⁷ as well as the twelve Turco-Mongol animal cycles and lunar sightings.¹⁸ The calculations refer to the social and political situation of 1513, as will be manifested in the condition and behavior of different elements in Ottoman society. They are listed in descending order: the sultan, viziers, *ulemas* (religious scholars), Sufi shaykhs, bureaucrats, and scribes, with women, peasants, and artisans mentioned at the end. Selim's right to the designation of *sahib-i qaran* (master of the great conjunction; world conqueror) is reinforced by some of the dates, which are based on astral conjunctions. The calculations predict much warfare and many conquests for the sultan; the *ulema*, however, will be unhappy and neglectful of learning, women will worry and be discontent, and the Sufis will be rebellious and troublesome. Clearly, the year is deemed a tense and unsettled one, a view that must have anticipated the confrontation with the Safavids, which culminated in the famous battle of Chaldiran in 1514.

CHF



جگر و معرفت احکام را بیرون سپردند

This circular diagram, known as a 'Kalender' or 'Zodiac Wheel', is a common feature in Persian manuscripts. It typically represents the 12 months of the Persian calendar and the 12 zodiac signs. The outer ring shows the months and their corresponding zodiac signs. The inner segments contain detailed astrological information, such as the ruling planets and the associated colors and elements for each month. The diagram is drawn with fine lines and includes decorative elements like small circles at the intersections.

وافتد مسأله را که
حل معرکه است

A 5x5 grid of 25 squares, each containing a different calligraphic style of the Persian word 'بازار' (Bazaar). The styles vary from highly decorative and ornate to more simplified and modern. The word is written in various orientations (horizontal, vertical, diagonal) and colors (black, red, blue).

وافتاد و حاکم تعبیر بها حرف

[illegible]



Planispheric astrolabe

Signed by instrument maker Muhammad Mahdi al-Yazdi

Iran, dated 1060 AH (1650–51)

Brass; 14.6 × 11.4 cm

Courtesy of the Khalili Family Trust

Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, SC1161

Not in exhibition

Published:

Maddison and Savage-Smith 1997, no. 144; Piotrovsky and Vrieze 1999, no. 136; Piotrovsky et al. 2000, no. 151; Rogers 2007, p. 245.

In the Islamic world, astrolabes were used principally to find the direction of Mecca (*qibla*), to determine the correct time for prayer, and to conduct a variety of astrological investigations. Some of the finest Persian examples were produced in the second part of the seventeenth century and attest to the popularity of astrology during this period.¹⁹ This exquisitely crafted astrolabe is signed by Muhammad Mahdi al-Yazdi, one of the leading astrologers of the seventeenth century and a descendant of a renowned family of astrolabists. His father, Muhammad Amin, met the French traveler and jeweler Jean Chardin and figures prominently in Chardin's celebrated travel account and description of Safavid astronomy and astrology.²⁰

The date of this astrolabe is given as an intriguing chronogram that underscores the importance and function of the object. It reads: "I inquired the date from a man with a sharp intellect; he said, 'It is the mirror of Alexander and the cup that shows the Universe,'" which yields the year 1060 AH in the Islamic calendar (1650–51). Magical mirrors, capable of reflecting the past, the present, and the future to those with special gifts, are associated with certain Abrahamic prophets, such as Adam and Solomon, as well as with the literary hero Alexander (Iskandar/Zulqarnayn). In various Persian and Turkish versions of the *Iskandarnama* (Book of Alexander), Iskandar's mirror (*a'ina-i Iskandari*) shows the entire world to warn the king and his army about approaching enemies.²¹ The mirror of Iskandar is also closely associated with the cup of Jamshid, the legendary Persian king in the *Shahnama* (Book of kings), mentioned in the chronogram. It is referred to as the *jam-i Jamshid* or the *jami-i jahan-nama* (world-showing cup). In Persian literature, the cup, like the mirror, is said to reveal the unseen world to the chosen, usually just sovereigns.²² By helping to determine the movement of the heavenly bodies and to decode their secrets, the astrolabe achieves the same goal.

MF



Mars

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Probably Iran, Safavid period, ca. 1580s;

volume compiled in 1614–16 in Istanbul

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper: 49 × 36 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.30b

Published:

And 1998, p. 343; Bağcı 2008, fig. 5.

Riding a fantastic creature that resembles the Chinese mythological *chi'lin*, the multi-armed personification of the planet Mars holds up his attributes as he rides through a landscape. The fifth planet in ascending order, Mars traditionally is portrayed as a fierce warrior wearing a helmet. Second only to Saturn (*zuhal*) in its malevolent influence, it is also called the “minor misfortune” (*al-nahs al-asghar*). As in Greek and Roman traditions, Mars is also reputed to be the “red planet” (*al-ahmar*) in the Islamic world because of its proximity to the Sun. This association is implied here in the figure’s ruddy complexion and red beard.

At times, Mars, like Saturn, is shown with multiple arms, an iconographic characteristic derived from Indian sources. In this illustration, the “executioner of the celestial sphere,” as the planet is called in the accompanying augury, holds a symbol in each of his five hands. The principal ones are the sword and the severed head, which usually is shown with dripping blood. They help emphasize Mars’s fierce and warrior-like persona, but they probably also relate to the astronomical image of the constellation Perseus.

Known in Arabic as the “bearer of the demon’s head” (*hamil ra’s ghul*), the representation is an adaptation of the Greek iconography for Medusa’s severed head. The crown further underscores Mars’s power, while the flaming brazier can be interpreted as the planet’s association with fire and heat. Cancer, one of Mars’s two domiciles, is included in the form of a black scorpion. The other is Aries, which has been replaced in this illustration with a mythical animal that further emphasizes Mars’s association with strength. The gently rounded hillside, rendered in soft blue, and the large, abstracted flowers create a somewhat incongruous setting for the planet and are evident in several other illustrations, such as *Khaybar: The Conquering Palm of Ali* (cat. 24).

The planet Mars is also included in the Topkapı Persian copy (folio 6b). Here, the multi-armed figure is seated on a low throne, holding the same attributes seen in the Ahmed I *Falnama*. Instead of the traditional helmet, however, he wears red, wig-like headgear, perhaps to intimate his status as the “red planet” (see fig. 9.3).

SB





The Hereafter

53

Arrival of the Antichrist

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Inscribed: *varaḡ-i yazdahum, tasvir-i dajjal*

(eleventh folio, the picture of Dajjal)

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 59.4 x 44.7 cm

The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art

at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 85.237.72

Published:

Binney 1973, no. 47; Binney 1979, cat. 99; Tokatlian 2007, no. 18.

Identified as the Antichrist, Dajjal is one of the ten signs of the imminent arrival of the Apocalypse and appears in Christian, Jewish, and Islamic literature.¹ The name is derived from the Syriac *daggal*, meaning “lying” or “liar,” and the *Hadith* (Traditions) offers detailed and colorful descriptions of his origins and physical appearance. Dajjal, for example, was born to parents who waited thirty years for a child. He is a thick-set man with a ruddy complexion and a mass of curly hair, is blind in one eye, and will arrive from the east via Khurasan riding a white donkey.²

This illustration, the earliest known portrayal of the apocalyptic figure, adheres closely to textual descriptions and depicts the Antichrist riding his white donkey through a city. The two are accompanied by a group of boisterous musicians wearing tall conical hats embellished with bells and feathers. Perhaps they represent the musicians who reportedly lived with Dajjal on the island of Java.³ The noisy arrival of the Antichrist and his motley retinue has created quite a commotion in this scene as horned men and women come out to watch from rooftops and doorways.

These unusual figures may represent Dajjal’s followers, who were deceived by his miracles in Syria.⁴ As might be expected, the accompanying augury is most dire. It begins: “The Antichrist in the augury is like an affliction. It is most appropriate to beware of this augury. Anyone who is wise knows, Avoiding bad company is necessary.” One of the recommendations is to carry lamps and candles to the shrines two days a week.

According to Islamic eschatology, Dajjal met his end after forty days or forty years, when Christ descended in Damascus and killed him with a lance. The only extant depiction of this scene is included in the Khalili *Falnama* (fig. 3.3), which also precedes the only other depiction of *Four Lions Devour Zaynab* (cat. 46). Based on the fragmentary text on the back of that work, which is identical to the one in the Khalili volume relating to the demise of the Antichrist, the dispersed *Falnama* originally also included an image of Christ killing the Antichrist. Like several other illustrations, this still-unidentified image may have inspired the later Khalili composition and formed a pair with the *Arrival of the Antichrist (Dajjal)*.⁵

MF

Beast of the earth

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Probably Iran, Safavid period, 1580s;

volume compiled in 1614–16 in Istanbul

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 49 × 36 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.22b

Published:

And 1987, p. 124; And 1998, p. 283; Bağcı 2008, pp. 256–59.

Dabbat al-arz (Beast of the earth), another sign of the imminent approach of the Apocalypse, allegedly will rise from (or descend to) the earth just before the arrival of Dajjal (Antichrist). It is briefly mentioned in the Koran (27:82), but its physical features and attributes are elaborated in exegesis and apocalyptic literature.⁶ These descriptions conjure up a monstrosity large, horned beast with the head of an ox, the eyes of a boar, and the color of a tiger.

Inspired by these accounts, the artist of the *Falnama* folio has offered his own interpretation by depicting a winged half-human, half-demonic creature with horns and terrifying fangs.⁷ Bird feathers cover its upper body, but its limbs, terminating in feline paws, are those of a wild animal, perhaps a leopard. It also has a fantastic feathery tail decorated with a lotus flower and bracketed by two golden horn-like leaves. Its necklace, with two dragon-head finials and a central bell, is almost identical to the one worn by the demon in *Imam Riza Saves the Sea People* in the dispersed *Falnama*

(cat. 28). The beast's most important attributes are the staff of Moses, which identifies and illuminates the faces of believers, and Solomon's miraculous seal, used to mark the nose of nonbelievers.

The *Dabbat al-arz* also appears in the Dresden *Falnama* (E445, folio 27b) and in the Topkapı Persian copy, which includes not one but two illustrations (H.1702, folios 1b, 47b; see following pages and figs. 4.10, 4.11).⁸ Although all three draw on the verbal descriptions of the beast's physical characteristics, the second representation in the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* and the Dresden copy are particularly close in iconographic conception. This artistic affinity is evident not only in the *Dabbat al-arz*'s own appearance but also in the treatment of the secondary figures.⁹ The depiction of the beast in the *Falnamas*, however, differs considerably from those in Ottoman manuscripts on the Apocalypse (see cat. 60). This suggests the absence of an established iconographic model, which encouraged Safavid and Ottoman artists to develop their own pictorial interpretations.

SB



اِنَّ النَّارَ اَمْوَاغٌ مِّنْ اَشْجَارٍ اَوْ مِثْلُهَا
 شِدُوْقٌ يَّغْلَىٰ عَلَيْهِمْ اِنَّهُمْ فِيْهَا
 اَزْكُوْنَ ^{الْاَن} سِرَامِيٌّ مَّا ضَا



اِيْمَنَ شَرَفَهُ دَجَالُ كِي
 اَكُنْ سِرَابِطِي مَيَا ضَا ^{الْاَن}





Day of Judgment

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s-early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 58.5 × 43.7 cm

Gift of Stuart Cary Welch, Jr., Arthur M. Sackler Museum,
Harvard University Art Museums, 1999.302

Published:

Tokatlian 2007, no. 25.

Then when one blast is sounded on the trumpet, and the earth is moved, and its mountains and they are crushed to powder at one stroke, on that day the great event comes to pass, and the sky will be rent asunder for it will that day be flimsy (Koran 69:13-16).

The Koranic quote above describes the beginning of the end, the Day of Judgment, which is also the subject of this iconographically complex painting. Probably the earliest depiction of the event in Persian painting, the illustration is divided into three main bands.¹⁰ In the middle ground, the archangel Israfil (Raphael), responsible for blowing the trumpet (*al-qarn*),¹¹ stands on the left. He bows his head toward the veiled figure of the Prophet, who is seated on the right under a green flag. The veiled figure of Ali gestures towards him and mediates between him and the other protagonists, thus affirming his role as Muhammad's deputy (*wali*). A crowned angel, with a scale (*mizan*) balanced across his outstretched wings, is positioned between Israfil and Ali, challenging the viewer's gaze. It must be either the archangel Jabrail (Gabriel) or Mikail (Michael), both of which are associated with the scales of justice and are responsible for operating one of the pans.¹² Dressed in colorful attire, the archangel Israel, the angel of death, appears in the lower right corner and watches the gathering (*hashr*).

According to Islamic tradition, once Israfil sounds his trumpet, all creatures will come alive, beginning with the Prophet Muhammad. They will carry books or scrolls inscribed with their past deeds, which will be weighed on the scales of justice. In this painting, some of the figures still emerge from the ground in the lower right corner while others sit in white shrouds, clasping their scrolls in their left hands.¹³ Most of the men, however, already have been condemned and are grouped according to their earthly sins.

Eschatological literature maintains that on the Day of Judgment, offenders will be divided into twelve groups according to their crimes and to the subsequent punishment that befits their wrongdoings. These vividly graphic accounts also must have guided the painter of the *Falnama* folio, who has represented at least seven categories of sinners in the lower section. Moving

clockwise, the kneeling figures with dog-like faces probably portray slanderers, who are distinguished by "tongues coming out of the back[s] of their neck[s]." The men with cut-off hands and feet have harmed their neighbors, while the cluster of figures with blackened faces and blue eyes may depict those who have "devoured the wealth of orphans unjustly." The same traditions maintain that judgmental behavior is punished by blindness, perhaps represented here by five figures huddled together with closed eyes, while "the ones who were evil thinking" reappear with "their heads upside down and their feet above their head," such as the group in the lower right. Allegedly, "deceitful traders" or those who "adopted a scornful attitude during prayer" will return on Judgment Day in the form of pigs, like the six figures with boar heads. Those who spied on others or made disparaging remarks wear garments of tar, as portrayed by the seven dark-clad figures in the foreground. Even false theologians are not spared; they are condemned to chew their tongues and suffer from purulent secretions.¹⁴

A glimpse of paradise is included in the upper section of the composition, where eleven figures and an almond-shaped nimbus appear in a verdant landscape with the sacred tuba tree in the center.¹⁵ The men's revered status is confirmed by the alternating gold and silver flames that frame their heads. Curiously, two are veiled and the rest are featureless.¹⁶ Another closely related image of the Last Judgment in the Dresden *Falnama* incorporates paradise at the top and at the bottom of the painting a depiction of hell as a river of molten liquid. There, naked figures wade and float through the waters and plead for mercy from a menacing red demon holding a flaming mace (see fig. 5.8).¹⁷

These two paintings represent the most elaborate manuscript illustrations of the Day of Judgment as described in the Koran and its exegesis in the Islamic world. Although more simplified versions are incorporated into Ottoman eschatological texts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, curiously they do not appear in other illustrated Persian manuscripts.¹⁸

MF

Hell

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Iran, Safavid period, or Turkey, Ottoman period, ca. 1580s;

volume compiled in 1614-16 in Istanbul

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 49.5 × 35 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.21b

Published:

And 1998, p. 247; And 2002, p. 306.

The Koran, along with the *Hadith* (Traditions) and exegesis, conjures up a complex and terrifying image of hell (*jihanam*). According to Islamic belief, hell comprises seven different layers and is synonymous with the concept of fire. Although each layer has its own specific name and is intended for different sinners, the term *jihanam* refers to hell in its totality.¹⁹ The Koran states a road or a bridge (*sirat al-jahim*) leads to hell, and it is separated from heaven by only a wall (Koran 37:23). Whether they are destined to be saved or damned, all humans must pass along this path, and depending on their fate, they either enjoy the eternal pleasures of paradise or suffer the torments of hell. Here, flames crackle and roar (Koran 25:14) and are continuously fanned by scorching winds, creating black, choking smoke (Koran 56:42-43). The sinners—who include liars and those who have doubted or scorned God, failed to show generosity towards the needy, or hoarded excessive wealth—are tormented by scorpions as big as mules and snakes the size of camels.

At the bottom of hell grows the dreadful Zaqqum tree. Its fruit—the heads of devils—burns the sinners' bellies like molten brass and can be washed down only with boiling water (Koran 37:62-68), further exacerbating the agony. According to the *Ahval-i kiyamet*, a text on the Apocalypse, the seven gates of hell are supervised by special guardians who are in charge of seventy thousand workers. Known as *zabaniya*, these creatures have black faces and cat-like eyes, and they exhale flames of fire from their noses and mouths.²⁰

The image of hell in the Ahmed I *Falnama* is centered on a tree with yellow fruits, which must represent the Zaqqum tree. Two large, spotted demons holding flaming clubs must be the cat-eyed *zabaniya* charged with ensuring the eternal suffering of



hell's inhabitants. Flickering flames light up the dark, smoky atmosphere, as helpless naked figures flee from the torments of scorpions, snakes, and dragons.²¹ Although relatively simple in its conception, the composition's dark background, as well as the size and appearance of the guardians holding sway over the tormented figures, visually suggests some of the horrors awaiting the sinner at the end of time.

The augury begins, "Why do you foolishly make yourself ready for the fire of hell by following the devil?" Extremely inauspicious, it urges the seeker to light candles at mosques and shrines and to be extremely generous in charitable acts.²²

MF





Garden of Paradise

From the H.1703 *Falnama*

Iran, Safavid period, or Turkey, Ottoman period, ca. 1580s;

volume compiled in 1614–16 in Istanbul

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 49.5 × 35.5 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.12b

Published:

And 1998, p. 47.

Seated on a richly patterned carpet in a small garden pavilion, an elegantly dressed angel accepts a tray of fruit from a winged attendant. Two other angels stand to the right of the pavilion. In the foreground, another winged creature dances and plays castanets, accompanied on a tambourine by a kneeling orange demon while a white demon plays a finely decorated sitar. The related augury states that this is a sign of the Garden of Paradise (*bagh-i iram*), a symbol of eternal reward and bliss in contrast to hell's fires of punishment. According to Islamic eschatology, paradise, like hell, is divided into seven tiers, a cosmological concept that dates back to the Babylonian period. The gardens are named after certain qualities and conditions, such as peace, hospitality, and bliss, and they contain structures built of precious materials, ranging from white pearls to red gold.²³

With its luxuriant garden setting and heavenly creatures as protagonists, the composition conjures up the sensory pleasures of paradise, but it also departs from extant descriptions. The winged creatures may represent the beautiful, dark-eyed women known as *hur* or *huri* and described in the Koran as "fair companions . . . in (goodly) pavilions . . . whom no man or Jinn has touched . . . reclining on green cushions and rich carpets of beauty. . . ." ²⁴ There is no mention of "winged" *huris*, however, or of demon entertainers in paradise. The illustration seems to combine the earthly, by emulating the iconography of a royal reception scene, and the heavenly, by centering the composition on a host of elegantly clad angels, a subject that was quite popular in the sixteenth century.²⁵

MF



Carpet fragment with angels

Iran, Safavid period, first half 16th century

Knotted wool pile on silk foundation; 100.5 × 38.3 cm

Gift of Herbert L. Pratt in memory of his wife, Florence Gibb Pratt
Brooklyn Museum, New York, 36.213g

Published:

Mumford 1910, pl. 7; *Charles T. Yerkes Collection* 1910, lot 205;
Ellis 1965, p. 48, p. 50, fig. 11, p. 55, n. 24; Erdmann 1970, p. 176,
no. 220; King and Sylvester 1983, p. 89, no. 63; Bennett 1987, p. 40,
fig. 1; Blair and Bloom 1991, p. 86, no. 19; Diba 1996, p. 107, no. 3;
Farnham 1998, p. 84, no. 25.

This fragment, from a corner of what was once a large and lavish carpet, is dominated by emphatic pictorial elements that are generally absent from earlier rug weaving and are attributable to the close connection in the sixteenth century between luxury carpet design and court-sponsored manuscript painting.

Here, angels offer fruit, wine, and musical entertainment from a seemingly paradisaical realm of sinuous, knotted clouds and flower-bearing vines. Their brilliantly multicolored wings, flowing garments, and gilt-brimmed or leafy hats resemble those of angels depicted in several folios of the dispersed *Falnama*, such as *Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise* (cat. 13) and, most notably, *The Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey* (cat. 22).

Enough pile remains at the lower left edge of this fragment to determine the field color of the original carpet was white. In addition to four lobed corners, it would have had a large central

medallion. Fragments almost certainly from the field of the same carpet²⁶ depict pheasants with spectacular plumage among flowering trees and ribbon-like clouds.

Although the angels on this fragment are much larger in scale than any depicted in manuscript painting—even the outsized ones in the dispersed *Falnama*—they are rendered with considerably less precision and fluency of line than their painted counterparts. Unlike more modern Iranian rugs, which are made with the aid of squared-paper patterns that indicate the color and placement of every knot, Safavid carpets were woven from drawings or cartoons,²⁷ thereby demanding of their weavers countless interpretative decisions in translating curvilinear minutiae to the grid of warp and weft. What this fragment lacks in linear finesse, however, is compensated for by dynamic design and bold color that convey a sense of rapturous celebration.

JB



Beyond the Falnama

59

Moses Challenges Pharaoh's Sorcerers

From a *Qisas al-anbiya* (Stories of the prophets)

by Abu Ishaq al-Nishaburi

Iran, Safavid period, or Turkey, Ottoman late 1570s–early 1580s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 36 × 24 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, E.H.1430, f.97a

Published:

Milstein et al. 1999, pl. xxxi.

As the title suggests, the *Qisas al-anbiya* (Stories of the prophets) refers to a series of text recounting the lives of the prophets, beginning with Adam. The Persian translations are believed to date to the early centuries of Islam, but they were not chosen for illustration until the latter part of the sixteenth century.¹ The exact reasons for the sudden popularity of illustrated volumes of the prophetic stories and their provenance have been the subject of considerable scholarly debate, but many of the paintings draw on the iconography first developed in the *Falnama*.² Together, these illustrated works confirm a growing interest in popular religious narratives in both Iran and Turkey at that time, which proliferated through both word and image.

The encounter of Moses and the pharaoh's magicians is among the most popular of these stories and was illustrated frequently.³ This undated copy of the *Qisas* even includes two versions of the same episode. The first illustration (folio 91a) relates directly to the story, but the second (folio 97a) occurs after a passage recounting the drowning of Egyptians following the safe passage of the Children of Israel across the Red Sea. Although “misplaced,” it is the more dynamic and successful of the two paintings, and the animated composition recalls the same scene in the dispersed *Falnama*.⁴

Standing behind a rocky landscape on the right and holding a sun disk, Moses intently watches as his rod transforms into a ferocious red dragon that is about to swallow one of the demon-like magicians. Others, riding fantastic beasts, wield snakes in defense against the dragon.



The dramatic illustration omits the obvious figure of the pharaoh, but it does include a mysterious man who peers into the scene from the upper left corner. His long, thick hair, the loose cloth wound around his turban, and his intense facial expression recall a distinct male type in fifteenth-century compositions that have been gathered in one of the Istanbul albums (TSM H.2153).⁵ Even the ferocious dragon and demon-magicians relate to fifteenth-century models and suggest the appropriation and transformation of earlier compositions resulted in one of the most visually powerful interpretations of the subject.⁶

MF

همه دکان از آدمی و چهار بار بر سر آب آمدند بدیدند شناختند آنگاه خدا را



غروب شد و ایستادند و گفتند که نه تنالی و اینجا موشی و مرمعه اجمعین ثم غرقنا الابرار





اولدی پس بو تفصیل ضبط اولنوب شکل
دابة الارض بونکاموافق تصویر اولنه



قال مقاتل مقاتل یدر شرط ساعتدن اولان صبحه
رمضانده اولوز جمعه کونک نصف نهارنده و دخی

Beast of the earth

From a copy of *Tercüme-i miftah jifr-i cami*

(Translation of the key to the comprehensive prognostication)

Turkey, Istanbul, 1597–98 (1006 AH)

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper; 19.4 × 12.7 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, B.373, f.292b

Published:

And 1998, p. 285

The celebrated Ottoman prognosticative and apocalyptic narrative *Miftah al-jafr al-jami* (Key to the comprehensive prognostication) was originally written in Arabic by Abd al-Rahman al-Bistami (died circa 1455), a noted expert on prophetic traditions, the occult sciences, and divination, perhaps for the Ottoman sultan Murad II (reigned 1421–44, 1446–51). The text integrates Mamluk apocalypses (*malahim*) of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and prophetic works attributed to Muhyi al-Din Ibn Arabi (died 1240) and includes information on chronographic calculations, the Apocalypse, portents of the day of resurrection, and prognostication. Bistami also identified Ali ibn Abu Talib and Ja'far al-Sadiq as possessors of prophetic wisdom. By focusing on the messianism and associating the Ottoman sultans with the Mahdi, this work represents the “urtext” of the Ottoman dynastic eschatology.⁷

The Turkish translation, completed by Şerif bin Seyyid Mehmed bin Seyyid Burhan, was commissioned by the powerful chief white eunuch Gazanfer Aga (died 1603) and dedicated to Sultan Mehmed III (reigned 1595–1603). Şerif maintained that he was given three Arabic copies from the treasury, including an illustrated one, which confirms the existence of earlier copies with images no longer extant. For the translation, Şerif expanded Bistami's Arabic text with interpolations from other eschatological sources and the Koran (27:82) and, thus, offered an elaborate account of the *Dabbat al-arz*'s physical appearance and attributes.

According to Şerif's sources, the *Dabbat al-arz* has the head of an ox, eyes of a boar, ears of an elephant, cheeks of a cat, neck of an ostrich, horns of an ibex, chest of a lion, complexion of a tiger, tail of a ram, and hooves of a camel. It is one league in length and it takes three days for a third of its body to emerge from the earth. The beast appears just after Jesus (Isa) descends and goes to Mecca to visit the Ka'ba. It cries out to all four directions and carries the rod of Moses and the seal of Solomon. When the rod touches the foreheads of pious Muslims, they turn white and the word “believer” (*mümin*) appears. The seal of Solomon, however, is used to mark the noses of sinners with the word “infidel” (*kafir*).

In contrast to the description of this menacing and terrifying creature in the Ottoman text, the *Dabbat al-arz* is portrayed as a charming unicorn, which differs from the erect and more terrifying beast in the Ahmed I *Falnama* or the Topkapı Persian copy (cat. 54). The human-faced quadruped with its big elephant ears carries its two principal attributes—the dragon-headed rod of Moses and Solomon's seal, with which he is about to stamp a turbaned figure. The protagonist's wings of colorful feathers and gold flames underscore its otherworldly nature.⁸ The painting's palette, the characterization of the figures, and sharply ascending mountains conform to late sixteenth-century Ottoman pictorial conventions. Stylistically, the intimately scaled illustration relates closely to the work of Hasan Pasha, who probably also was responsible for *Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise* in the Ahmed I *Falnama* (cat. 14).

SB

Abraham's Fire Ordeal

Abraham's Sacrifice

From a copy of *Zübdetü't-tevarih* (Essence of the histories)

Turkey, Istanbul, 1583

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 39.5 × 25 cm

Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS. T.414, f.68b

Published:

Minorsky 1958, pl. 15; Renda 1991, fig. 2.

The *Zübdetü't-tevarih* (Essence of the histories) was written by the Ottoman court historian (*şehnameci*) Seyyid Lokman Aşuri (died after 1601) for Sultan Murad III (reigned 1574–95). It is an expanded and updated version of a genealogical world history formatted as a gigantic scroll and originally composed for Süleyman I (reigned 1520–66).⁹ The text begins with the creation of the heavens and the earth, which is followed by the history of the Abrahamic prophets, Old and New Testament rulers, the Prophet Muhammad and his successors, and the various Islamic dynasties. It ends with an account of the Ottomans up to the reign of Murad III. Three copies of this manuscript were created: the most elaborate version for Murad III, a second one for the grand vizier Siyavuş Pasha (died 1602),¹⁰ and a third one dedicated to Mehmed Aga, the chief black eunuch of the imperial harem who served from 1574 to 1590.¹¹

All three manuscripts are notable for their emphasis on the visual narrative and for their highly original compositions, especially those devoted to Abrahamic and Islamic prophets, many of whom also figure in the *Falnames*. With relatively little text, the illustrations tend to be boldly conceived, and they frequently integrate two scenes on the same page.¹² Although the two episodes relating to the trials of Abraham in the *Essence of the Histories* follow established iconographic models, their juxtaposition is an innovative approach to manuscript illustration.

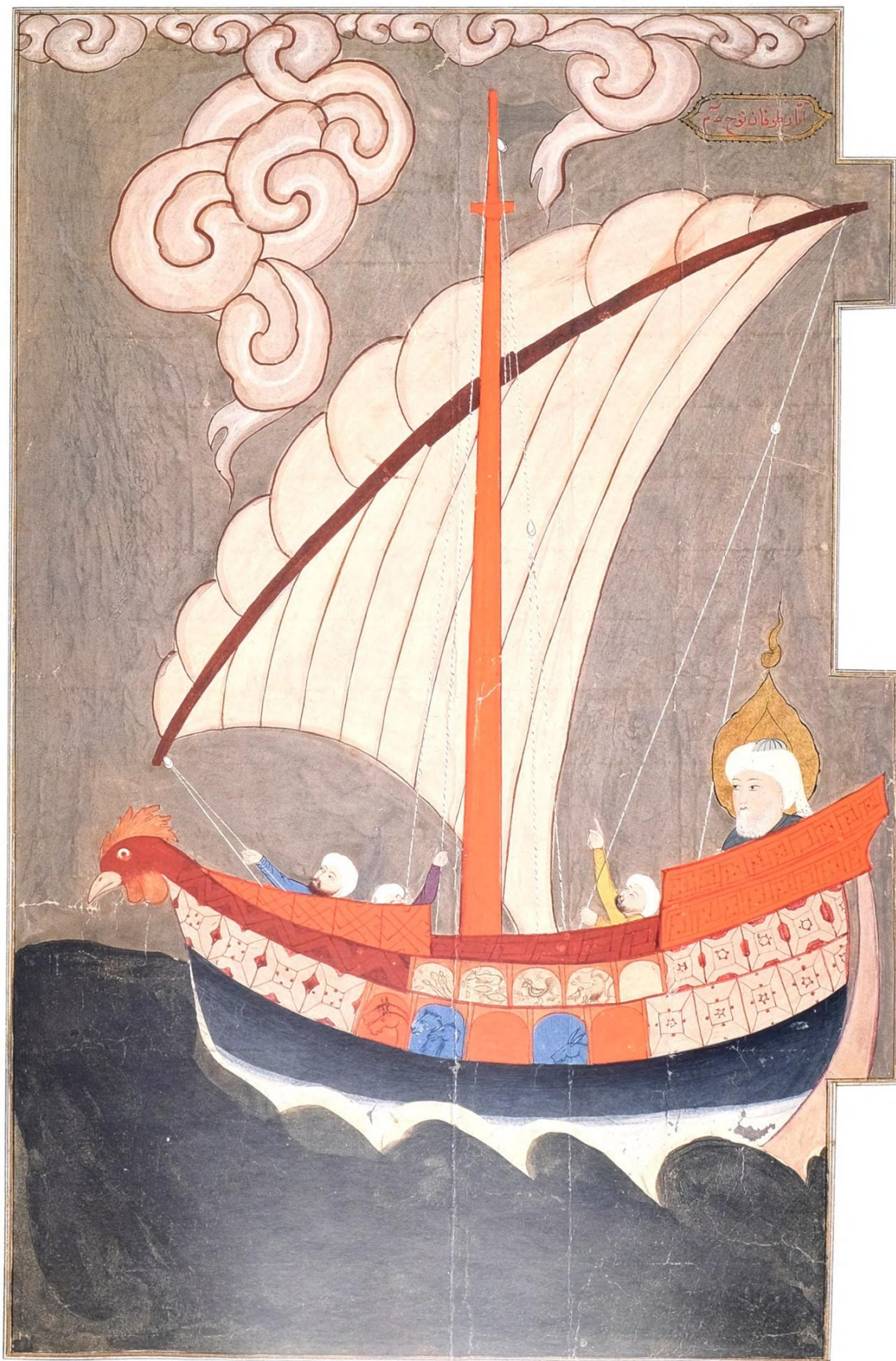
The scene at the top is rooted in the Koran (29:24–26, 37:97–98) and depicts Abraham's encounter with King Nimrud, whom he

derided for idol worship. In response, Nimrud orders his men to cast Abraham into a fire, which they do by using a catapult made with the help of the devil. According to the Koran, however, God transforms the fire into a rose garden watered by a spring.¹³ In this illustration, a serene Abraham, flanked by two rosebushes, sits cross-legged in the middle of the flames. The fire envelops him like a heart-shaped medallion that also serves as a large flaming nimbus, suggesting his prophetic status. Nimrud (now defaced) watches Abraham from a tower on the right, and the catapult is visible in the distance.

The composition in the lower part depicts Abraham's sacrifice. Lokman Aşuri mentions only briefly that in a dream God asked Abraham to sacrifice a son, but just before Abraham fulfilled the deed, God sent a sheep to serve as a substitute.¹⁴ Holding a red blindfold in one hand and a raised knife in the other, Abraham looks lovingly at his son, who returns his gaze. The two are separated by a split rock; a white ram is visible behind a tree in the right background. Breaking with tradition, the artist omitted the angel Gabriel, who supposedly delivered the sheep.¹⁵

Scenes from the lives of the Abrahamic and Islamic prophets in the *Zübdetü't-tevarih*, such as Abraham's fire ordeal and sacrifice, seem to fulfill several purposes. On the one hand, they create a sacred genealogy for the Ottoman rulers, and on the other, like the *Falnama* illustrations, they function as visual reminders of past exemplary lives, which served as moral and ethical guides for the rulers.

SB



Noah's Ark

From a copy of *Zübdetü't-tevarih* (Essence of the histories)

Turkey, Istanbul, 1583

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 39.5 × 25 cm

Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS. T.414, f.61b

Published:

Minorsky et al. 1958, pl. 14; Chester Beatty Library 2001, no. 82;

Wright 2009, fig. 149.

In his *Zübdetü't-tevarih* (Essence of the histories), the Ottoman court historian Seyyid Lokman Aşuri offers a detailed description of the story of Noah (Nuh) compiled from the Koran, Islamic exegesis, historical texts (especially those by Tabari), and the *Qisas al-anbiya* (Stories of the prophets) of al-Tha'labi. When Noah failed to call people to God, he was commanded to build the ark from the teak trees he had planted. The bow was to resemble a rooster with the head of an eagle, the stern was to look like a rooster's tail, and the body was to be three stories high to accommodate pairs of animals, birds, and humans. Once they were all on board, God sent down torrential rains that submerged everything except the ark, which sailed for sixty days and finally landed on Mount al-Judi in the land of Mosul.¹⁶

Silhouetted against a gray, rain-drenched sky, the ark seems to bob precariously amidst the white-capped dark swells that cover the earth: "And no rocks, mountains, or trees were visible, for the water had risen forty cubits above the mountains."¹⁷ Under the calm gaze of Noah, who is distinguished by a nimbus, his three companions frantically try to steady the full sail of the ark as coiling white clouds ominously dip down. Pairs of animals, simply outlined in ink, appear at the windows in the hull of the vessel. A bearded, horned man on the right may represent the devil, who managed to climb aboard clinging to the tail of a donkey.¹⁸ The painting's palette of gray tones, which unites the sea and the sky and envelops the ark, offers an evocative and unusual pictorial interpretation of the legendary deluge.¹⁹

SB



Zardhang Khatni Brings a Ring to Matlas the Prison Keeper

From a *Hamzanama* (Book of Hamza)

India, Delhi, Mughal period, ca. 1570

Opaque watercolor and gold on fabric; 67.5 × 51.6 cm

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., F1949.18

Published:

Ettinghausen 1961, pl. 2; Beach 1981, no. 5c;

Heeramanek 1984, pl. 139; Seyller 2002, no. 72.

The most ambitious illustrated text from Mughal India is arguably the *Hamzanama* (Book of Hamza) created for Emperor Akbar (reigned 1556–1605). Rooted in Iran's rich oral tradition with no standard or codified text, the *Hamzanama* originally comprised 1,400 folios that were divided into fourteen volumes. The illustrations stand out for their monumental scale, original compositions, and artistic experimentation—characteristics that also define the almost contemporary paintings of the monumental *Falnamas*. In its physical organization, the *Hamzanama* also emulates the *Falnama*: each "story" consists of a self-contained folio of text on one page and a related image on the facing one, creating a 1:1 ratio of text to image across two pages.²⁰

The work recounts the fantastic and action-filled adventures of the hero Hamza, a character based in part on the historical and religious figure Hamza ibn Abdul Muttalib, the Prophet Muhammad's paternal uncle and one of his most loyal supporters. Over time, the figure of Hamza was conflated with that of a certain Hamza ibn Abdullah, who lived in Sistan and led a struggle against the caliph Harun al-Rashid (reigned 786–809). As is typical of all epic narratives, the *Hamzanama* consists of numerous plots and subplots and is populated with colorful heroes and villains who weave their way through the narrative, adding excitement and suspense. The story of the corrupt prison keeper Matlas is one such case.

Surrounded by an animated throng of guards, the corpulent Matlas, detached and aloof, sits against a bolster in the upper right. He wears a gauzy white robe cinched at the waist, which further emphasizes his soft, overhanging belly. His dark palm lies open, ready to accept Zardhang's bribe of a gold ring for the release of two prisoners being untied in the upper left. Although the illustration is more naturalistic in the treatment of the figures and the architectural setting than those in the dispersed *Falnama*, the brilliant palette and sense of drama hark back to some of the Safavid pictorial auguries.

MF



Abraham Praying at the Ka'ba

From the *Qisas al-anbiya* (Stories of the prophets)

by Abu Ishaq al-Nishaburi

Probably Turkey, Ottoman period, or Iran,

Safavid period, late 1570s-early 1580s

Opaque watercolor and ink on paper; 36 × 23.5 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1226, f.47b

Published:

Milstein et al. 1999, p. 212.

Like many stories in the *Qisas al-anbiya* (Stories of the prophets), the construction of the Ka'ba in Mecca by Abraham (Ibrahim) is mentioned briefly in the Koran and later elaborated in the exegesis of the sacred book. According to the author al-Nishaburi, since the prophet did not know where to build the structure, a cloud guided him in determining the place and size.²¹ Once the Ka'ba was completed, Abraham and his family performed a pilgrimage and the call to God (*du'a*). In this illustration, Abraham knocks at the door of the sanctuary, while a young man raises his hands in prayer and a second bearded figure prostrates himself in front of the structure. In the rocky landscape on the left, a veiled man in a yellow robe sits in prayer together with another male figure and a woman. The Koran states that Abraham was accompanied by his son Ishmael (Isma'il) and Hagar (Hajar), Ishmael's mother, but al-Nishaburi maintains that it was Sarah (Sara), his second wife, and his other son Isaac (Ishaq) who were with the prophet during

the construction of the Ka'ba.²² God then ordered Abraham to call all Muslims to perform the rite of pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five pillars of Islam.

All the monumental *Falnamas* except for the Ahmed I copy include an illustration of the Ka'ba. The dispersed and Topkapı Persian copies also depict an unidentified youth knocking at the door. The image in the Dresden *Falnama*, however, differs in that Abraham and Isaac address a group from the roof of the Ka'ba.²³

The most unusual feature of this illustration in al-Nishaburi's text is the representation of the Ka'ba. Like its depiction in the dispersed *Falnama*, the iconic black cube has been transformed into a domed and tiled hexagonal mausoleum. This particular depiction might be an attempt to give a Safavid/Shi'i guise to Islam's holiest sanctuary, an iconographic convention that first appears in the dispersed *Falnama* and is assimilated into other illustrated manuscripts.²⁴

MF

رسایند ابریم علیه السلام اواز داد خدای تعالی آواز او بهشتی رسایند در صلاب



ابامه جواب دادند من ار حاکم را چو است کردن ما در پست

قصه مولود استحق علیه السلام چون حیریل علیه السلام مرده داد مرا برسم راع

که آدم عا می شد سر کی که در بهشت بود عمر قصه آدم کردند چون نزد یک آدم آمدند نور مصطفی



در پیشانی آمدند گفتند این نور از وی جدا شده است این را نتوان آرزو دن عمر دست از او برداشتند

Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise

From a *Qisas al-anbiya* (Stories of the prophets)

by Abu Ishaq al-Nishaburi

Iran, Safavid period, or Turkey,

Ottoman period, late 1570s-early 1580s

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper; 21.3 × 13 cm

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1228, f.3b

Published:

Milstein 1990, p. 214.

Like the dispersed *Falnama*, this copy of the *Qisas al-anbiya* (Stories of the prophets) includes two paintings that relate to the story of Adam and Eve. First, the two are shown enthroned with angels prostrating themselves on the ground (folio 3b); this is followed by a depiction of their expulsion from paradise. This composition adheres to the iconography of the dispersed *Falnama* illustration by depicting Adam and Eve riding a dragon and peacock, respectively, as a man, wielding a stick on the horizon line, chases them out of the Garden of Eden. Satan (Shaytan), portrayed as an angel, flees the garden with his hands raised in protest.²⁵ The composition omits the other celestial figures that animate the dispersed *Falnama* illustration. Instead, it focuses on the plight of the two protagonists, with Adam looking furtively towards his somewhat bewildered companion. The scene of expulsion, which appears for the first time in the dispersed *Falnama*, is repeated in several other copies of the *Qisas al-anbiya* datable to the third quarter of the sixteenth century. The iconographic relationship of these paintings attests to the importance of the *Falnama* in forging a new visual language for illustrations of religious manuscripts.

MF

Moon

In a *Acaibü'l-mahlukat* (Wonders of creation) by Süruri

Turkey, Istanbul, ca. 1595

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;

25 x 17 cm (page); 10 x 8 cm (painting)

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A3632, f.12b

Unpublished.

This Turkish translation of al-Qazvini's *Adja'ib al-makhlukat wa-ghara'ib al-mawjudat* (The wonders of creation and the marvels of existence) (*Acaibü'l-mahlukat* in Turkish) was begun by Süruri Muslih al-Din Mustafa (died 1562) for Prince Mustafa, the son of Süleyman I (reigned 1520–66). A renowned scholar and a member of the Naqshbandi Sufi order, Süruri was also the prince's tutor from 1548 to 1553, when Mustafa was the governor of Amasya. In 1553, however, Süleyman executed Mustafa, his favorite son, for suspected disloyalty, and Süruri left his translation unfinished. The Turkish version of Qazvini's text was only completed in 1701 by another Ottoman scholar, Rodosizade.²⁶

In the *Acaibü'l-mahlukat* the Moon belongs to the first chapter on "inhabitants of heavens," together with the other known six planets, the constellations, and the angels. Based on a long-established iconographic model, it is shown as a cross-legged female who holds a silver crescent that simultaneously shows two phases: the crescent (*hila*) and the full moon (*badr*).²⁷ As the closest "planet" to Earth, the Moon was believed to play a critical role in determining daily activities, and it was often included on metalwork and ceramics as a talismanic image. As the basis of the

lunar calendar, the Moon also played a central role in calculating time in the Islamic world,²⁸ and its full phase became a favorite poetic simile for both ideal male and female beauty.

The text accompanying the round-faced, demure image of the Moon in this copy of the *Acaibü'l-mahlukat* explains its phases as follows: The light depends on that of the Sun and, according to the Moon's position in relation to it, visibility increases gradually from the crescent to the full phase. The meticulously drawn diagram on the facing page illustrates the lunar eclipse (*husuf-i kameri*).

Although the manuscript has no colophon, this type of text became popular during the times of Murad III (reigned 1574–95) and Mehmed III (reigned 1595–1603), both of whom showed particular interest in the natural and occult sciences.²⁹ Its finely executed paintings and lavish use of gold associate it with the Ottoman court workshop at the end of the sixteenth century. The *Acaibü'l-mahlukat* relates directly to the illustrations of the *Tercüme-i miftah-i cifr al-jami* (Translation of the key to the comprehensive prognostication) and the illustration of *Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise* in the Ahmed I *Falnama* (cat. 14) and their artist, Hasan Pasha, or his atelier.

SB

تَقْنِيمِ دُرُجَانِ شَیْخِ اسَد



Leo Rides a Personification of the Sun

In a *Metali' ü's-sa'adet ve yenabi' ü's-siyadet*

(Ascensions of felicity and sources of ascendancy)

Turkey, Istanbul, ca. 1582

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 20.5 × 11.9 cm

Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.788, f.15b

Published:

Schmitz 1997, p. 79, pl. 50.

The *Metali' ü's-sa'adet ve yenabi' ü's-siyadet* is a translation of the Arabic miscellany, the *Kitab al-bulhan* (Book of wonderment) by the famous astrologer Abu Mashar al-Balkhi, known in the West as Albumasar (died 886).³⁰ According to its dedication (folio 4a), the manuscript was prepared for the library of Ayşe Sultan (died 1605), the daughter of Murad III (reigned 1574–95). In 1586, Ayşe married Ibrahim Pasha, who later became grand vizier to her brother Mehmed III (reigned 1595–1603). Ayşe Sultan was known for her numerous charitable donations. She built two fountains and bequeathed funds to be distributed among the poor, sick, blind, and disabled, and she supported the release of female Muslim prisoners and slaves.³¹

A second and identical copy of the *Metali'* is dedicated to Murad's other daughter, Fatma Sultan (died circa 1600). Together, these two unusual illustrated manuscripts represent the only extant Ottoman works that identify their female patron in the dedication.³² A chronogram in Ayşe Sultan's copy (folio 137b) yields the year 1582, which is repeated in her sister's manuscript and probably indicates the completion date. This, along with the royal provenance and quality of both illustrated texts, suggests Murad may have given them to the princesses on the occasion of their brother Mehmed's circumcision festival, which took place from May to July of 1582.

The *Metali'* consists of treatises on astrology, physiognomy, demonology, talismans, and marvels as well as prognosticative texts titled the *Kura'-i ca'feriyye* (Divination of Ja'far), the *Fal-ı anbiya 'Aleyhü's-salam* (Divination of the prophets, peace be upon

them), and the *Fal-ı makbul* (Well-liked divination). Seyyid Mehmed ibn Emir Hasan al-Suudi (died 1591), the translator, was a scholar and teacher at the prestigious religious schools (madrasas) of Istanbul.³³ He begins this anthology by stating the sultan personally commissioned the translation and suggests he was given an illustrated Arabic original, perhaps the illustrated copy of the *Kitab al-bulhan* (1334–1435) attributed to Jalayirid Baghdad.³⁴

This image depicts the Sun in Leo and belongs to the first section of the *Metali'* devoted to horoscopes. The text explains the physiognomy, personality, and destiny of a person born under the zodiacal sign governed by the planetary lord, the Sun. Riding a tame Leo (*assad*) through the cloud-streaked sky with twinkling stars, the personified figure of the Sun wears an elegant orange robe, and rays of light circle its head.³⁵ As Leo comes under the influence of three decans (subdivisions of the zodiac signs)—Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars—for ten-day periods, the planets appear in the arched niches below. Saturn (*zuhal*) is portrayed as a planter with a shovel, Jupiter (*mushtari*) wears the large white turban that was typical of Ottoman scholars, and Mars (*mirikh*) holds a sword and a severed head. The artist of the *Metali'* introduced his own interpretations of the zodiacal figures, for their personifications differ from the iconographic norms that portray Saturn as a dark-skinned old man and Jupiter as a bearded elderly figure holding a book. This talented but anonymous painter, who contributed to several other illustrated manuscripts completed for Murad III, must have been a member of the Ottoman court atelier.³⁶

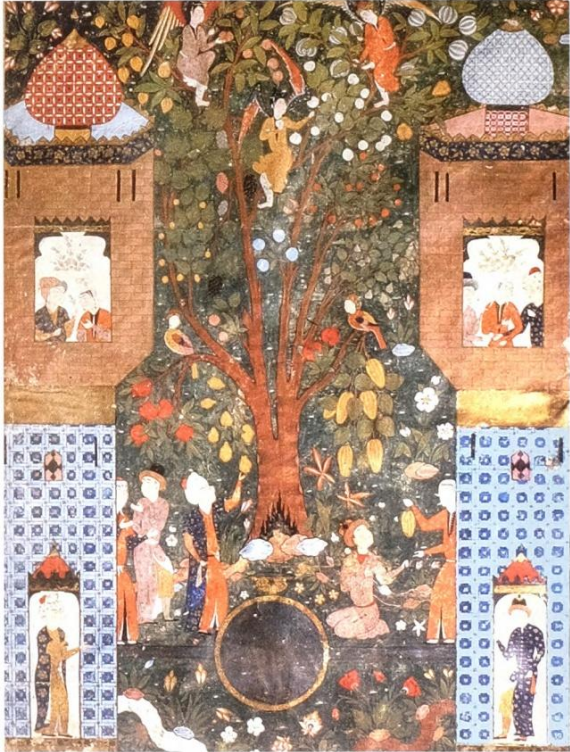
SB

Other Folios from the Dispersed Falnama

A



B



C



D



E



A

Bahram Gur Hunting with Azada

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper

Private collection

B

Paradise

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper

Private collection

C

Hell

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper

Private collection

D

Qambar and Duldul

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper

Ex-Anna Tulin Collection—whereabouts unknown

E

Ali Saves Salman al-Farsi

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper

Ex-Binney Collection—whereabouts unknown

F

Jesus Kills the Antichrist (Dajjal)

From the dispersed *Falnama*

Iran, Qazvin, Safavid period, mid-1550s–early 1560s

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper

Whereabouts unknown

ISLAMIC DIVINATION
IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS
"EASTERN" AND "WESTERN"
COUNTERPARTS

Maria Mavroudi

Most divinatory practices attested in the Islamic world from the seventh century onward also can be encountered (in identical or similar versions) among other civilizations over a great chronological and geographic expanse. Yet piecing together a narrative that offers a coherent and uninterrupted history of each individual method, and tracing its development and transmission to different languages and cultures, is an impossible task. Only part of this history is visible to us today because our knowledge depends on the surviving written record, itself fragmentary and determined by accidents of preservation. An additional difficulty is generated by the fact that the study of divination pertaining to different time periods, geographic spaces, and languages has been pursued within the context of separate academic disciplines, each with its own history, tools, methods, and interpretations. These disciplines are mostly text-based and philologically driven, and they take into consideration approaches and methods developed by social anthropology (a non-text-based discipline) to varying degrees.

It is perhaps not by chance that some of the earliest surviving writings in any language pertain to divination and were produced in royal courts. Such is the case with the inscribed oracle bones, datable to the second millennium BCE, that preserve the earliest significant corpus of Chinese writing.¹ The earliest evidence of divination practices that plausibly correlate to equivalent practices in the Islamic period can be found in the Ancient Near East, where surviving writings on celestial omens in Akkadian also date from the second millennium BCE. It is, however, reasonable to postulate the existence of even older such writings in Sumerian at least as early as the end of the third millennium BCE.² Ancient Near Eastern literature on celestial omens included predictions based on observations of the changing appearance and movement of the celestial bodies (sun, moon, planets) as well as meteorological phenomena (thunder, lightning, rain, rainbows, earthquakes). From the end of the second millennium BCE until the Achaemenid period (sixth–fourth century BCE), Mesopotamian royal courts considered celestial omens the principal means through which the gods signaled their intentions to the kings. This led to a systematic observation of the heavens, recognition of the periodic nature of celestial phenomena, and the development of mathematical models to predict their recurrence—practices that eventually produced what we now call mathematical astronomy and horoscopic astrology.³ This knowledge quickly traveled beyond Mesopotamia, as is evidenced by a demotic Egyptian papyrus. Though copied around the end of the second or beginning of the third century CE, it preserves a text that, at least in part, was composed in the late sixth or early fifth century BCE and represents an Egyptian adaptation of Babylonian astronomical observations pertinent to the organization of the calendar.⁴ Near Eastern celestial omen literature was translated and adapted into Greek as early as the middle of the second century BCE, the date

of the earliest surviving Greek fragments associated with the name Petosiris or simply ascribed to the “ancient Egyptians.”⁵ The translation and adaptation of Babylonian omen literature (astrological and other) into Greek and Sanskrit helped spread it from western Europe to China, and it was consulted from antiquity through the Middle Ages and to the modern period. Versions are known in a variety of languages used from Gibraltar to Inner Asia and its Pacific shore, including Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, and Chinese.⁶

Several other methods of prognostication beyond those based on celestial or other natural phenomena have visible roots in Ancient Near Eastern antiquity and a complicated and multidirectional transmission over languages, geographies, religions, and cultures. Ancient Near Eastern literature includes texts pertaining to the occurrence and interpretation of omens derived from observing other aspects of the natural and supernatural world beyond the heavens and, sometimes, even from inferring non-observable phenomena. For example, one may draw prognostications from the outward appearance and chance behavior of human beings and animals, insects, lizards, and birds; from occurrences in fields, gardens, rivers, and marshes; and from the appearance of fire and strange lights. Physiognomic omens are closely related to medical diagnostic ones, while the future also can be predicted through the interpretation of dreams (fig. 7.1).⁷ Most divinatory practices attested in cuneiform tablets can be found (in their broad outline, and occasionally even in concretely matched detail) in Greek and Roman antiquity as well as the Christian (Greek and Latin) and Muslim Middle Ages and into the early modern period. Many also are mentioned in the Old Testament⁸ and are discussed by Jewish learned figures writing in Hebrew or other languages from antiquity into the early modern period. A few examples are discussed below.

Dream Interpretation

Evidence of dream interpretation survives from the Old Babylonian period (the city of Susa in the second half of the second millennium BCE),⁹ while cuneiform tablets from the library of Nineveh (seventh century BCE) yield a very fragmentary Assyrian text on prognostication from dreams.¹⁰ The Assyrian text vaguely resembles aspects of the earliest surviving Greek text on dream interpretation, written by Artemidoros of Daldis in the second century CE. Artemidoros based his treatise on extensive fieldwork that he personally conducted throughout the Roman Empire (Italy and urban centers in the eastern provinces are explicitly mentioned) as well as works by earlier authors, some of whom are said by Artemidoros to be from Egypt and Syria (Tyre and Antioch). Graeco-Roman dream interpretation clearly informs the earliest surviving Jewish treatment on the subject, the tractate *Berakot* in the Babylonian Talmud, written

وَلَقَدْ نَادَيْنَاكَ فَهَمَّ ثَلَاثًا وَنَدَّ نَادٍ وَأَنْتَ جَا

پستکار آمدی و با صاحب
مریدان علی م جوین نیاست کار



پیکار کف و فرج
بنی کاکین فست مردم

down roughly between the fifth and the eighth century CE on the basis of earlier oral tradition. Dream interpretation was practiced among the Arabs before the rise of Islam and is the only pagan Arab divinatory practice sanctioned in the Koran (chapter 12, "Surat Yusuf").¹¹ At least two eighth-century caliphs, Yazid II and Abd al-Malik, are said in later sources to have consulted Jewish dream interpreters, while Caliph al-Mahdi (reigned 775–85) is said to have ordered Abu Ishaq Ibrahim ibn Abd Allah al-Kirmani to compile a dream book, perhaps because he was able to interpret accurately a caliphal dream by referring to the Koran, implicitly demonstrating that its content is required knowledge for the successful practice of this divinatory method and in this way making dream interpretation specifically Islamic.¹² The earliest surviving Arabic treatise on dream interpretation was written by Ibn Qutayba in the ninth century, around the same time that Artemidoros's treatise was translated into Arabic. Conversely, a tenth-century Greek text on dream interpretation, subsequently translated into Latin and other European languages, is demonstrably a translation/adaptation of Arabic Islamic material.¹³ Until the early modern and modern periods, ancient and medieval texts on dream interpretation continued to inform prognostication through dreams as well as medical practice, including the work of Sigmund Freud. This is evident from the multiple printed editions, translations, and adaptations of ancient and medieval literature on dream interpretation, which remains a living tradition in Greece and the Middle East.¹⁴

Ornithomancy

This method of divination draws interpretations for the future from observations of the birds that appear in the sky, their cries, flight, and other behavior. It was attested in the Ancient Near East¹⁵ and referred to in the earliest surviving sample of Greek literature (the Homeric epics, eighth century BCE). Among the Romans, watching the behavior of birds, both those found in nature and others kept for the purpose, was one of the most important methods of state augury.¹⁶ Arabs of the pre-Islamic period also were known for this practice, though the evidence is limited to passing references in several Greek sources of the second century CE and later, such as Galen (who describes witnessing an ornithomantic contest between a Greek from Asia and an Arab),¹⁷ Appian, Philostratos, Porphyry, and others.¹⁸ Though systematic treatises on the topic definitely were written in both Latin and Greek, none is known to survive today¹⁹; however, ample references to it can be found in Byzantine sources of almost every century.²⁰ As for ornithomancy in the Islamic period, details on its practice can be collected from a wide variety of texts.²¹ At least one short treatise on predictions drawn from observing the raven is quoted in the fourteenth-century encyclopedia *Nihayat al-arab fi funun al-adab* (The aim of the intelligent in the art of letters) by the Egyptian bureaucrat and intellectual Shihab al-Din Ah'mad ibn Abd al-Wahhab al-Nuwayri (1272–1333), who attributes this text to al-Jahiz, the famous ninth-century scholar.²² The few examples of predictions based on observations of the raven quoted by the eleventh-century Byzantine polymath Michael Psellos (circa 1018–circa 1081) include some that

are analogous to those attributed to al-Jahiz,²³ while both the Byzantine and the Islamic traditions agree that a raven indicates death or separation.²⁴ In addition, correspondences in Graeco-Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic ornithomantic beliefs also exist, such as the consensus that an owl is a bad omen.²⁵ These analogies can be explained in more than one way. Undoubtedly, the Graeco-Roman, Byzantine, and Near Eastern (whether pre-Islamic or Islamic) traditions of occult science and divination influenced each other from antiquity into the Middle Ages and the modern period through either the transmission, translation, and adaptation of texts or oral communication of the type described by Galen. Furthermore, divinatory beliefs associated with birds depended on observing their behavior in real life and, as a result, may have independently led to the same deductions. A negative significance for the raven and the owl is understandable because the raven frequents ruins, while the owl is a night bird and therefore, like all things nocturnal, is associated with the negative influence of the planet Saturn, a notion equally familiar to Graeco-Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic astrology. These shared notions made possible the translation and oral transmission of divinatory lore from one language and cultural context to the other.

Scapulimancy

Scapulimancy (Arabic: *ilm al-katif*) is the technique of reading the future from observing a sheep's shoulder blade after it has been cooked and scraped of its flesh. The existing textual evidence conveys contradictory information. The medieval written tradition of scapulimancy, such as it survives in Arabic, Latin, Greek, Russian, Sanskrit, and Mongolian, has been surveyed by Charles Burnett.²⁶ It neither appears to have been an Ancient Near Eastern practice²⁷ nor is it mentioned in the ancient Greek sources. This is somewhat surprising, given that animal sacrifice and the reading of entrails for divinatory purposes were widely practiced in the Ancient Near East and the Graeco-Roman world; one therefore would have expected the bones of a sacrificed animal to have played a similar role. The earliest known scapulimantic manual is in Arabic, attributed to the ninth-century philosopher al-Kindi, and claims to be based on a sheet or plan found in Athens and written in Greek.²⁸ Its earliest mention extant in Greek is in the short text, attributed (accurately or falsely) to Michael Psellos, that also discusses ornithomancy.²⁹ Contrary to the Athenian provenance claimed by the Arabic text attributed to al-Kindi, Psellos calls scapulimancy "barbarous" (meaning "foreign"). Indeed, the only known scapulimantic treatise in Greek survives in a thirteenth-century manuscript, where it is said to be a technique of "Turkish and barbarous" origin.³⁰ The existing written evidence for Western scapulimancy is informed by Arabic texts, and Burnett has discussed the transmission of Arabic treatises from Spain to Flanders, England, and beyond from the twelfth century onward, the period when most translations from Arabic into Latin were made.³¹ However, the tenth-century author al-Mas'udi, a well-traveled intellectual and a reliable source for much historical and geographical information, reports that scapulimancy is a universal method of divination.³² This suggests the

written evidence available to us, all of it relatively late, is only the tip of an iceberg, the earlier layers of which are sunk much deeper in time. It also begs the question of whether, when, and how often the oral transmission (or the practice of the same technique invented independently without direct transmission) preceded the textual transmission (or at least our ability to access textual transmission due to accidents of survival). Furthermore, it makes clear that tracing the history of any given divinatory technique with the help of textual evidence neither exhausts the topic nor resolves all problems: it says nothing about oral transmission and does not illuminate the social and political context within which a particular kind of divination was practiced.

Physiognomy and Divination

Physiognomy (Arabic: *firasa*) is the technique of reading people's character (and sometimes even predicting their future actions)³³ on the basis of physical appearance. The concept is known in Ancient Near Eastern omen literature, where it is linked with predictions drawn from the appearance of moles on various parts of the body and from the personality and behavior of an individual,³⁴ as well as things that may happen to the human body—sneezing, twitching, etc.—in the course of its regular activities (i.e., palmomancy; Arabic: *ikhtilaj*).³⁵ An aspect of the contemplation of the link between body and soul, physiognomy played a role in philosophical and medical discussions in Greek antiquity at least as early as the fifth century BCE and into the Roman period.³⁶ It was a technique practiced in the Latin Middle Ages, as is evident from, among other references, a text compiled in Latin from Greek sources around the third or fourth century CE and copied in fifteen manuscripts between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries.³⁷ In addition, Latin translations of Arabic texts were drawn from originally Greek material.³⁸ Ancient Greek physiognomic lore continued to circulate in Byzantium³⁹ and was eventually appropriated successfully into Islamic philosophical and medical discourse.⁴⁰ It was also amply referred to and further utilized in the early modern and modern period, sometimes for purposes that we consider very “modern,” such as classifying the insane and the criminal.⁴¹

Closely related to physiognomy are predictions drawn from sneezing, twitching, and the appearance of moles on, as well as chance movement of, various parts of the body, arranged in the relevant treatises in various languages in head-to-toe sequence. These methods are also well known in the Ancient Near East,⁴² Graeco-Roman antiquity,⁴³ Byzantium,⁴⁴ the Latin Middle Ages,⁴⁵ and the Slavic⁴⁶ and the Islamic worlds⁴⁷ and were further studied and applied to “modern” ends in western Europe at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.⁴⁸

Bibliomancy, Rhapsodomancy, Cleromancy, Kledonomancy

A geographically and chronologically broad discussion of divination requires the joint consideration of various procedures based on the procurement of a chance oral or written statement that then is

used to predict the future. The point of these methods is to allow divine providence, in the form of chance, to intervene in order to help humans predict the future or reach a decision (e.g., how to divide war booty equitably). Modern discussions of such methods have attempted, through the use of appropriate terminology, to distinguish between them while also acknowledging their overlap. For example, the term “kledonomancy” is applied to the interpretation, for the purposes of divination, of a chance word or phrase (Greek: *kledon*) pronounced by somebody preoccupied with something other than the affair about which divination is sought. The etymological interpretation of proper names is perhaps the simplest form of this kind of divination.⁴⁹ “Cleromancy” is decision-making or divination through the use of lots (in Latin *sortilegium* from *sortes* = “lots”; in Arabic *maysir* or *istiḡsam*, both of which are pre-Islamic Arabic terms designating techniques condemned in the Koran; and *qur'a*, which may be used to designate generally any kind of cleromantic procedure or specifically rhapsodomancy).⁵⁰ Rhapsodomancy and bibliomancy both choose randomly and interpret excerpts from literary or religious texts (or even a pre-existing list of predictions) to divine the future or decide the course of future action. The texts and books chosen for this purpose generally are held to contain “truth” and include the epics of Homer, Hesiod, and Virgil as well as the Psalter, New Testament, Koran, the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari, and the poetry of Jalal al-Din al-Rumi and Hafiz. Examples of collections with preexisting predictions are the Greek lots attributed to Astrampsychos, a Persian magus of the fourth century BCE⁵¹; and the Arabic collections (used in the exact same manner as the lots of Astrampsychos) attributed to al-Kindi or to Caliph al-Ma'mun.⁵² One may claim that rhapsodomancy involves oral procurement of such an excerpt, while in bibliomancy identifying the excerpt requires the physical presence of a book.

Of course, a clear distinction among the various practical applications of this general divinatory approach and an effort to define exactly which method is meant by each term is more a modern preoccupation than an ancient and medieval one. Significantly, the terms used in modern European languages to designate these methods of divination are themselves modern and, though derived from the Greek language, do not occur as such in the ancient and medieval Greek sources.⁵³ In addition, a sharp distinction between the functions of orality and literacy is impossible to draw for any society. The choice of a particular procedure in a specific time, place, and social milieu was influenced by the literacy of the persons involved and the availability of books as physical objects in their environment as well as the ways in which a particular society was ideologically invested in their content. To illustrate how different but contemporaneous societies used various cleromantic procedures based on the same logic and for similar purposes, it suffices to examine a few randomly chosen examples from the Byzantine and pre-Islamic/early Islamic worlds around the sixth and seventh century. The sixth-century Greek hagiographical text recounting the life of Saint Matrona from Perge (a city on the southwestern Mediterranean coast of modern-day Turkey) informs us that she decided to abandon her husband and enter a monastery after praying and randomly opening the Scripture, where she found a New Testament passage that she

interpreted as favorable to her intention to become a nun.⁵⁴ Less than a century later, the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (the one who lost Syria/Palestine and Egypt to the Arabs in the seventh century) is said by the ninth-century chronicler Theophanes to have decided where his army would spend the winter of the year 621–22 through bibliomancy (using the Gospels).⁵⁵ This is not surprising in the context of the well-developed book culture of sixth- to seventh-century Byzantium.⁵⁶ By comparison, in neighboring pre-Islamic Arabia at a time very close to Saint Matrona's consultation of the Gospels, the Prophet's grandfather (at least according to the *Sira* of Ibn Hisham) relied on a cleromantic procedure that used arrows to decide who would be the appropriate recipient of the sacred finds he made in the course of clearing out the well of Zamzam.⁵⁷ This is also consistent with the overall situation at a time and place where books and the concept of a canonical religious text did not exist in the same way as they did in Byzantium. This context radically changes in the Islamic period, as is evident from a tenth-century report quoted in a fourteenth-century source and pertaining to the reign of al-Walid II (742–44). The caliph is said to have used a volume of the Koran for bibliomantic purposes and to have torn out the page that delivered a bad omen, though he was unable to escape its realization a few days later.⁵⁸ This narrative reflects a society (whether of the eighth, tenth, or fourteenth century) that, unlike pre-Islamic Arabia, possessed a sacred text and an abundance of books (fig. 7.2).

The interpretation of a chance pronouncement as a method of communication with the gods is known in ancient Mesopotamian texts from the late third millennium until the seventh century BCE, where it is often linked with dream interpretation (evidently because such chance pronouncements may occur in dreams).⁵⁹ This association of dream interpretation with the interpretation of chance pronouncements is also evident in the Graeco-Roman and Islamic worlds. A well-known example from antiquity is the fifth-century BCE narrative by Plato (*Critias* 44b), in which Socrates infers the time of his death on the basis of a verse from the *Iliad*, recited to him by a white-clad woman in a dream.⁶⁰ Quoting within a dream literary "classics"—i.e., considerably older works of literature, such as Homer and the ancient tragedians, that were widely read and performed in the Roman period—is abundantly attested by Artemidoros as well as in Islamic dream interpretation, for which, of course, other texts are used, such as the Koran, the *Hadith*, and lines of poetry. (A case in point is the dream book written by Ibn Qutayba, a well-known literary figure of the ninth century.)⁶¹ Bibliomancy—literally defined as throwing a book open at random and interpreting the future on the basis of passages or letters that occur in the selected pages—has to be linked to the increased use of the codex (as opposed to the earlier roll), the preferred book format in the world of Late Antiquity that can be chronologically, if not also causally, associated with the rise of Christianity.⁶² The codex is supposed to have supplanted the roll, aided by the growing popularity of a religion of the book, namely, Christianity, in which consultation and comparison of biblical passages is an important religious activity. Compared to the roll, the codex is more portable and lends itself more easily to the bibliomantic procedure described above. Of course, when divining the future involves the presence

of a book as a physical object, direct consultation of its content (and, therefore, literacy) is not necessarily required. For example, it is possible to predict the future by suspending a book from a key and cord and deriving a "yes" or "no" answer to a posed question by observing how the book moves.⁶³

Geomancy

Geomancy⁶⁴ is an essentially cleromantic procedure (i.e., one in which random chance is meant to play a role) and may have originated with the casting of pebbles, grains, or nuts and observing the patterns that they created on sand or other powdery surfaces.⁶⁵ Several different geomantic procedures exist. In general, it can be said that geomancers arrive at an understanding of the future (but also the present and the past) by having the seeker draw at random sixteen lines made up of several points each. The points in each line are counted to find out whether they yield an odd or even number, which the geomancer then marks on a writing surface and thereby produces a set of four figures called "mothers" that are used to derive another nine or ten figures, depending on the procedure.⁶⁶ Thus the geomancer, with the help of the seeker, derives a total of fifteen or sixteen figures that either are interpreted by themselves or are placed on a grid (or geomantic table). The random points on which the geomantic figures are based may be marked on sand or paper or obtained by other means, the most sophisticated of which is a mechanical instrument that would not have been known to modern scholarship if a unique bronze example dated to the thirteenth century had not survived.⁶⁷ Interpreting the geomantic figures can be a simple or complex procedure, depending on how many factors the geomancer takes into consideration from among the following: the intrinsic symbolic value of each figure, its position on the geomantic grid (if one is used), and its correspondence with notions familiar from astrology.

Arabic texts present the legendary and semi-legendary origin of this art as Indian and Berber, with key figures in its development and transmission: Tum Tum al-Hindi and Khalaf al-Barbari the Elder, presumably a contemporary of the Prophet Muhammad who studied geomancy in India and passed it on to his student, Shaykh Nasir al-Din al-Barbari the Younger.⁶⁸ Another foremost master of geomancy is Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad ibn Uthman al-Zanati, about whom nothing is known, but whose Berber identity is evident from the epithet "al-Zanati" and to whom is attributed several treatises in Arabic and other languages. Indeed, medieval geomantic texts are in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Greek, Latin, and various European vernaculars. Little researched are the geomantic texts in Hebrew, a language that played a role in the circulation of philosophical and scientific material in the Christian and Muslim Middle Ages and the early modern period.⁶⁹ However, very little of the manuscript or other evidence in any of these languages is earlier than the thirteenth century, which makes it very difficult to follow the development of this form of divination. It generally is assumed that geomancy was imported from the Arabs into the Latin- and Greek-speaking worlds. Indeed, the oldest geomantic

work in Latin is a translation from Arabic by Hugo of Santalla, who was active as a translator during the first half of the twelfth century. As for Greek, Byzantine manuscripts refer to geomancy with several different names that reflect an Arabic or Persian origin: *rabolion* or *raboulion* or *ramplion*, reflecting the Arabic word *raml* (sand) that appears in the Arabic terms for geomancy, *khatt al-raml* or *'ilm al-raml* or *darb al-raml*; and *tzatoubal*, a transliteration in Greek of the Persian and Arabic term *jadwal* (table). Side by side with these names that betray geomancy's foreign origins, we also find "scalpel of Pythagoras"⁷⁰ and *spodomanteia*, i.e., divination by means of *spodos* (ashes or dust), that seem to indicate, or at least to claim, an ancient Greek origin for this form of divination.⁷¹ In one unique instance, in the tenth-century encyclopedic dictionary known as *Suda*, among several titles of treatises on divination attributed to Orpheus, we encounter the term *amokopia* [*sic*], a word-for-word correspondence with the Arabic *darb al-raml*.⁷² The earliest datable geomantic text that survives in Greek was written by Nicholas of Otranto (active in the south of Italy, an important point of contact between Latin and Greek culture) some time between 1175 and 1200,⁷³ about fifty years later than the earliest known Latin geomantic treatise. According to its introduction, Nicholas based his work on the Latin translation of an Arabic source as well as a number of Greek treatises in which the material could be found scattered and disorganized. Therefore, Nicholas's introduction suggests that before the beginning of the thirteenth century there already existed in Greek several geomantic treatises that circulated long enough for their manuscript tradition to have become confused.

The evidence emerging from the study of the geomantic tradition in Latin and other European languages clearly indicates geomancy was extremely popular in western Europe from the twelfth until the seventeenth century, and its popularity rivaled that of astrology.⁷⁴ In the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, strong currents of skepticism and occultism were evident in European intellectual life, and occultists such as Paracelsus (1493–1541) and Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486–1535) gained both fame and notoriety. A number of treatises specifically about geomancy were published in Europe during the course of the sixteenth century and met with considerable success, such as the one spuriously attributed to Agrippa that appeared in 1565⁷⁵; or the work by Christophe de Cattan (first published in French in Paris in 1558, reprinted three times until 1577, with an English translation in 1591)⁷⁶; and the less widely circulated French geomantic handbook by Bandaroy (Paris, 1574).⁷⁷ This means geomancy's importance in the early Ottoman period should be considered within the context of its international renown⁷⁸ as well as a preexisting tradition cultivated in the territories gradually conquered by the Ottomans from the fourteenth century onward by both Muslims and non-Muslims. Of course, in their practice and treatises the non-Muslim geomancers had appropriated a tradition originally imported from the Muslim world, evidently as part of a larger transfer of Islamic astronomy, astrology, medicine (especially astrological medicine known as *iatromathematics*), and divination. For example, the geomantic treatise translated from Persian into Greek in 1266 by the monk Arsenios for Lady Theodora (wife of Emperor Michael

viii Paleologos) must have been part of the group of texts transferred from Persian into Greek during the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth. These texts acquainted Byzantine science with the astronomical, astrological, medical, and cosmological thinking of Maragha and Tabriz under the Mongols and the legacy of Nasir al-Din al-Tusi, the author of at least two different texts relating to geomancy.⁷⁹ The continuous popularity of geomancy in Byzantium is evidenced by the number of geomantic treatises copied in Greek manuscripts of the thirteenth to the fifteenth century⁸⁰ and its mention in literary texts composed during the same period.⁸¹ The role of geomancy as a divinatory and political tool among the Ottomans, as well as the ability of the Byzantines to understand its function, is indicated by the narrative of Ioannes Kananos, an eyewitness to the siege of Constantinople by Sultan Murad II. Kananos describes events surrounding the arrival of "Mersaites" (as the Hellenized form of this Turkish name appears in Kananos), a son-in-law of Murad who was a descendant of the Prophet and a revered diviner.⁸² Mersaites came in order to encourage an otherwise unsuccessful siege and is said by Kananos to have "read the books of Muhammad" (perhaps he recited the Koranic "Chapter of the Rum" that promises the city of Constantinople to the Muslims) and to have performed geomancy (*ta ramplia prattein*). The continued interest in geomancy attested in Greek sources of the early Ottoman period suggests the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire followed this trend as much as their Muslim neighbors and their contemporary Europeans did.⁸³ Fittingly, late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Greek geomantic manuscripts were copied to serve both the needs of Italian humanism and readers of Greek living in the Ottoman world.⁸⁴

Regarding the broader interest in prophecy and divination evident in the early Ottoman period, indications suggest its pursuit at the court of Mehmed the Conqueror (1432–81) involved both Muslim and Christian figures. Since the significance of prophecy and divination for the elite and rank-and-file Muslims of the Ottoman world is discussed elsewhere in this volume, we will limit ourselves to brief glimpses of the same phenomenon from a different point of view, namely, some Greek sources of the early Ottoman period. Julian Raby has demonstrated that the Greek manuscripts surviving in the Topkapı Palace are not the remains of the last Byzantine imperial library but a collection copied or otherwise acquired for the court of Mehmed and his successors at least down to 1520, the date of the latest known Ottoman royal decree (*firman*) issued in Greek to a European state.⁸⁵ Of the sixteen manuscripts examined by Raby that were demonstrably produced in Mehmed's Greek scriptorium, at least five contain texts that could be associated with prophecy, apocalypticism, and research in the occult.⁸⁶ Additional Greek manuscripts covering such topics in the Topkapı collection also can be pointed out.⁸⁷ All the pieces of evidence have not been systematically investigated, and any discussion on the topic needs to take into consideration not only documents in Greek but also the translations from Greek into Arabic that were made at Mehmed's court.⁸⁸ However, even at this preliminary stage it is possible to discern that, as part of affecting political and ideological transformations in the course of his reign,

Mehmed the Conqueror pulled together resources from all demographic quarters and all intellectual traditions available in his newly expanded realm.

There can be no doubt that the pictorial *Falnamas* of the sixteenth century are the products of the specific social, political, and ideological conditions of the time and place in which they were created, as demonstrated in the contributions of Kathryn Babayan, Cornell H. Fleischer, Massumeh Farhad, and Serpil Bağcı in this volume. Such a method of divination—in which a picture is chosen at random by throwing the book open and then interpreted on the basis of what it represents—is not attested in the sister traditions of pagan Graeco-Roman, Christian, and earlier Islamic divinatory practices.⁸⁹ However, its constituent elements were not invented out of nothing but are firmly rooted in broader principles and concepts found in existing methods of divination, such as bibliomancy, geomancy,⁹⁰ astrology, and dream interpretation, and in the sacred and secular narratives of Islam, while their pictorial representations are closely related to those found in a variety of illustrated manuscripts produced around the same period by artists sharing the same artistic traditions.⁹¹ In addition, though not all omens interpreted in the *Falnamas* occur in manuals on dream interpretation (the method of divination most evocative of visual imagery), those that do, such as the interpretations of prophetic and sacred figures, paradise, hell, angels, etc., ultimately are inspired by the standing of these figures in the broader Muslim tradition and are (unsurprisingly) consistent in both methods of divination.⁹² The pictorial *Falnamas* were put together by incorporating ideas found in the greater Islamic tradition of divination but were not limited to it. As pointed out by Kathryn Babayan, “In the *Falnama*, hearing the future as it is being read aloud is another aid to ensure the outcome of the image written out in the text.”⁹³ The notion that the oral articulation of an omen will influence its realization, or that an omen will be fulfilled according to the interpretation articulated for it by a diviner, can be found in the Graeco-Roman, Jewish, and Islamic traditions of dream interpretation over a long span of time.⁹⁴ Furthermore, the idea that before performing divination one should seek ritual purity and pronounce prayers (in the *Falnama*, one *fatiha*, three *ikhlas*, etc.) is not exclusive either to the *Falnama* or to the Islamic tradition of divination. It is also shared by the divinatory traditions of Graeco-Roman paganism and the other two monotheistic religions, Judaism and Christianity.⁹⁵

Frequently, modern scholars studying magic and divination in the context of one of the three monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam) have emphasized a tension (perceived or real) between the religious establishment and the divinatory and magical arts. Accordingly, the prayers and invocations for ritual purity frequently found at the beginning of explanations on how to conduct magical or divinatory procedures have been interpreted as aiming to mask the practice’s illicit character instead of as a sincere and integral part of the procedure. Such an interpretation ultimately is generated by our modern desire to articulate definitions for science, religion, and magic in various historical contexts by identifying the limits and differences among the three.⁹⁶ Yet, as has been rightly observed, this situation “resembles nothing so

much as the endless shuffling and redealing of a deck of but three cards.”⁹⁷ The fundamental problem that acceptance of divination poses—not only for the three monotheistic religions but also for pagan philosophical systems that assert man’s moral freedom—is that accepting the veracity of predictions about the future implies acceptance of predestination, which undermines the belief that salvation is the result of moral choices made freely by the individual.⁹⁸ Apologies for the divinatory arts may attempt to reconcile divination with the assertion of man’s moral freedom by intimating that divination indicates not what is bound to happen but only what may happen and, therefore, is used to decide on the best course of action from among various possibilities or to better understand what is already happening.⁹⁹

Within the vast topic of divination, a few more of its interrelated aspects should be briefly mentioned here, even if they cannot be analyzed fully:

1. *The close link between divination and philosophy (because of what it implies not only about morality but also about cosmology, the concision of the universe, and the interdependence of its constituent elements, whereby something that happens in one part of it necessarily influences occurrences elsewhere).*
2. *Its status not as “superstition” but as a rational enterprise (because it is based on principles deduced from empirical observation, sometimes of the highest complexity, astrology being the most sophisticated such art).*
3. *As a result, its ranking as a learned product of high culture and its cultivation at royal and aristocratic courts, where its potential as a political tool was recognized; it was utilized, therefore, to undermine one’s political enemies and inspire confidence in one’s followers or banned to avoid such politically expedient utilization.*
4. *The exportability of its practice beyond the ivory towers of learned circles when stripped of its philosophical background and partly or completely relieved of its complex technical apparatus. For example, manuals of dream interpretation and geomancy promise their readers that the methods they explain can lead to the same results as astrology but without the bothersome burden of astronomical observations and their mathematical application.¹⁰⁰ Other manuals take the opposite approach, explaining things with such complexity that it is impossible to understand their content without guidance from a teacher; this manner of writing is meant to preserve the prestige of (and the practical necessity for) a “master” and hinder any “do-it-yourself” approaches.¹⁰¹*

The study of divination offers an opportunity to contemplate one of the great questions in history of any kind, that regarding continuity and change, preservation and transformation. The practice of various forms of divination can be properly understood only within the concrete social, political, and intellectual context of the time and place where it occurs. At the same time, divination is consciously rooted in traditions of deep antiquity, the ritual aspects of which tend to remain remarkably stable over several centuries, even in the face of significant ideological and societal change, while the practitioners of divination themselves sometimes call upon these traditions to enhance or defend the pedigree of their art.¹⁰² ■

ANCIENT WISDOM AND NEW SCIENCES

Prophecies at the Ottoman Court
in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries

Cornell H. Fleischer

Sa'in al-Din Turka Isfahani, a noted philosopher and mystic who made his living as a Shafi'i *qadi* (judge),¹ was summoned in 1426 to the court of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh (reigned 1405–47) at Herat to answer charges of unbelief (*kufr*) that ostensibly sprang from his preoccupation with cosmology, natural science, astronomy and astrology, divination, and the “science of letters” (*ilm al-huruf*). In a pointed refutation of his accusers, aptly (and angrily) titled “The First Tubercular Expectoration,” having quoted the Koranic injunction (12:49) against spreading suspicion and inquiring too closely into the affairs or beliefs of another Muslim, he wrote:

The second reason [to prohibit such speech] concerns the Imperial Dignity: for if they [Shahrukh] permit such words, then the science of astronomy would become unbelief. Why then has God based that cosmic order [hay'at] upon natural principles such that the heavens neither explode nor implode? Indeed, the contrary of that allegation [i.e., that astronomy is contrary to religion] is scripturally stated in several places. And if astronomy should be considered unbelief, then astrology, too, which is based upon astronomy, would also become unbelief, while at royal courts most discussion concerns the stars, especially at this time when the science has been newly revived and orders given for the establishment of an observatory [and compilation of observations] impossible for sultans to achieve for centuries past.²

Compact though it seems, Turka's excerpted Expectoration³ affords an excellent starting point for an inquiry into the nature and significance of divinatory science at the Ottoman (and not only Ottoman) court in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He refers, of course, not only to that extraordinary cultivation of mathematical and astronomical learning based upon observation of the physical cosmos that produced the celebrated Sultanic Astronomical Tables of Ulugh Beg⁴ and his observatory at Samarqand in the mid-fifteenth century but also to the fact that divinatory sciences, “revived” and rendered scientific, were thoroughly embedded in the political and courtly life of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries—an era that witnessed the end of the Timurids in Iran and Central Asia and the Mamluk dominions in Egypt and Syria, and the establishment of regional dynastic powers, such as the Ottomans, Safavids, Mughals, and Uzbeks.

Sa'in al-Din Turka (died 1431) was a member of an extraordinary network of religious scholars, mystics, and intellectuals scattered across the Islamic world, whose lives spanned the late fourteenth to the mid- to late fifteenth century. While many were attached at times to the most powerful courts of the day—Timurid, Mamluk, and Ottoman—they were more permanently attached to one another and the “new” learning they cultivated.

A younger member of this fraternity of letters who spent his life in Mamluk and Ottoman dominions—he and Sa'in al-Din certainly intersected through the Cairene circles that both frequented in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries—was Abd al-Rahman al-Bistami of Antioch (circa 1380–circa 1455), who regularly addressed them (naming only a few) as “The

Brethren of Purity and Friends of Fidelity” (*ikhwan al-safa' wa khullan al-wafa*).⁵ A noted Arabic stylist and authority on exegesis and Prophetic Tradition, Bistami was a Hanafi⁶ by legal rite, a member of the Syrian Bistamiyyah Sufi order, and an important cultivator and disseminator of “the science of letters and divine names” (*ilm al-huruf wa'l-asma*). A witness to Timur's sack of Aleppo in 1400, Bistami traveled to Cairo, where he established contact with the “Rumi” (Rumelian and Anatolian) scholarly circles that had for several decades journeyed to the Mamluk capital for education and for the lively intellectual and spiritual life the city offered. It was no doubt at the invitation of his fellow Hanafis that, a few years after Timur's dismemberment of the first Ottoman empire attempted by Bayezid I (reigned 1389–1402), Bistami traveled to Ottoman “Rum” by way of Chios, where he spent time with “the learned and virtuous of the Christians” and composed one of his earliest epistles.⁷ Bistami taught his esoteric sciences, and explicated them in a growing number of treatises and ever larger volumes, to the elites of what remained of the Ottoman dominions and other principalities in Anatolia—including Shaykh Badr al-Din, chief military judge to Bayezid's son, Prince Musa (died 1413), in Edirne, the ideological center of a major millenarian rebellion that threatened the restoration of an integral dynastic dominion by Mehmed I (reigned 1413–21).⁸ Bistami became a protégé of Molla Fenari, another member of the brethren (to judge from both Bistami's and Sa'in al-Din Turka's admiring references to him) who is credited with being the first Ottoman *shaykh al-islam*, the chief jurisconsult who would come stand at the head of a specifically Ottoman scholarly lineage and career. Following a return to Damascus and Cairo in the unsettled years after the execution of Badr al-Din in 1416, Bistami returned to Ottoman Bursa, where he passed the remainder of his life writing on the sciences—including those of letters, divination, medicine, mysticism, and history—that were part of his (and his brethren's) comprehensive intellectual project. Two years after Mehmed's conquest of Constantinople in 1453, he ended the third chapter of *Nazm al-suluk fi musamarat al-muluk* (The ordering of conduct and the accompaniment of kings) as follows:

The Prophet said: “The Deceiver [Dajjal, Muslim Antichrist] will emerge until people have become indifferent to remembrance of God, and the Last Hour will not commence until Constantinople and the Holy Land have been conquered. . . .” The divine secrets and radiant clues have been completed on a day in which the Judgment will begin and the Hour will be imminent. . . . 1 Sha'ban 859 [16 July 1455].⁹

In his own time and for at least two centuries after his death, Bistami was highly regarded as an authority on both occult sciences: cosmology and the science of letters, which, like the Kabala, went far beyond basic gematria (a system of establishing correspondences based on the numerical values of letters) to a high sophistication. These skills gave him access to knowledge of the Time and calculation of the stages by which the (imminent) resolution of history would occur. The Ottoman dynastic



and both its adherents and detractors, were all keenly aware of the eschatological and prophetic significance of the conquest of Constantinople, the Muslim conquest of "Rome" being one of the feats to be accomplished by the Mahdi/messianic conqueror in the ultimate phase of history (fig. 8.1).¹⁰ The library of Mehmed the Conqueror included an Arabic translation, from the Syriac, of the biblical Book of Daniel, which comprised the dream of Nebuchadnezzar.¹¹ According to its inscription, it was made "for the treasury of the sultan . . . named for the prophet of the end of time" by a Christian and included relevant passages from the thirteenth-century Hebrew commentary of Ibn Ezra, to the effect that the Fourth Monarchy would be that of Islam and its monarch would be the "ruler of Rum" (*malik al-Rum*), that is, of Constantinople. Moreover, the endowment deed for his mosque complex in the newly conquered cities invoked the looming eschatological terrors of the hostile Blond Peoples (see below) and of Gog and Magog.¹²

Many of Bistami's works discuss extensively both Constantinople ("lesser Rome," *Rumiyya al-sughra*) and "greater" Rome (*Rumiyya al-kubra*). They were circulated widely and were also kept and consulted in the royal library in the Topkapı palace. As we shall see, his authority in this regard became especially salient in the sixteenth century. For this reason, and for purposes of discerning some of the lineaments of the intellectual and spiritual background of forms of divination and apocalyptic prognostication that would become particularly Ottoman by the mid-sixteenth century—and so inform Ottoman understanding of the *Falnama*—an understanding of some of the central threads of Bistami's lifelong preoccupation with esoteric learning is useful. In his view, all forms of knowledge could be reconciled and deployed to account, at once, for the generalities of the cosmos as well as for the particularities of the past and future histories of religions and political communities.

Once Bistami's reputation was established as an adept of letters (*huruf*), he increasingly turned his attention to history, the

Apocalypse—which was also manifestly important to his pupil Shaykh Badr al-Din—and to the genealogies of hermetic and gnostic wisdoms. These preoccupations are most encyclopedically displayed in his *summa*—*al-Fawa'id al-miskiyya fi'l-fawatih al-makkiyya* (Perfumed fragrances on the Meccan openings)—a clear reference to the “Meccan revelations” of Ibn Arabi¹³—and *Nazm al-suluk fi musamarat al-muluk* (The ordering of conduct for the accompaniment of kings). Bistami describes the science of letters, which incorporates all ancient hermetic and prophetic wisdom traditions (including Greek, Indian, Jewish, Christian, Sabaeen, and Muslim), as a rationally cultivable path to achieve the same knowledge of the divine and of the cosmos that was attained by mystics through inspiration. Indeed, Bistami regularly refers to the “noble literalists (*sadat al-harfiyya*) and noble Sufis (*sadat al-sufiyya*)” as representing parallel and equivalent “professional” paths to illumination. While insisting on his own adherence to Sunnism and the righteous Hanafi rite, Bistami traces the lineage of his prophetic science to Adam, whence it was transmitted through a string of biblical prophets (particularly Daniel) ultimately to Imam Ali ibn Abu Talib, the “legatee of the Prophets” in the Islamic era, and thence to his first six successors; it was subsequently preserved and practiced by a spiritual lineage of prominent gnostics. Knowledge of the future, in particular, was

vested in the sixth imam, Ja'far al-Sadiq (died 765),¹⁴ who encoded it in a “comprehensive prognostication” (*al-jafr al-jami*), such that prophetic wisdom was preserved but occluded from the commonality of mankind until Ibn Arabi rediscovered it through inspiration. He “reunited” mystical and philosophical wisdom in a manner that was itself effectively prophetic, in that he inaugurated a new era of the expansion and concordance of natural, philosophical, scriptural, and mystical knowledge, precisely what Bistami and his brethren pursued. The cycles of time, the clues afforded by history, and the nature of spiritual and temporal sovereignty became as significant objects of analysis as the movements of the heavens. Kingship and dominion were, after all, not only historical phenomena and philosophical categories but also were divinely revealed, as is exemplified by Solomon, the embodiment of justice and prophetic kingship.

Two observations are in order here before leaving Bistami during his lifetime. First, his devotion to *huruf* and their revelations must be distinguished from the radical Hurufism of Fazlallah of Astarabad, who was executed for heresy in 1394.¹⁵ In most of the scant scholarly literature that deals with him, Bistami is regularly designated as “al-Hurufi,” a term that associates him with the new incarnationist religion preached by Fazlallah and his successors; that religion seemed to make the

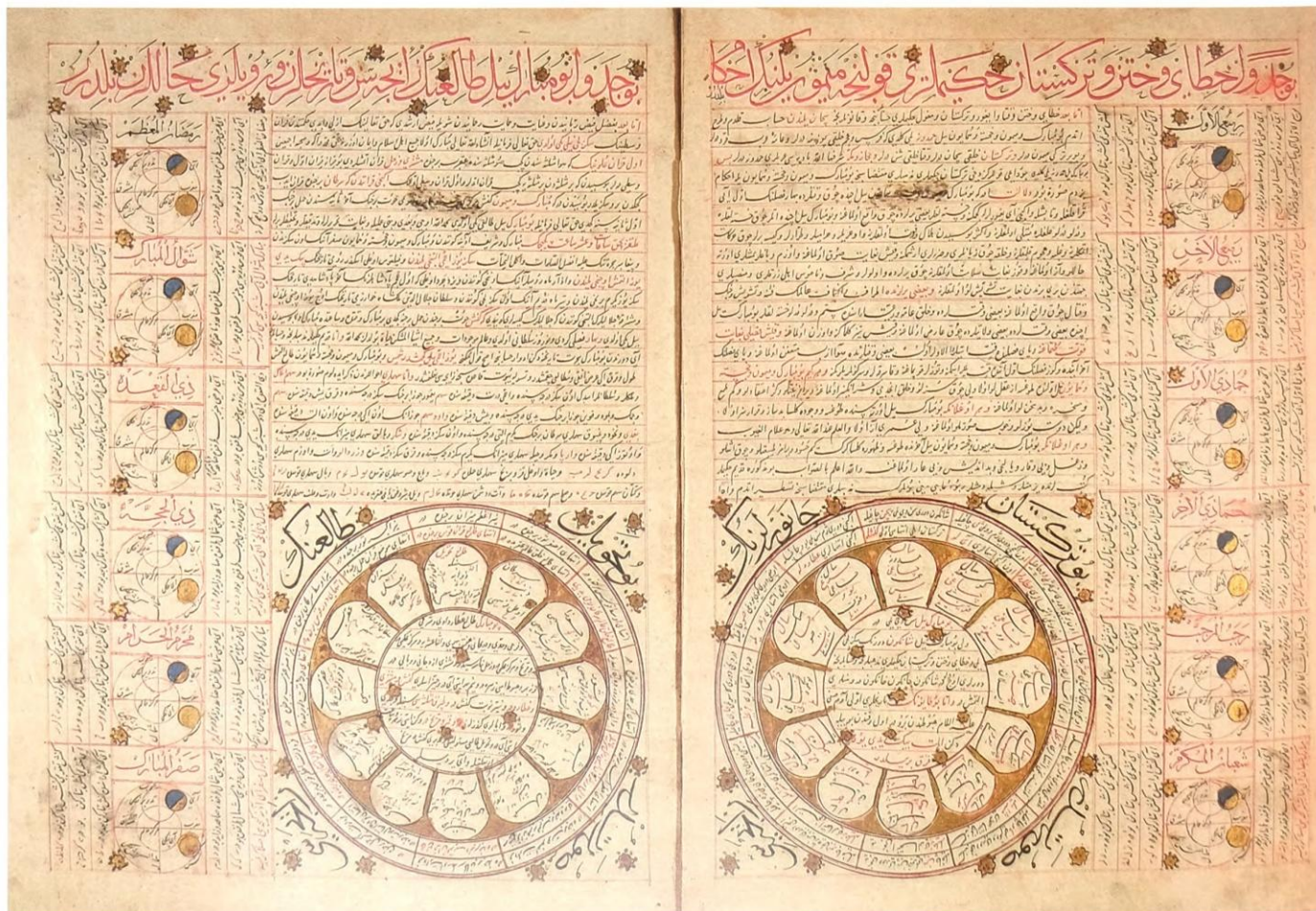


Fig. 8.2. Folio of lunar and Turko-Mongol animal calendars, *Taqwim* of Mehmed II, Turkey, 15th century, TSM B.309, ff.13b-14a

founder not only a messiah, who brings a new prophetic dispensation, but also an earthly manifestation of God. Bistami studiously uses the terms *harfiyya* (literalists, lettrists) or *ahl al-harf* (scholars of the letters) to refer to his own companions in technical learning.¹⁶ Moreover, he specifically denounces Fazlallah as an extremist, “a friend of Satan” who perverted a true form of knowledge for his own worldly ends in the same way that ignorant and corrupt practitioners of Sufism are tempted to an antinomianism that is merely an excuse for moral license. In neither case is the validity of the path to divine knowledge challenged by the excesses of the unworthy.¹⁷ While it is true that specifically Hurufi communities appear to have remained active and proselytizing in Iran and in Ottoman domains throughout the first half of the fifteenth century, it is also true that devotion to “letters” was hardly the sole result of heretical preaching. Especially through the activity of Bistami, it became a deeply embedded part of the mystical, philosophical, and political environment of even the most self-consciously Sunni environments of the period. Indeed, Bistami and his brethren tried to naturalize esotericism in the interest of creating a just order, which they saw as, ideally, Islamic in its role in the life of the Muslim community and in strengthening the dominion of revealed holy law. In the *Nazm al-suluk*, for example, he meditates on the plethora of calendrical systems, non-Islamic as well as Islamic; on the meaning of the organization of time in century units (*qarn*) and on the differences between how people perceive the century at its beginning versus at its end; and in the period of the Muhammadan dispensation, on the caliphate, imamate, and successive identification of the Renewers of Religion, the *mujaddids*, who were sent by God, according to Prophetic Tradition, at the head of each century to “renew your religion for you.”¹⁸

Secondly, Bistami’s oeuvre, and the environment to which it affords a window, displays tendencies that might seem discordant with a normative Sunni “orthodoxy” but which emerge clearly in prophetic texts and in the divinatory iconography of such works as the *Falnama*.¹⁹ The most salient of these ideas include: preoccupation with apocalyptic and messianic themes and images; Abrahamic prophets and pre-Islamic history as authoritative sources of guidance, particularly through appropriate application of either mystical, lettrist, or astrological techniques; reverence for the figure of Ali and his descendants as possessors of comprehensive gnostic knowledge of past and future history transmitted, though increasingly restricted in its possession and circulation, from Adam and the time of Creation; and particular reverence for Jesus and for Christian, as well as Jewish, wisdom traditions. To this admittedly summary list, of course, should be added the affective and revelatory power of letters, and of the images formed from them even when, as is the case in the *Falnama*, the signs of the astrologers or those of Bistami have been transformed into figural representations. The point of lettrism, as perhaps of Sufism after Ibn Arabi, is its comprehensiveness. These sciences—for such they were to Bistami and his contemporaries—preserved access to the cosmic order underlying successive and interrelated revelations. Properly deciphered, the beginnings of history, and its cycles of prophets, point to its ends.

This large sense of history and its capacity to reveal individual and communal futures, as well as the centrality of prognosticative science in Muslim and, of course, non-Muslim courtly life, is manifested most spectacularly in the “calendars” (*taqwim*) and annual astrological compendia (*ahkam-i sal*) that were compiled to give detailed guidance for the coming year, or perhaps for yet more specific occurrences and events. The earliest complete examples date from the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror (1451–81) and were produced in the two years after his accession and before the conquest of Constantinople.²⁰ While they display considerable indebtedness to Timurid models, which were available in the Ottoman library, and to the *Zij* of Ulugh Beg, these calendars are remarkable for their “Ottomanness,” a reflection of both the self-confidence and predilections of Mehmed the Conqueror. They are written in Turkish, in contrast to the long string of such prognostications prepared for Mehmed’s successor, Bayezid II (reigned 1481–1512), which are all in Persian and are perhaps self-consciously Timurid in form to the point of maintaining Samarkand as the center of observation. The Conqueror’s calendars are also significant in that they include, at their very beginning, a reverse chronology (“it is so many years since . . .”) of the signal events in dynastic history, beginning with the emergence (*khuruj*) of the founder and eponym Osman Beg (reigned circa 1301–circa 1324).²¹ Though not unprecedented, the chronologies represent the earliest fully extant internal sources of Ottoman history, and their placement in these volumes confirms the Ottoman historian Halil İnalcik’s statement that they serve an astrological purpose.²² Their point is clear, particularly in their expanded renditions: Human history, and prophetic history from Adam, leads to the (prophetic) emergence of the Ottoman House in what was widely considered the era that would witness the culmination of history in the penultimate (ninth) century of the Muslim millennium, the last day of the World Week.²³ According to Bistami, all of the great prophetic traditions agreed that the age of the world was to be seven days, with each day lasting a thousand years. The calendars of Mehmed the Conqueror are further remarkable for their deliberately scientific deployment of mathematical, astronomical, calendrical, and even medical traditions of knowledge in the interest of both comprehensiveness and accuracy. The most obvious example of this part of the project is the concern to correlate all historical calendar systems, lunar as well as vernal and including the Turco-Mongol twelve-animal cycle, with the cycles of Middle (240 years) and Great (960 years) Conjunctions (*qiran*) of Jupiter and Saturn, which were believed to be of singular significance for the rise and fall of religions and political communities (fig. 8.2). These concerns are most fully and ambitiously displayed in a full-life horoscope of Mehmed composed well after the conquest of 1453. This admittedly omits the first third of his life, which is not dealt with because that had passed.²⁴ Fully three-quarters of its 264 folios are taken up, in Persian and Arabic, with questions of method, such as, “Is a nativity to be calculated from conception or birth?” The final portion gives detailed annual predictions up to the year 886 AH (1480–81). The manuscript ends on the optimistic note that the sultan would live to the age of seventy-five, but he in fact died in 1481 at the age of forty-nine.

Despite the ultimate failure of calculation in this particular instance, these documents, which were composed and often signed by the appointed court astrologers (*munajjim*) and chronographers (*sa'ati*)—these are listed in the Topkapı palace pay registers at least from the 1520s—are invaluable and largely unexploited sources for Ottoman history.²⁵ They are critical not only for the history of science but also for ideological, cultural, and even political history, for they are an integral part of their environment (in this case the Ottoman palace) and echo its concerns and social and political imaginings, as will be illustrated in greater detail below. In the case of Mehmed, for example, he is accorded in his own lifetime the status of both caliph and *shah-qiran*, the World Conqueror and Master of the Conjunction (i.e., that of Jupiter and Saturn).²⁶ Furthermore, a survey of these texts from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries reveals the integration of prognostication with policy, as they address immediate concerns and plans, the structure and relationships of social orders, and even issues of likely succession. They also display, in their progression, something of the development of a distinctive Ottoman imperial identity.

One of the known calendars composed for Selim I (reigned 1512–20),²⁷ for example, was presented at Nowruz (New Year) on 10 March 1513 (fig. 8.3). The prognostication implies both the troubled accession of a sultan who had only just dispatched his fraternal rivals, and the unsettled state of his power, which Selim sought to secure the next year by marching against the Safavid shah Isma'il, whom he would defeat at the plain of Chaldiran below Mount Ararat in 1514. While the calendar follows the Persian model of those of Selim's father Bayezid, it notably takes Istanbul (Constantinople) as the basis of astral observation and so designates the still-new (and recently earthquake-ruined) dynastic capital as a cosmic center in its own right. The last Nowruz calendar for the reign of Selim, prepared by the astrologer Hoca Kemal for the year 1519 (925 AH), is written in simple Turkish.²⁸ The stars foretell a campaign to the west (*Batu*), Saturn rules against Latin Christendom (*Firengistan*, land of the Franks), and the sultan will attack both the pope of Rome (*rimpap*) and the Knights of Rhodes (*Rodos*). When Selim died the following year, these projects were left to his son and successor, Süleyman the Lawgiver (reigned 1520–66). To judge from two extant exemplars dated 1527 and 1531,²⁹ the calendars of Süleyman were written unabashedly in Turkish, in a shift consonant with the Lawgiver's launching of Ottoman Turkish as the imperial language of his soon-to-be universal dominion.

The dates of these latter prognosticative documents are intriguing, for they mark a period in which prediction and prophecy were at a height of currency (and professionalization) in a court fully preoccupied with internal rebellions, administrative reorganization, and repeated campaigns against Christian powers to the west. As the series of presentation copies seems to stop in 1531, at least in terms of Topkapı Palace library holdings, we see nothing in the sixteenth century³⁰ like the sequence of annual royal calendars that were preserved from the time of Bayezid. The influential corps of astrologers, however, stayed a palace pay unit, and its members clearly received a salary through the sixteenth century.

Occult practices associated with the science of letters and names, as well as more overtly scientific ones like astrology, remained a fundamental part of palace life and of policy decisions, and so, perhaps, were subject to greater control for reasons of security as well as of reliability and authority. In the 1520s, the aged maker of talismans to the royal family, whose work included producing amulets that could be as elaborate as entire garments (cat. 4) in the form of letters and divine names in particular configurations, petitioned the sultan for Arabic dictionaries and an assistant calligrapher, because the volume of work was such that he could barely keep pace with orders. The function of these, he said, would be to free him from asking others for the spelling or meaning of Arabic words, which might allow the unauthorized to divine, based upon his queries, royal plans that should be kept secret.³¹ Astrology, derived from astronomy, remained an honored scientific method and a bulwark of occult sciences (fig. 8.4). For a significant time, however, the politically driven court of Sultan Süleyman came to rely on more hermetic and confidential forms of authority for guidance to past and, especially, future events.³²

Prognostication and Prophecy at the Court of Süleyman the Magnificent

In a fine study of the intimate relationship among apocalyptic prophecy, political violence, and the redefinition of religious and social boundaries in Italy between 1494 and 1530, Ottavia Niccoli, an historian of the Italian Renaissance, concerns herself with

the extraordinary dissemination of prophetic tensions among vast but socially and culturally varied milieus in Italy during the guerre horrenda from the invasion of Charles VIII to that of Charles V. The dates are significant and suggest at least a partial interpretation of the phenomenon which clearly appears to be linked to the political instability of those years. Prophecy during the Renaissance and, even more, during the Middle Ages, is well known and widely studied. The picture that emerges here, however, is at least partially new: A generalized culture that had profound ties to the political and religious events of the period was disseminated very broadly through many different channels. In other words, it was a different aspect of the Renaissance.³³

We may usefully note that, while the same phenomenon was an equally embedded part of the central Islamic environment during the same periods, it has, in contrast to the western European case, received little attention, either in its own right as a common feature of medieval or early modern life in the Islamic world or as a theme that in fact connects the larger transformations experienced by both eastern and western sectors of the Mediterranean between the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the middle of the sixteenth century.³⁴ Yet the prophetic prism is important for an understanding of Islamic (as well as western Christian) early modernity, particularly in reference to the foundation and consolidation, between 1520 and roughly 1550, of the "classical" Ottoman regime identified with the reign of Sultan



Süleyman, known as the Magnificent in western European parlance and as the Lawgiver in Ottoman historiography.

Here I seek to trace the shadowy history of the convergence, and amplification, of apocalyptic excitement and prophetic text around the figure of the young sultan and his early trials and successes, and to give a sense of the palpable influence that prophecy enjoyed as both explanation and motive for the political action with which it was thoroughly intertwined. In the context of Süleyman's strenuous rivalry with Habsburg (Charles v) and Safavid (Shah Isma'il, Shah Tahmasb) opponents, ambient prophetic texts increasingly centered on the possibility that the millennial empire was at hand (both within and between Latin Christian and Ottoman Muslim ambits), and their valence reached a crescendo in the mid-1530s, the years of heavy diplomatic traffic between Vienna, Paris, and Istanbul; of Charles v's capture of Tunis; of the Ottoman siege of Corfu; and of the militarily successful but politically traumatic Ottoman Campaign of the Two Iraqs against the Safavids (1533-35). A central thread in this effort to produce a history of prophecy in this crucially formative period is the tenebrous biography of a major political actor and formulator of apocalyptic prophecy at the court of Süleyman, who

despite his long-term proximity to the sultan remains ignored, probably purposefully, by almost all Ottoman narrative and biographical sources: Remmal Haydar.³⁵ Haydar's story illuminates the specific environment from which the *Falnama* emerged and further casts suggestive, if not explanatory, light on one of the enduring mysteries of Ottoman history, namely, Süleyman's abrupt and secretive dispatch in 1536 of his grand vizier and alter ego, Ibrahim Pasha, whose demise marks something of a (successful) terminus in the sultan's struggle to place his dynasty's legitimacy, and his own divine mandate to exercise singular and universal authority, beyond challenge.³⁶

Soon after the accession in 1520 of the sole surviving, and hence politically untried, son of Selim the Grim, whose rapid and extraordinary conquests—the defeat of his Safavid nemesis Shah Isma'il at Chaldiran in 1514, and the conquests of eastern Anatolia, Syria, and especially Egypt in 1516-17—had astonished and terrified the Christian and Islamic worlds alike, the ancient books of prophecy began to appear. The *Gurbetnâme* (Tale of exile) is an account of the captivity in the Christian realm, between 1483 and his death in 1495, of Cem Sultan, the brother of Bayezid II (reigned 1481-1512).³⁷ While the work has much in common with

the better-known *Vâkı'ât-ı Sultan Cem* (Story of Cem Sultan) completed in 1514,³⁸ it seems likely to have been written by a member of the prince's retinue in the early 1520s.³⁹ The author interpolates a long account of Cem Sultan's reception in Rome by Pope Innocent VIII, which most scholars have found obviously fanciful and have therefore also dismissed the historical value of the *Gurbetnâme*. Invited to recount his own story and the history of his house, Cem does so "according to the Chronicles of the House of Osman." The author maintains:

However, the late [prince] had acquired from a Venetian scholar a book of history; there it was written that after the year 920 [1514] one named Sultan Süleyman, of the House of Osman, would become emperor [padişah]. In his first campaigns for the Faith [gaza] he would attack Hungary and, after many battles and conquests, would attempt several times, without success, to mount sea-campaigns [against Rome]. Thereafter he would create a fleet that none could resist, and wherever he intended conquest he would be victorious. This sultan of the gazis and warriors for the faith, Sultan Süleyman Han (God glorify his helpers!) would himself come to Rome, conquer it, and kill countless of its commanders and learned, including the pope of the time. The Emperor, refuge of the world (may he not cease to be bound to God's protection), that is, Sultan Süleyman-Shah, would water and feed his horse at the founts of their churches [St. Peter's], annex Rome to the rest of his domains, and remain there for some time dispensing justice; thus had they written in their books eight hundred years before the year 894 [1489, the date of Cem's arrival in Rome].

When the late prince recounted this great thing, they [i.e., the assembled papal retinue] seemed to have [the book] as well, they fetched the very same book, and on comparison they found the same account with yet more detail.⁴⁰

The Roman dignitaries, relieved that the prophecy might be fulfilled in the person of a harmless Ottoman captive, insisted on carrying it through by having Cem Sultan water and feed his horse at the fountain in the church plaza and then pronounced, "God's will has been done!" The author adds that these deluded ones did not realize, though Cem Sultan told them, that the Ottoman coming to Rome was Sultan Süleyman, who would take the city with the might of his sword.

The scenario is far less fantastic than it might seem at first glance. Versions of the prophecy in question (which properly ends with the miraculous conversion of the sultan who, having purged the corrupt church and established universal empire, will then rule justly over a single community united by a purified faith, in tandem with an angelic pope) were well known in manuscripts from the late fifteenth century and in print by the first decades of the sixteenth.⁴¹ Even the references to recourse to the nuclear Vatican library during Cem Sultan's sojourn in Rome, and to religious disputation between prince and pope, resonate with the historical record. The earliest registration of a loan of a book from the oriental collection of the Vatican notes the return to the library of an Arabic Christian "refutation of the Jews" by a member of Cem Sultan's party on 27 January 1495—the eve of the prince's deportation to Naples by Charles VIII of France, who hoped, with the pope and other princes of Christendom, to put him at the head

of a crusade against his brother, Bayezid II.⁴² Such a work might well serve as an aid in preparation for disputation on the merits of successive, and cognate, revelations.

The next text to command our attention is yet more specific to the Istanbul context of 1526—three years after Sultan Süleyman's elevation of his favorite, Ibrahim Pasha, first to the governor-generalship of Rumeli and then to the grand vizierate, in violation of expectations among the vizierate that seniority would be observed—though it still contains significant reference to the body of European prophecy alluded to above, especially as it posits three tries at the conquest of Rome, only the last of which would be successful. In March 1526, on the eve of the campaign to Hungary (whence, the following year, the Ottoman forces were to proceed to Rome), the new grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha told the Venetian *bailo* (the commercial and political representative of the Serenissima),

The Sultan and he [Ibrahim], as youths, had seen an old book in which it was written that when he [i.e., Süleyman] would leave the Harem [to take the throne], one who had never had high office would be made first vizier and beylerbeyi of Greece [Rumeli] and would be named Ibrahim. Then the Ottoman lord, in his [Ibrahim's] time, would accomplish many things that his ancestors had never been able to do: To take the Roman Empire and give battle to the Christians in great campaigns. He would assault the Christians and wage three great battles, from which the Turkish lord would twice emerge vanquished; but in the third attempt he would take the Roman Empire and all its noble captains and would be victorious; it would be a great victory, by grace of God. He [the sultan] would liberate [the empire] and all others, and there would be but one religion, in peace and mutual love, and he believes that this must certainly come about.⁴³

At precisely the same time, texts of Islamic provenance, which dealt explicitly with the events of End Time and seemed to predict this for the current (tenth) century of the Hijra, came into demonstrable circulation at the Ottoman court. The most comprehensive of these—and in terms of production, verifiably datable—was the *Miftah al-jaf al-jami* (The key to the comprehensive prognostication) of Abd al-Rahman al-Bistami. A compendium of apocalypses current during the rule of the Mamluk dynasty in Egypt and Syria in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with some materials drawing on Crusade-era traditions, the text also contains several prophetic works attributed to Ibn Arabi, to which Bistami gave definitive literary form. As I have discussed elsewhere, it became the urtext from which the image of Sultan Süleyman as the Mahdi (saintly cosmocrator or world conquer) would be hewn.⁴⁴ Some of its major themes include: the advent of the violent Blond Peoples (Christian kings), whose goal is the conquest of Constantinople and the destruction of Islamic lands; the final conquest of Rome by the Mahdi; the ruination of the lands; the final conquest of Egypt by a king from the north (Rum); the return of Jesus and the destruction of the Antichrist (Dajjal); and the establishment of the pre-apocalyptic universal rule of a single purified religion by the duumvirate of Jesus, now Muslim and wedded, and the Mahdi, of the line of the Prophet (fig. 8.5). Of the nearly thirty

copies of the *Miftah al-jafri al-jami* I have examined, six have colophons that date the manuscripts to the early sixteenth century. The dates of production are particularly suggestive: the earliest volume was completed in the year 911 AH (1504–1505) and is somewhat confused in arrangement;⁴⁵ one long fragment was copied in 927 AH (1521) and completed based on another, presumably complete, copy in 943 AH (1536–37).⁴⁶ Another one dates from Rabi' II 931 AH (February 1525) and is heavily annotated.⁴⁷ Three additional copies, also annotated, are dated 939 AH (1532–33) but are based on originals created in 932 AH (1525–26).⁴⁸ Clearly, a need for a more or less canonical version was keenly felt in the early decades of Süleyman's rule, with the years 932 AH (1525–26)—the eve of the drive to Rome via Hungary, where Ottoman forces put an end to the independent Hungarian monarchy at Mohacz in 1526 (they besieged Vienna for the first time three years later)—and 939 AH (1532–33)—coinciding with the aftermath of the German campaign, in the course of which the Ottomans raided as far as Friuli and the prelude to the Campaign of the Two Iraqs, which saw a brief Ottoman occupation of the Safavid capital of Tabriz, and a more permanent conquest of Baghdad and the Shiite holy places to its south—perhaps representing high points of demand.⁴⁹ While the timely relevance of a text focused on an end to be achieved at the end of the Muslim

millennium was certainly confirmed by the dramatic conquests of Selim in 1514 through 1517 (920–924 AH) at the opening of the tenth Muslim century, the apparent need to understand the eschatological role of the Ottoman imperial house and its new representative—who was born in 1494 (900 AH)—must have served as another reason for its popularity. In 1535 Guillaume Postel, the famed Orientalist and apocalyptic enthusiast attached to the French embassy of that year, saw the work brandished by a vizier who accused Jean de la Forêt, emissary of Francis I, of representing the king of the Blond Peoples, a false ally whose prophetic aim was to destroy the domains of Islam.⁵⁰ A document in the Topkapı palace archives, a terse reporting on the names and provenances of Sufi shaykhs who visited an unnamed prince likely resident in Amasya in the early sixteenth century (probably Prince Ahmed, son of Bayezid II and brother of Selim I, or Prince Mustafa, son of Süleyman), lists among others, one “Shaykh [Celal], who is in Amasya; he is a famous person, and gave [the prince] a copy of the *Miftah al-jafri*,” a clear reference to Bistami's Key.⁵¹

Less certainly datable, but likely in some form to have had currency in the early sixteenth century, was *Al-shajarah al-nu'maniyya fi al-dawla al-'Uthmaniya* (The crimson tree on the Ottomanid glory). A work attributed to Ibn Arabi, allegedly it predicted the final conquest of Egypt and the emergence of the Ottoman House as rulers of the last, universal empire that would precede the end of time.⁵² The *Shajarah* was a circular cosmological diagram that placed Egypt at the center of concentric spheres, accompanied by texts explicating enigmatically the events of End Time connected to the fate of that land. It was probably known through commentaries attributed to Sadr al-Din Qunawi (died 1274), the adopted son and disciple of Ibn Arabi, and the Damascene scholar Khalil bin Aybak al-Safadi (died 1363), which are found bound together in numerous copies from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, frequently with later “updating” commentaries.⁵³ More fragmentary texts attributed to Ibn Arabi, who became the dynastic patron saint following Selim's conquest of Syria and Egypt, were annotated interlinearly to identify specific events with particular prophetic passages. For instance, the first two of the three cries of the Beast of the earth are said to refer to the death of Selim and the accession of Süleyman.⁵⁴ The centrality of Ibn Arabi to prophecy associated with dynastic eschatological roles—and the seriousness with which Sultan Süleyman took such—is further attested by the sultan's visitation of the Melami shaykh Pir Ali Alaeddin Aksarayi in Konya on his way to the Iranian front in 1534. The historian Mustafa Ali recounts that Pir Ali presented Süleyman with the “*anka-yi mugrib* [*al-'anqa' al-mughrif*, The Resplendent Griffin] of the greatest Shaykh [Ibn Arabi],” in which this very meeting between the two had been prophesied: “In 940 AH, the virtuous man whose name begins with Ayn [= Ali] and the ruler whose name begins with Sin [= Süleyman] will meet in the city the name of which begins with Qaf and ends with Ha [= Qunyah]”).⁵⁵ The meeting took place as Süleyman was heading to the eastern front because the powerful grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha, despite designation as the sultan's military



Fig. 8.4. Diagram of a lunar eclipse, *Acaibü'l-mahlukat*, Turkey, ca.1595, TSM A.3632, f. 13a



surrogate (*ser-asker sultan*), was unable to control either his troops or his conquests.⁵⁶

The Ibrahim Pasha who addressed the Venetian *bailo* in March 1526 was a yet-untested person of no account who had been elevated to the highest office—famously and controversially—solely by the decree of a nearly equally untried sultan who could not yet impose his authority over inherited grandees.⁵⁷ He addressed the Venetian envoy with textual and autobiographical confidence bolstered by awareness of the importance that Ottoman and Muslim affairs played in Venetian political prophecies. His sole symbolic accomplishment as grand vizier had been to spend two months of 1525 in Cairo “arranging” the affairs of Egypt after the rebellion of its governor, the former second vizier Ahmed Pasha, had been quashed. His singular intimacy with the sultan, and his presumptive authority based on “Roman” prophecy,

would soon be challenged by a practicing seer from the East, whose vocabulary and sources were more recognizably “Islamic”: Remmal Haydar, the Geomancer.

The Geomancer is first reliably attested in the textual record in the spring of 1535, when he produced a lengthy annual prognostication, based on the art that he terms “the geomancy of the Prophet Daniel,” for Sultan Süleyman in which, *inter alia*, he assures the ruler that he is both the *sahib-qiran*, divinely ordained world conqueror, and *sahib-zaman*, spiritual ruler of the age. The combination of these two universal authorities in his person shows that Süleyman is the *axis mundi*, the pole of the saintly hierarchy (*kutb al-aktab*), whose universal dominion and enforcement of the universal sway of Islam is to precede directly the advent of the Mahdi and the second coming of Jesus.⁵⁸ Haydar is an advisor so important and confidential that many of his predictions are

communicated orally or, if written, must be conveyed by the hand of the Chief White Eunuch, lest inappropriate eyes gain access to his knowledge of present and future events.⁵⁹ A Persian treatise that Haydar composed perhaps a year later—in the months immediately preceding and following the mysterious execution of Ibrahim Pasha on 15 March 1536—in order to explicate at length Süleyman's identity as ruler of the Last Age, is bound between the first and second halves of Bistami's *Miftah al-jafr al-jami*.⁶⁰ This is significant both for an understanding of Haydar's closeness to the sultan and for gaining a sense of Süleyman's belief in and cultivation of his saintly eschatological identity. Haydar cites as authority not only Daniel's prophetic art but also the works of Ibn Arabi and other prognosticative texts that the sultan had given him. These included Bistami's *Miftah*, a work of Sadr al-Din Qunawi—presumably the commentary on Ibn Arabi's *Shajarah* cited above—and a (hostile) treatise of the near-contemporary al-Suyuti (died 1505), written in reaction to the circulation of traditions predicting the end of the world at the end of the tenth century AH.⁶¹ We have here, then, a *terminus ad quem* for the accumulation of a significant body of apocalyptic text in the palace, which was actively interpreted by sultan and specialist seer. The prognostications of 1535, which are replete with references to contemporary events, such as negotiations with Francis I and the Safavid wars in the east, also demonstrate the depth to which policy was enmeshed with prophecy. The year 1535–36 was a high-water mark of apocalyptic hopes and of the circulation of prophecy in Istanbul.

By happenstance, Haydar's arrival at the Ottoman court is linked to the return of Ibrahim Pasha from Egypt. In explaining the reasons for the summons of Shaykh Ibrahim-i Gülşeni (from Cairo to Istanbul circa 1527–28) soon after the Egyptian sojourn of the grand vizier (during which the mystic pointedly refused homage to Ibrahim),⁶² the Cairene mystic's biographer Muhyi-yi Gülşeni (died 1605) maintains the following:

It is related that, at the time when Ibrahim Pasha returned to Rum, an excellent practitioner of geomantic prognostication [fazil ceffar] came from Iran. Sultan Süleyman had him read the signs for him. He delivered a warning, saying, "My padişah, a person named Ibrahim is preparing to take over your dominion, be wary." Sultan Süleyman gave a copy of the prediction to Ibrahim Pasha, who, with no sign of distress, responded without hesitation: "Yes, my padişah, in Egypt the entire populace follows Shaykh Ibrahim-i Gülşeni, and in particular your palace troops and all their commanders have become his disciples. His son has taken a wife of royal [Mamluk] lineage who had been married to Sultan Tomanbay [i.e., the last Mamluk sultan]. It is a wonder that he has not yet announced his sovereignty and raised rebellion." Then the sultan sent a command to the pasha, to the effect that he should at once send ten equerries to Egypt in order to bring the shaykh [alone, from Egypt to Rum] without delay.⁶³

To be sure, Muhyi-yi Gülşeni's hagiographic work is a later source hostile to Ibrahim Pasha—as was, by this time, much of the nascent Ottoman historiography—but he could easily have known the Geomancer, who remained a figure at court until the end of Süleyman's reign. In a report composed about 1553, Haydar

confirms the approximate date of his own arrival in Istanbul and gives significant information about his background.⁶⁴ The letter concerns the recent execution of Süleyman's favorite son, Prince Mustafa, whose actions had been closely observed by the author of the letter. Identifying himself as an expert on Safavid affairs, the writer notes that he has seen no sign of disloyalty in Mustafa, whom he had been delegated to watch (presumably both directly and through his mantic art), and that the prince's supposed correspondence with Shah Tahmasb, which had sealed the case for his betrayal of Sultan Süleyman, actually had been counterfeited by the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha (died 1561)—a fact he had learned from one of his Safavid contacts who had been directly involved in the affair. Haydar further states that the two most respected figures at court are himself and the great chancellor Celalzade Mustafa (died 1567), who was the architect not only of Sultan Süleyman's bureaucracy but also of the ruler's new imperial image. (Celalzade enshrined his vision and experience of the creation of the millennial Ottoman Empire in his monumental history of the reign [until 1557] of the tenth sovereign of the Ottoman House.)⁶⁵ Haydar reminds the sultan—the addressee of the letter—that during his days at the Safavid court (where he almost certainly served Shah Isma'il and then the young prince Tahmasb, who returned to Tabriz from Herat in 1522), he had been so admired for his prognosticative skill that all the kings of the world had desired him. So much did Tahmasb envy his art, and also fear his own dependence on the Geomancer, that he had Haydar tutor him for six years. Apparently the lessons had a profound and lasting effect on Shah Tahmasb, for when Vincenzo degli Alessandri visited the Safavid court of Qazvin some forty years later, he discovered the shah had not left his palace for ten years, preferring to seclude himself with his women and constantly cast geomantic figures. When his prognostications might happen to come true, the women lavished praises on him as God's chosen, the recipient of divine revelation, a true prophet of God.⁶⁶

After the death in 1524 of Shah Isma'il, whose own messianic pretensions Haydar presumably encouraged just as he would later bolster those of Süleyman, the Geomancer's lot in Tabriz became more difficult. One faction of the Qizilbash amirs, who sought to dominate the still-minor Shah Tahmasb, tried to affect Haydar's execution, accusing him of being a crypto-Sunni who cast his predictions in such a way as to favor the Ottoman sultan Süleyman. Only the protection of Tajlu Khanum, Isma'il's Mawsillu widow and Tahmasb's "virtual" mother, and of the military commanders allied with her, saved him from destruction. Haydar ultimately fled to the Ottoman court—about 1527–28, given his years of tutelage of Tahmasb at Tabriz—where he continued to ply his art.

As scattered references make clear,⁶⁷ the Qizilbash Haydar remained an Ottoman courtier of substance throughout his long life. A substantial fief holder (possibly even district governor of Çingene) in Tatar Pazarı in Macedonia (where lands were confirmed on his son by Süleyman's immediate successors), Haydar both participated in military campaigns—he not only accompanied the 1548 campaign launched in the interest of securing the Safavid throne for Alqas Mirza, the rebellious brother of Tahmasb who had become an

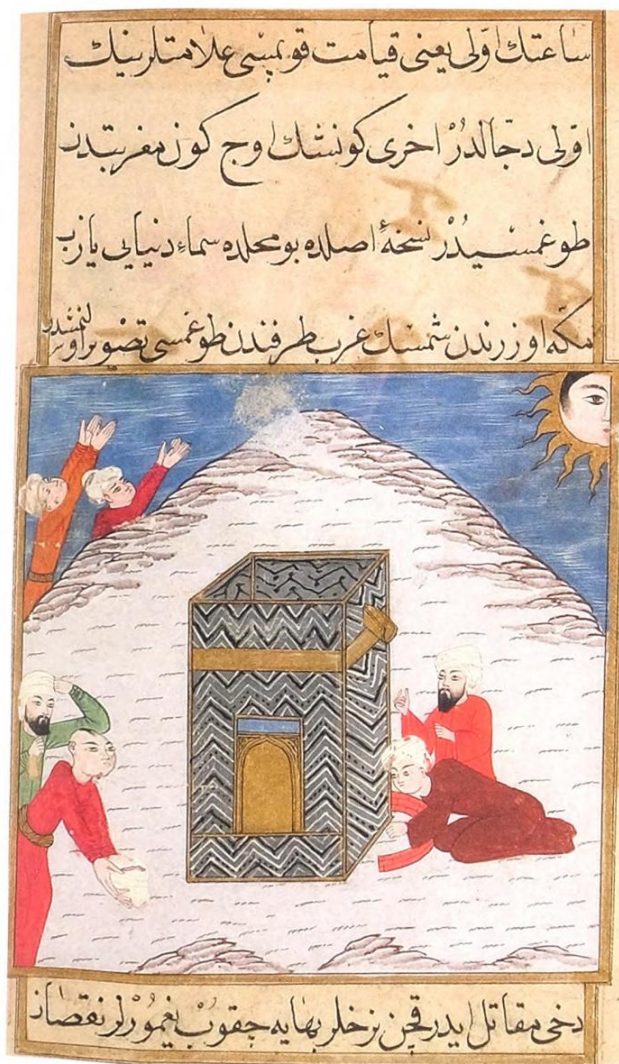
Ottoman client, but he was also among the sultan's favored companions who traded poetry with him⁶⁸—and was ever present in the salons of elite Istanbul society, where he enjoyed the friendship of the poet Yahya Bey, another vigorous proponent of Sultan Süleyman's eschatological identity and mission. A fixture in elite circles, Haydar sufficiently enraged the poet Hayali with his assertion of the superiority of geomancy over poetry that Hayali satirized him viciously and repeatedly. Haydar's propensity for litigation made the phrase "long as the Geomancer's lawsuit" a bon mot shorthand for the interminable.⁶⁹ He was clearly viewed as an expert—possibly a treacherous one—on Iranian and Safavid affairs, thanks both to his origins and to his continuing contacts. The last two extant products of his confidential pen are reports on Prince Mustafa (circa 1553), who was accused of collusion with Shah Tahmasb, and on Prince Bayezid (died 1559), who had recently taken refuge at the Safavid court.

In an earlier study,⁷⁰ I suggested that the apocalyptic dreams and fears—and the vibrant and eclectic imagery of the early decades of Süleyman's reign—faded after 1550, to be replaced by a more sober and orderly representation and articulation of empire. It is therefore striking that Haydar's reports of 1553 and 1559, while they attest to his continued presence, are quite devoid of the exuberant apocalyptic language of his three earlier pre-1550 pieces. Indeed, his last letter dealing with the flight of Prince Bayezid to Iran is nearly heartrending in its pleas for attention, its suggestions that the accuracy of earlier predictions be recalled, and its requests that tests be devised to demonstrate the disinterested quality of his art and the venality of his enemies, who blame all current troubles (in this case, the war between the princes Selim and Bayezid and the attendant disputes over whether or not to break the truce with Shah Tahmasb) on his geomancy. He takes great pains to stress the utter confidentiality of his relationship with the ruler, so pointing to the necessity to maintain vigilant security in a court environment in which prognostication was also an important form of intelligence, especially in light of Haydar's provenance. The Geomancer stayed at court, but by his latter years prophecy no longer possessed the wide circulation it had enjoyed in the 1520s and 1530s. The explicator of the sultan's messianic identity remained a courtier, but an increasingly marginalized one who was, it seems, no longer unchallenged or indispensable as a prophetic authority. He passed away between 1559 and 1565, a few years before his patron Süleyman.⁷¹ In order to understand something of the larger cultural significance of Remmal Haydar, we must return briefly to his heyday in the 1530s, when Sultan Süleyman and Charles v openly contended for a world dominion prophetically inscribed and imminent.

For all his apparent shadowiness, Haydar was deeply involved in Istanbul factional politics, and he would seem to have been a particular enemy of the sultan's other great intimate, Ibrahim Pasha, as Muhyi-yi Gülşeni's account of the near-simultaneous arrivals of Haydar and Ibrahim Pasha in Istanbul suggests. A Venetian pamphlet of 1538⁷² describes a council of wise men convened by the sultan to interpret a prodigy recently witnessed in the Belgrade forest outside of Istanbul. Phantom armies led by

three regal figures had suddenly appeared. At a sign given by one monarch, an audible and visible battle ensued and continued for half an hour, at the end of which the hosts disappeared and left debris and a herd of pigs on the ground. The first authority to render an interpretation is "Caider," who states this event augurs Süleyman's victory over the emperor Charles v, and so suggests the sultan should go on the offensive. This "sychophantic" judgment is countered by a wealthy and learned astrologer called "Odabassi," who declares the prodigy signs the sultan should not attack the emperor, or else the Ottoman forces will be routed like a herd of pigs. Even—or, perhaps, especially—Venetians knew of Haydar's authority at court, since "Caider" is obviously our Remmal. His opponent is clearly Ibrahim Pasha, who started his palace career as Süleyman's *hasodabaşı*, chief of the privy chamber, was noted for his wealth, and was seen by some Venetians as being pro-Venetian and secretly pro-Christian.

What the anonymous Venetian pamphlet presents to the historian then is a representation of a cultural cusp, one at which the Roman (and so implicitly "Christianizing") imperial vision espoused earlier in Süleyman's reign, and especially during Ibrahim Pasha's tenure as vizier, is at loggerheads with an equally universal but more "eastern" and Islamic vision represented by Remmal Haydar. While the competition between Ibrahim Pasha and Remmal Haydar for the sultan's attention certainly had both personal and political dimensions, there was a growing sense that the imperial "ecumenism," drawing at once on Jewish, Christian, and Muslim traditions on the meaning of the empire of Rome of the first portion of Süleyman's reign, might ultimately comport ill with both Islamic identity and the need to deal seriously with the "hinterland" Islamic (read Safavid) dimension of Ottoman universalist claims. The medieval Alexander (Iskandar), the confessionally non-specific monotheist and prophet whose evidentiary miracle consisted of his conquest of the world, was a direct model upon whom both Selim and Süleyman meditated. Moreover, Süleyman clearly meant to restore a purified Roman Empire as he restored Jerusalem. Such considerations may well have played a significant role in an increasingly public—indeed, trans-Mediterranean—discourse on the nature and quality of Ottoman legitimacy within and without Ottoman lands. It is from the middle of the sixteenth century that we also see in both Ottoman and Safavid domains (as in western Europe) the effective construction of, respectively, Sunni and Twelver Shi'i confessions as concomitant and support of the new dynastic entities. Haydar's emphasis, and that of other contemporaries and successors, to judge from extant annotation⁷³ on that portion of Bistami's Key that reads, "*La taghful 'an Ibrahim li'annahu shaytan rajim*" (Beware of Ibrahim, for he is a cursed devil),⁷⁴ should perhaps be taken seriously not only as a piece of infighting but also as a statement of awareness of the delicacy of the religious and cultural fulcrum. As some commentators point out, in Arabic orthography *Shaytan rajim*, "cursed devil," is easily made *Sultan rahim*, "merciful ruler." In a similar vein, a reader (perhaps a royal one) of Haydar's Persian treatise of 1536 notes with considerable relief: "Praise God, the author of the book here established that he is a follower of the Sunni path, an admirer [*muhibb*] of the Four Friends—Abu Bakr,



Umar, Uthman, Ali—and of all the Companions of the Messenger of God.” The resemblance of Ottoman messianism to that of the Shi’ite, extremist Safavids was not lost on contemporaries, or near contemporaries, especially when the program of Ottoman sanctity was articulated by an authority whose origins lay in the heart of Safavid Azerbaijan.

The popularity of prophecy and overt reference to the apocalyptic (and hermetic) foundations of Ottoman sovereignty may have subsided in the broader public sphere after the death in 1566 of Süleyman, the *saḥib-qiran*—Haydar stated the sultan would live at least until the year 990 AH and possibly until the year 1000 (1591–92)—neither prognostication nor its sources disappeared. Rather, they were absorbed into the fabric of private life at the Ottoman palace and into the new imperial culture of which Süleyman had been the architect. In its central image of the Ottoman dynasty as saintly and eschatological, one that would rule the world at the end of historical time, Bistami’s *Miftah al-jifr al-jami* constituted the primary authority and chronicle. In the middle of the reign of Süleyman’s grandson Murad III (reigned 1574–95), a royal edition of the Arabic original was prepared for

illustration. Although the paintings were never executed, the spaces left for them contain instructions for their subject matter, which included images of particular phases of Bistami’s text with scenes from recent dynastic history. One such instruction, for instance, reads, “Here is the place for Sultan Süleyman and Ibrahim Pasha,” while another indicates that the last conqueror of Egypt is to be represented by an enthroned Selim.⁷⁵ Murad III was famously preoccupied with dreams and their interpretation, as well as with other occult prognosticative practices. Indeed, he collected more than one hundred of his own dreams into a volume, and he reportedly foresaw his own death a week before the event in the form of a disturbing dream in which he saw the palace and its gardens ruinously ravaged. Murad immediately requested an interpretation from his confidant *Saatçi* (timekeeper, astrologer) Hasan Pasha—who was having disturbing dreams of his own that the bureaucrat and historian Mustafa Ali interpreted ominously for him.⁷⁶ Ali, who self-consciously designated himself Celalzade’s heir as dynastic historian, cites as one of the sources for his four-volume universal history in Ottoman Turkish—the last of which is devoted to the Ottoman House—the versified history of Mevlana İsa, which, composed in several recensions from 1529 to 1543, places front and center the eschatological accumulation of identities (Renewer of the tenth century, *saḥib-qiran* ruling the Great Conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces 960 years after the Prophet had last combined spiritual and temporal dominion in his single person, thirtieth *qutb al-aqtab*) that make of Süleyman either the Mahdi or his world-conquering forerunner.⁷⁷ As late as the 1590s, Ali addressed to Murad treatises that were meant to draw the ruler’s attention both to his own plight (lack of worthy employment) and to that of an empire in danger of disintegration. He referred to apocalyptic predictions, such as those of Bistami, for the tenth Hijri century, including one that claimed the culmination of history and ruination of the earth would begin in 903 AH (1497), and that by 990 or 999 AH (1582 or 1590–91) no Arabs would be left on earth.⁷⁸ In an epistle on numerology and prognosis, Mustafa Ali suggests that if the work should meet the ruler’s approval, access to the palace library and its rich holdings in this arena would enable him to write yet fuller works on the subject.⁷⁹

Bistami’s *Miftah al-jifr al-jami* remained a palace project and a private family history. Gazanfer Aga (died 1603), the chief white eunuch, commissioned a summary and adapted translation of the work in Ottoman Turkish (*Tercüme-i miftah-i jifr al-jami*) that was completed in the first years of the reign of Mehmed III (reigned 1595–1603). The two copies of this work produced in the royal ateliers contain lavishly illustrated apocalyptic events, such as the advents of the famous Beast of the earth and of Dajjal (the Antichrist), and also include identifiable persons and geographies, such as Selim, Constantinople, Rome, and Egypt (fig. 8.6).⁸⁰ Incorporating many of the themes and structures that informed Bistami’s project, as well as traces of the deeply intertwined but ever more distinct histories of the emergence of Ottoman Sunnism and Safavid Shi’ism, the *Fahnama* then became a private, and secure, means—together with the more public annual astrological calendars—for discerning the lineaments of the present and futures of the Ottoman sultan and his family. ■

Fig. 8.6. Rising Sun in the West, *Tercüme-i miftah-i jifr al-jami*, Turkey, late 16th century, TSM B.393, f.246b

THE COSMOLOGICAL ORDER OF THINGS IN EARLY MODERN SAFAVID IRAN

Kathryn Babayan

During the early modern period (1500–1800), when powerful states began to dominate the Near East and Europe, a mood of antinomianism (i.e., a rejection of legal, ethical, and moral obligations set forth by religious communities) pervaded wherever power was exercised. The “global” centuries-old science of astrology, whose intelligibility and legitimacy had been restricted to domains far across sea and land, now superseded the dominant and conventional definitions of power and legitimacy¹ from Elizabethan England to Hapsburg Spain. Almost euphoric narrative accounts of Vasco da Gama’s voyages, for example, stated that the Portuguese empire had been foretold in the horoscope of a learned Jew at the court of the king of Portugal, which was ratified later by the astrologers at the court of the Kolathiri of Cannanore in South India.² In the air was a decidedly heady excitement about messianic conquests, world empires, and bringing “truth” and “light” to new lands and peoples.

Created in the midst of this turbulent period, the pictorial *Falnamas* encapsulated the story of political and religious transformations in the early modern Persianate world.³ They vividly illustrated cosmological beliefs that linked aspiring conquerors like the Safavid and Ottoman rulers to their subjects at a time when there was widespread conviction in the imminent end of the world and the arrival of a messiah who would establish an era of justice on earth. The Safavids (1501–1722) ascended to rule during one such tremendous wave of apocalyptic belief. As is the case of so many other revolutions, following the establishment of sovereignty and during the consolidation of rule, the Safavid house abandoned its utopian promises and adopted rationalistic, legalistic, and doctrinal Shi’ism as its centralized state religion in the seventeenth century. This essay places the emergence and recession of the *falnamas* in the context of intellectual debates over the bodies of knowledge that defined and legitimized the power of the Safavid monarchs in relation to God, his prophets, and their subjects. While predictive disciplines such as astrology and the occult arts continued to be valued at the Safavid court until its fall in the early eighteenth century, they no longer conveyed the authority of God’s word and law that was so vital to the environment of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Shah Isma’il: The Holy Warrior

The founder of the Safavid dynasty, Shah Isma’il (reigned 1501–24) inaugurated a new Islamic millennium and carved his Shi’i dominion from southeastern Anatolia and the Caucasus to present-day Iraq, across the Iranian plateau and all the way to Herat in modern Afghanistan. His personal and dynastic outlook and intense piety are best expressed in his visionary poetry:

*I am ready to give my life, let me be a sacrifice to the
Ka’ba of union with you [Ali]: I have become a pilgrim, I shed blood:
where is the sacrificial altar?*⁴

With these verses, Isma’il announced his messianic mission as an invitation to his followers and a warning to those infidels who resisted his call to be “true men” and embrace Islam. Between 1501 and 1511, the shah was able to marshal the support of Persian- and Turkish-speaking devotees. Like him, these men were ready to sacrifice their lives in devotion to the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (died 632), particularly his cousin and son-in-law Imam Ali (died 661). In his poetry, which was recited throughout Anatolia by missionaries of the Safavid brotherhood, Isma’il appropriated the traditional voice of *ghazal* (love poetry), casting himself as a mournful sinner (*khata’i*), a bedazzled lover of Ali, and a penitent seeking to purge his sins and suffer death in his “soul on behalf of all souls. I am Khata’i [the sinner] who offers his soul in sacrifice”⁵ (fig. 9.1).

Isma’il desired his personal path to salvation to be in the company of Ali. His poetry imagined that he was a pilgrim circling the Ka’ba (house of God), where he confessed and publicly repented his sins so he could achieve his desired union with the imam. Believing in Ali’s near omnipotence and recognizing him as the gate of Islam—in fact, as God himself (“Know [him] to be God”)—Isma’il invited the audience of his poetry to emulate him by converting to Islam and joining the Safavid cause. He proclaimed:

*If I make a pact with you [Ali], my beloved,
among [my] adversaries there will be one funeral after another. . . .
Those who do not recognize Ali as Truth (or God) are
absolute unbelievers.
They have no creed, no faith, and are not Muslim.*

Isma’il believed that to be a Muslim essentially meant to know and worship Ali, for he was thought to possess and reveal the occult knowledge of the universe, and it was through him that every believer could access spiritual and cosmic secrets. Mystic men like Isma’il were considered blessed due to their sacred genealogical descent from Ali, and as his privileged friends, they received the veneration and respect of the populace. The shah portrayed this friendship not only as revelatory, in which he received universal mysteries from the imam, but also one of reincarnation through which Isma’il donned Ali’s very persona. “Whoever is unaware of the mystery of loving you,” one poem exclaimed, “O Shah [Ali/Isma’il], is deprived for all eternity, unacceptable at your court.” Drawing on the relationship between reincarnation and ordained intercession, Isma’il appropriated the role of the Mahdi or messiah, interceding with God on behalf of common believers. In effect, the shah’s poetry fused Ali with





himself, God, and a host of holy kings and warriors from the Persianate cultural past who had become familiar to Persian-speaking peoples, whether ethnically Turkish, Kurdish, or Persian, through a shared repertoire of symbols and texts.

Isma'il's poetic expressions also drew on a popular spirit of self-sacrifice and an ethos of egalitarianism and community; he mobilized his followers onto the battlefield with a revolutionary promise to transform the economic and moral ills of society and create an ethical and social utopia. His revolution could not have succeeded, however, without his corps of Turkmen, i.e., the westward-moving Turkic devotees his grandfather Shaykh Junayd (died 1460) had recruited from Ottoman dominions in Asia Minor. Well before Isma'il's conquests, Shaykh Junayd had altered the character of the Safavid order from a Sufi brotherhood to a millenarian movement with far-reaching political aspirations. This reorientation likely coincided with Junayd's banishment from Ardabil in northwestern Iran to Anatolia and Syria in 1448 due to a dispute with his uncle Jaf'ar over the leadership of the order. He spent a decade (1448–59) in exile, engaging in missionary activities and recruiting Turkmen adepts. Known as Qizilbash (Red Heads) because of the color of their tall caps, these adepts contributed military might to Shaykh Junayd and later helped his grandson Isma'il create the Safavid empire. The Qizilbash Turkmen are reported to have "called Shaykh Junayd 'God' (*Ilah*) and his son [Haydar] 'son of God' (*ibn Allah*)."⁶ Believing that "He [Shaykh Junayd] is the Living One, there is no God but he," they fought with him in holy wars (*ghaza*) against the Byzantines at Trebizond

(now Trabzon) in Anatolia, near the Black Sea, until Junayd was killed on the battlefield in the Caucasus in 1460. Qizilbash piety and devotion toward their Safavid masters was not shaken by Shaykh Junayd's death. In fact, it fueled the already uncertain relationship between the Qizilbash who remained in Anatolia and their Ottoman overlords, who were justifiably anxious about their subjects' commitment to the Safavid cause. In the early decades of the sixteenth century, once the Safavids began to establish statehood, subjugation of the Anatolian Qizilbash became an Ottoman imperative. Networks of Qizilbash and their Safavid masters were sustained through the appointment of missionaries (*khalifa*) and local Anatolian chiefs (*dede*) of Qizilbash tribal households (*ocak*).⁷ A circuit of devotees from Anatolia traveled as pilgrims and immigrants to Safavid Iran (Ardabil, Tabriz, Qazvin, and Mashhad); the Ottoman rulers' earnest policy of policing their Safavid frontiers in the sixteenth century attests to their apprehension about their precarious hold on their Anatolian dominions.⁸ The Qizilbash continued to play a critical role in Ottoman politics into the seventeenth century, and it can be argued that the Ottomans drew on the Alid (related to Ali) symbolism represented in the pictorial *Falnamas* to assimilate Qizilbash poetic and aesthetic sensibilities (fig. 9.2).

A Millenarian Worldview

Some may question the genuineness and depth of Junayd and Isma'il's religiosity in the context of Islam's monotheism, in which God is singular and positioned above and beyond humanity's reach, his divinity is unrivaled (*la ila illa Allah*), and Muhammad is his prophet (*rasul Allah*). It was, however, an era when expectations of the end of time and a belief in cosmic renewal were pervasive among the heterogeneous Muslim, Christian, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, and Jewish population living under Muslim rule. This millenarian worldview was not restricted to the imaginings of messianic revolutionaries or intellectuals alone but was part of a wider cultural system spanning the realms of the Ottomans, the Safavids, and the Mughals. Each representation and experience of the millennium, though diverse, was linked through a set of practices and symbols that were universally recognizable and distinctly meaningful.

The pictorial *Falnamas* can be read as one such manifestation of the millenarian history that enabled the Safavids to secure a place for themselves within the cosmic narratives in circulation. The manuscripts' sinister images depicting the end of time are potent signs that parallel Isma'il's poetic play on people's fears of the trumpet's imminent call, heralding the destruction of the earth and the burning fires of hell (fig. 9.3). Similarly fearsome were the cosmic moment of Muhammad's revelations that were compiled in the Koran and Isma'il's lyrical revelations that alerted believers to the urgency of action and repentance through the intermediacy of their savior Ali. In the verbal and visual language of the *Falnamas*, the hallowed family of the Prophet performs the role of intercessor through which believers may attain their wishes; it is Ali who holds the key to salvation.⁹ Similarly, during the Safavid

period, the martyred descendents of Ali were portrayed as the chief victims of the aggression perpetrated by the Umayyids, the first Islamic dynasty (661–750). According to Ali's followers (Shi'i), the Umayyids had usurped the right to lead the Muslim community from Ali and his children. This dramatic portrayal is memorialized in the forms of oral narratives and yearly rituals that commemorate the slaughter in 680 of Husayn, Ali's son and Muhammad's grandson, on the plains of Karbala, Iraq.¹⁰ Isma'il's poetry drew on such sentiments of revenge and called for justice, identifying his millenarian beliefs with the struggle of those who, despite centuries of Sunni Muslim hegemony, with unmitigated loyalty continued to love Muhammad's family (*ahl-i bayt*).

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, millenarian movements also raised their banners in the name of Ali in an attempt to gain regional control of the lands of Iran, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor following the decentralization that ensued after the dissipation of Mongol Ilkhanid governance (1258–1335). From the northern Caspian Sea region of Mazandaran to Khurasan in eastern Iran and into the southwest (Iraq-i Arab), "messiahs" claiming descent from Ali emerged from Sufi (mystical) circles and vowed to affect social and divine justice on earth. After the Mongol conquests of much of Asia and the Near East, when for the first time Islam's core lands came under the control of non-Muslim rulers, some Muslims placed their hopes in the Prophet's betrayed family, i.e., Ali and his male descendants, who since the

early expansion of Islam had contested the authority of those who would later be called Sunni Muslims, i.e., the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs (reigned 650–1258).

During this period, Sufi brotherhoods and craft fraternities were prominent centers of religious, economic, and political vigor and stability. These voluntary associations became a common feature of town life and coordinated and directed much of the religious and public charity activities in their communities. A vital form of social insurance in life and death, mystic brotherhoods contributed to the spiritual and material needs of their members. The Safavid order was one such successful Sufi brotherhood, which had prospered under Isma'il's charismatic ancestor Shaykh Safi al-Din (died 1334). He lived and preached in the city of Ardabil, located at the crossroads of important east-west and north-south trade routes frequented by merchants on their way to Anatolia or the Caucasus. Shaykh Safi al-Din actively encouraged his followers' conversion to Islam, and his mystical teachings and practices introduced them to the religion's basic tenets.

Typically, the Safavid devotee, drawn from Persian-, Kurdish-, or Turkish-speaking communities, entered into a mutually beneficial economic cooperation with the readily available and reliable group of surrogate spiritual brothers, among them craftsmen, farmers, and merchants. Devotees gave gifts in the form of endowments (*waqf*)—which could be land, merchandise, or produce—in exchange for the Safavid shaykh's spiritual and material protection (*baraka*). The exchange of gifts for blessings and protection was part of an "occult economy" designed to assuage the vagaries and uncertainties of the times. The centrality of material wealth to the "occult economy" within these circles cannot be underestimated, and gifts from devotees contributed to the Safavid order's increasing regional power and influence. Devotees who possessed wealth in land believed that pious endowments safeguarded their property from the vicissitudes of political turmoil that characterized this period, when regional conquests often led to the confiscation of private property and the levying of additional taxes from farmers and craftsmen.

The belief in the power to see and tell the future (*fal didan*) as well as the capacity to alter the future had currency among the nascent Safavid movement. Works on magic like the early seventeenth-century *Asrar-i Qasimi* (Secrets of Qasimi), written by a student of Shaykh Bahai, the celebrated Safavid religious scholar, describe Shaykh Safi al-Din as a mystic who possessed occult powers. This text reveals a fascinating dimension of Safavid court life and politics, where decisions and actions (outcomes) often were mediated through a body of magical knowledge.¹¹ Shaykh Safi is said to have made a talisman that contained the wrath of the Saljuq ruler Ala al-Din Kay Qubad (reigned 1219–37), who was about to kill his vizier.¹² Shaykh Safi's method of prognostication (*amal*) was a success not only because official Safavid memory tells us the vizier's life was saved but also because his talisman became part of a genealogy of successful procedures that would be tested and validated by the Safavid experience. Particular emphasis was placed on experience, for the Safavid monarch's intimates, whether members of his family or courtiers, could use Shaykh Safi's talisman to ward off the suspicions of their master-king.¹³



Fig. 9.3. Mars, *Falnama*, probably Iran, 1570s–1580s, TSM H.1702, f.6b



Fig. 9.4. Saturn, *Fālnama*, probably Iran, 1570s-1580s, TSM H.1702, f.8b



The circulation of occult systems of knowledge in Iran during this period is difficult to document. The Safavid case, however, points to mystical circles as one arena in which divination and the occult were part of the cosmological knowledge that gave meaning to everyday life experiences. Transformative moments in life, such as birth, marriage, and death, were associated with larger cosmic revolutions of time. The imperial Safavid, Ottoman, and Mughal millenarian conception of time understood history in terms of eras that underwent cyclical transformations approximately every thousand years. These cyclical rhythms of change were associated with astronomical phenomena that were seen as directly affecting daily life—from political, social, and religious upheavals to floods and plagues to marriage, friendship, or ill-fated investments in property. Celestial, terrestrial, and human experiences were envisioned as intimately intertwined in a singular cosmological order. While different practices and systems of reckoning time were used to predict the advent of a new era, astrology was the most prevalent tool. One of the most important astrological occurrences was the minor conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn (fig. 9.4), which could be seen with the naked eye in the night sky every twenty years. The two planets completed a full circle of the zodiac every nine hundred sixty years.¹⁴ Referred to as the greatest conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, this occurrence held a particular religious and political significance in history books and popular stories that identify great rulers like Alexander (died

323 BCE) and Timur (died 1405) as millennial world conquerors.¹⁵

Isma'il's triumphant career allegedly was confirmed by a talisman produced by a religious scholar, Mawlana Abd al-Samad Ardabili. He is said to have linked the power of the sun to the numerical values of the names of the Abrahamic prophets (who included another Isma'il, the son of Abraham). Shah Isma'il so believed and feared the magical powers of Mawlana Abd al-Samad that he placed the scholar under house arrest and confiscated his entire library¹⁶ on the occult, which reportedly included Greek philosophical works and Muslim texts on magic associated with Imam Ali.¹⁷ Cultural knowledge of this particular talisman was transmitted to India, where a certain Shaykh Fayz prepared it for the Mughal emperor Akbar (reigned 1542–1605). The *Asrar-i Qasimi* describes this talisman and asserts that three world conquerors attained their positions through the intervention of diviners who drew portraits of kings as part of their magic performances. Plato drew Alexander, Shaykh Abd al-Samad sketched Isma'il, and Shaykh Fayz painted Akbar.¹⁸ All three rulers attained the reputation of millennial kings and world conquerors.¹⁹

The Shi'ification of Iran

The pictorial *Falnamas* were a creative expression born of the processes of "Shi'ification" and "Iranization" of the Safavid empire.²⁰ In 1501 Shah Isma'il publicly embraced Shi'ism, the religion of his newly conquered empire, and invited Arab Shi'i scholars (*imami*) to emigrate to the Safavid domains from the Ottoman territories, which spanned greater Syria and included modern Lebanon. Religious identities (Sunni-Shi'i) began to demarcate borders between the Safavids and Ottomans, creating political boundaries that blocked what had been a free flow of people from Central Asia to the Balkans. It is within this space of connected histories and shared millenarian notion of kingship that we should understand the production of the Safavid and Ottoman books of divination.²¹

The prophets featured in the pictorial *Falnamas* parallel the genealogy evoked by Shah Isma'il in his *Divan* (Collected works) and also appear in the memoirs of his son Shah Tahmasb (reigned 1524–76). Indeed, Abrahamic and Shi'i prophets dominate the cast of characters depicted flamboyantly in these manuscripts (fig. 9.6). Although the images in each extant copy are organized randomly—to increase the element of chance when they are consulted—they can be rearranged to create a familiar Abrahamic chronology, beginning with creation of the heavens or the quintessential Adam and Eve scene in the Garden of Eden. The end of history is powerfully visualized through two frightening images of the Day of Judgment and the burning of misguided bodies in hell. Prophets such as Moses, Joseph, and Solomon appear as signs whose importance are embedded in iconic tales found in familiar literature, from the holy Koran to stories of the prophets. The Abrahamic prophets bracket and punctuate cosmic history by standing between creation and the Apocalypse. For the seeker who desires to know the result of a future act, such as a potential partnership or the feasibility of travel, certain themes are repeated, much like an astrological determination that the

movement of planets has an impact on significant moments of a person's life. These recognizable signifiers from the past are symbols through which those who possess the secret knowledge of divination can envision the future. Hearing the future as the *falnama* was being read aloud was another aid to ensure the augury in the image. Sensory experiences of the future were key to the procedures of divination. Whether visual, auditory, or, in some cases, tactile auguries (written or drawn on paper, deer skin, or wood and then held in one's hands or in the sockets of rings), they were all integral to the effectiveness of the talismans.²²

As Shah Isma'il conquered the Shi'i shrine cities of Iraq (1508) and the province of Khurasan (1511), he began to define the religious identity of the Safavid realms in the company of the famous Shi'i scholar Shaykh Ali Karaki (died 1534). Karaki was primarily responsible for outlining the Safavid conversion to Shi'ism. Shah Isma'il and Shaykh Ali Karaki's first symbolic act was a pilgrimage to the holy sites in Iraq where Ali and his descendants were buried (Najaf, Karbala, Kazimayn, and Samarra). At Ali's mausoleum in Najaf, Isma'il deposited a Koran he had copied in his own hand to commemorate his devotion to Ali. During his conquest of Herat (1510–11), Isma'il and Karaki performed another pilgrimage to the holy shrine of the eighth Shi'i imam, Riza, in Mashhad, developing a particular Shi'i sacred genealogy and geography that defined the shah's spiritual and temporal dominion (fig. 9.5). Isma'il's projects to renovate the Shi'i shrines in Iraq and bolster the infrastructure by building irrigation canals were central to his efforts to consolidate Shi'ism. With such institutional patronage, Karaki was able to enact a program of conversion, a series of texts that ranged from works on taxation to liturgy and rituals of pilgrimage to descriptions of the cursing of three Sunni caliphs who had usurped Imam Ali's right to rule. Karaki established the discursive and ritual foundations with which Isma'il's son and successor Tahmasb would consolidate the distinct Shi'i identity of the Safavid empire.²³

The Divinatory Dreams of Shah Tahmasb

During Shah Tahmasb's reign (1524–76), the millenarian tenor of the Safavid revolution was translated into a hybrid imperial language that drew on Shi'i, Sufi, and Persian symbols of authority. The *Tazkira*, Tahmasb's account of his reign and personality, provides a fascinating narrative of the Safavid conversion to Shi'ism in the sixteenth century.²⁴ He committed his story to paper in 1562, when he was well into his reign, reconstructing his tumultuous life from the vantage point of a survivor beset from many fronts. His rival brothers, Sam Mirza (died 1567) and Alqas Mirza (died 1550)—who were mere pawns in the hands of the Qizilbash tribal chiefs, Persian nobles, and the Ottomans—consistently threatened his hold on power. Still, Tahmasb managed to endure a turbulent thirteen-year regency (1524–38) and a series of poison plots against him. His memoir thus marks a momentous phase of Ottoman-Safavid relations during which peace was secured, and Tahmasb was able to articulate a new relationship of reciprocity and mutual esteem with the Ottoman sultan Süleyman.



In his memoir, Tahmasb rejected his father's claim of being a God-like messiah; instead he presented himself as the mystic lover of Ali and as a Shi'i monarch who abided by the *shari'a* (divine law). Dreams were the most visceral medium through which Tahmasb communicated with Ali. He personally confirmed his rule through his dreams, which were about a king who had entered a compact with God through Ali. Tahmasb acted as the interpreter and first-person narrator of his own dreams, revealing in his memoir how he responded to them.²⁵

It can be argued that the *Falnama* images function much like dream visions and are based on a system of visual archetypes. Similar to dream books (*khwabnama*), they are accompanied by written texts that canonize the interpretation of the symbol or illustration. If, indeed, Tahmasb used the pictorial *Falnamas* to see the destiny of his family members and intimate companions, the mystical power and access he claimed to possess would have rendered his reading of the text aloud as divinely inspired speech.

In sixteenth-century Safavid Iran the relationship between the divine and the temporal was highly contested. Tahmasb used his memoir to define publicly his relationship with the holy figure of Ali. He also took a more active stance by intervening in religious debates (*mubahisat-i ilmi*) at court, recording some of these critical disputes. Shaykh Ali Karaki emerged as a central figure in a conflict with Mir Ghiyas al-Din Mansur, a member of a prominent family of Persian scholars in Shiraz who founded the famous

Mansuriyya Academy of Philosophy.²⁶ Their dispute centered on a variety of epistemologies based on astronomy, magic, mysticism, or revelation. When Shah Isma'il conquered Shiraz in 1508, Mansur already had established his reputation as a scholar and teacher at the Mansuriyya. The shah treated him with much respect and reaffirmed his trusteeship of the academy. Isma'il so believed in Mansur's abilities that he called on the scholar in a variety of situations, whether he was struck with fever or contemplating the revival of the famous Mongol observatory set up by the medieval scholar Nasir al-Din Tusi at Maragha in northwestern Iran. He invited Mansur to his court in Tabriz to teach astronomy and philosophy to a new generation of Safavid princes and courtiers. Mansur very well may have been one of Tahmasb's own teachers, along with the geomancer Rammel Haydar, who later joined the court of Sultan Süleyman.²⁷ Allegedly, it also was Mansur who produced a talisman that ensured Tahmasb's conquest of a resilient fortress town of Sa'y Baliq in central Asia.²⁸

Shaykh Ali Karaki, however, tested Tahmasb's confidence in Mansur. Seeking to reconcile two intellectual spheres, the shah had invited Mansur and Karaki to teach each other their respective crafts. Karaki was to give lessons in jurisprudence, and Mansur was to teach the occult sciences. Karaki sat through his first lesson, but when it was Mansur's turn to be the pupil, he reportedly read the astral signs and deemed it an inauspicious day to study law. The next week he feigned illness. Mansur's rejection of Karaki's knowledge came to a head during a court debate over the correct direction of prayer (*qibla*), which led to the former's dismissal from his key religious post at Sadr (1529–31).²⁹ His removal from office signaled an imperial choice between two different bodies of knowledge: Mansur determined his calculation based on astronomical bearings, and Karaki's knowledge was drawn from measurements in the Shi'i traditions ascribed to the imams. Shah Tahmasb's memoir confirms that he supported Karaki's knowledge of jurisprudence (*ijtihād*) over Mansur's knowledge of astronomy.³⁰ These debates epitomized the competition between authoritative bodies of knowledge that must have played a role in the patronage of the *Falnamas*.

In 1533, in another public act, Tahmasb issued a noteworthy *firman* (decree) that delegated absolute religious authority to Karaki, naming him "the deputy of the imam" (*na'ib al-imam*). This was a title Karaki himself had introduced into Shi'i discourse to sanction the new power jurisconsults (*mujtahid*) were to enjoy as the general representatives (*na'ib al-'amm*) of the Mahdi, the hidden imam.³¹ This theological innovation sanctioned the authority of the Shi'i religious elite as direct transmitters of the authority of the twelfth imam himself. Tahmasb bolstered Safavid authority on the basis of his patronage of the *mujtahid*, a learned religious elite who were responsible for interpreting the sacred law. Placing Karaki at the head of this group, Tahmasb bestowed the title of *Khatam al-mujtahidin* (seal of the jurisconsults) on him and made him the ultimate arbiter of Shi'i doctrines and practices.

Of course, astronomy, astrology, divination, and talisman production continued to be practiced inside and outside court circles throughout the sixteenth century. The *falnama* is an example of how divination retained its effective place in Safavid

court culture, even though its role and meaning had changed. Divination once had been a knowledge sanctioned by and ascribed to the acclaimed Shi'i imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (died 765).³² Both the pictorial *Falnamas* and those without illustrations fused the knowledge of stars with figures of the imams and ritual obligations such as prayers and alms. The *falnama*'s association with Imam Ja'far continued to be stressed in popular pamphlets. During the seventeenth century, both at the court and in the seminary, however, it would be overshadowed by Ja'far's association with law, as founder of a distinct Shi'i legal school.³³

Toward the end of his memoirs, Tahmasb mentions two dreams about stars, considered divine signs.³⁴ In one dream, he saw three moons with an illuminated person (*shakhs-i nurani*) telling him of their significance. In the other, he saw a brilliant Koranic verse written on the page of the sky. These twin dreams linked Tahmasb's attainment of peace with his Ottoman and Uzbek neighbors to divine protection for his devotion and commitment to a particular lineage of Ali and the set of Muslim precepts propagated by Shaykh Ali Karaki. His partnership with Ali, Tahmasb believed, bestowed him with blessings and access to the divine family of the Prophet. From the beginning of his reign, the shah had claimed to be in communication with Ali through the world of dreams. He said Ali had smilingly communicated his approval of Tahmasb's first military victory, at the age of fourteen, against the Uzbeks in the 1528 battle of Jam at which Karaki was also present.

In the same way, Ali is central to the cosmology of the pictorial *Falnamas*, and it is his image as Muhammad's successor, valiant warrior, and divine intercessor that dominates the manuscripts. When Ali and Muhammad are depicted together, it is Ali who takes on an active role, the exception being the extraordinary painting of the *miraj* (ascension of the Prophet), in which Muhammad is central. Ali, however, is present in the visual construction of the ascension story. He is represented by a lion receiving a ring that signaled his succession to Muhammad. In *Ali and Muhammad at the Gates of Khaybar*, Muhammad is close by, observing Ali in action (cat. 23). In addition to characterizing Ali as valiant, the *Falnamas* repeatedly single him out as the key intercessor for mankind in the afterlife, just as he is presented in Tahmasb's memoir and Isma'il's poetry.³⁵

In the *Tazkira*, Tahmasb appropriated Ali's role as the wise and judicious interlocutor in this world and the next. He positioned himself as the paternal king and applied his understanding of reciprocity and duty in paternal-filial relations to the Safavid and Ottoman households as well. His relationships with the Qizilbash and his kin, particularly his rebellious brothers Sam Mirza and Alqas Mirza, were central to his new order. Submissiveness toward the master-saint-king was not absolute, and the memoir refers to what were sometimes violent disagreements between the shah and his disciple-brothers, who included his blood brothers Alqas and Sam, and his Qizilbash devotees. These and other episodes of familial betrayal served as morality tales about loyalties and obligations within the concentric circles of the Safavid patrimonial household and the Muslim community. Tahmasb frequently reminded his brothers—and by extension, his army generals, devotees, and subjects—about the importance of loyalty (fig. 9.6). Annoyed by

Sam Mirza's untrue assertion to Süleyman that Tahmasb enjoyed Qizilbash backing, for example, the shah upheld the ideals of loyalty, though not without exaggerating the point. "The Qizilbash," he wrote, "would have their heads chopped off before they removed their crowns in the path of Sufism. There is but one spiritual guide, and even if there were one hundred thousand princelings, [the Qizilbash] would not look at them."³⁶ When Alqas Mirza boasted that Sultan Süleyman had called him "son" and given him both troops and money, Tahmasb wrote back, scoffing, "Kingship is not mine, nor yours, nor Süleyman's. There exists a God, and sovereignty is his. He will give to whom he pleases. What good are all these worldly things when you have sold your faith? I am not as stupid as you to prattle about this worldly power."³⁷ Indeed, Tahmasb deemed Alqas's rebellion to be against God himself. Tahmasb then addressed Süleyman directly, expressing his disappointment that Muslim rulers would war against one another, for should not religious solidarity supersede desires for territorial gains? "We shall not sell religion for worldly concerns," he declared.³⁸ According to Tahmasb's paradigm of social relations and obligations between brothers, fathers, and sons, disciples and masters, everyone was situated on a vertical hierarchy of paternal authority that had God at the apex, followed by Ali, then Tahmasb, his brothers, sons, generals, disciples, and lastly, his subjects. Tahmasb established his imperial schema for governance and submission in the Muslim community: the hierarchy between master (i.e., the shah) and disciple (i.e., the subject).

Tahmasb's memoir ends with the Bayezid affair (1559–62), which he used to position himself as paternal king, chiding Bayezid for disobeying his father Süleyman, and not honoring his filial duties: "[Bayezid] has been ungrateful to his father and has rebelled and not respected those filial duties which are required to be observed according to Koranic verses and divine axioms. What right have they [Bayezid and his brother Selim] to fight when Süleyman is seated robust and healthy on the throne?"³⁹ As a Muslim brother, Tahmasb continuously spoke of Süleyman with respect but blamed the sultan's viziers, Ibrahim Pasha and Rustam Pasha, for their machinations and evil scheming with Safavid renegade princes like Alqas Mirza and generals like Ulama Takkalu. Tahmasb respected Süleyman's role as a holy warrior who fought against the Christians. In fact, even when Süleyman waged a jihad against Austria in 1532, Tahmasb did not use the opportunity to attack the Ottomans. The shah did criticize Süleyman, however, for not contacting him directly about his rebellious brother Alqas Mirza. Tahmasb used the sultan's own behavior toward Bayezid to reprimand Süleyman. He also was surprised that the Ottomans had not read works on history and philosophy that would reveal the basic principles of sovereignty and ethics, guides to just kingship from which Tahmasb claimed authority.⁴⁰

What Tahmasb believed—or wanted later generations of readers to believe—was that order, security, and justice had been bestowed upon him and his Safavid realms thanks to his devotion to Ali. While Isma'il claimed to be the messiah/God/Ali, Tahmasb claimed solely to be guided by Ali, who was the friend of God. He wanted to be regarded as a pious Muslim, forgiving and merciful toward his rebellious brothers and certain Qizilbash generals, and

compassionate to the plight of the poor and aging. He wanted to be seen as a true ritual- and law-abiding monarch, distinguished from the rest of humanity in his station as the shadow of God on earth. According to the ancient tradition of Persian kingship, the duty of monarchs was to act as the axis around which justice on earth flowed. But Tahmasb went beyond the pre-Islamic tradition and combined the roles of Persian king and pious Muslim (fig. 9.7). Referring to God with the Persian title *padishah* (king), his memoir reiterates Islam's divine prohibitions against wine, adultery, prostitution, and gambling. It describes his signing of the Edict of Sincere Repentance in 1534 within a dream he had had in the holy Shi'i city of Mashhad.⁴¹ The dream moved Tahmasb to disavow publicly his father's heterodox practice of drinking. Wine had been central to the religious rituals practiced in Qizilbash Islam; its prohibition now meant breaking with an antinomian spirituality whose rituals included mystical dancing, music, singing, and gazing at beautiful male youth. Although the rituals were believed to enable transcendence and union with the divine God, Tahmasb banned all of them in decrees and edicts of sincere repentance, categorizing them, along with wine and sodomy, as undisciplined passions.

Distancing his image from that of his father Shah Isma'il, Tahmasb described himself in 1562 as a just Muslim monarch—building mosques, exercising the humility of a dervish, upholding the Shi'i cause, and generally maintaining order. Dreams were recognized as a means of communicating with the divine from an accepted distance. When he limited superhuman potentiality after the Prophet Muhammad to the revelatory mediums of dreams and to the persons of imams and Sufi masters, Tahmasb also reaffirmed the monotheistic position of the one transcendent divinity and the centrality and finality of prophethood. By casting himself as Ali's loyal devotee, who communicated with the imam through dreams, Tahmasb also limited the possibility of others to claim prophecy as Muhammad and his father had done. Abandoning his father's millenarian aspirations, Tahmasb moved firmly toward the Islamization of the Iranian world—a set of actions that initiated a post-millennial era in which the pictorial *Falnama* lost its imperial appeal.

Dreams and divination were integral to the millenarian ethos in which Tahmasb experimented with a multiplicity of ways of imagining the cosmos. In his memoirs, Tahmasb publicizes his dream life because he believes in the potency of dreams to validate his image as a mystic-king and lover of Ali. He proclaims his devotion to the holy law (*shari'a*) as he confirms the singular authority of his jurisconsult Shaykh Ali Karaki. In keeping with this public avowal of loyalty, Tahmasb remains silent about the predictive arts of divination and astrology's habitual efficacy to determine appropriate times for virtually every public act. Just as it was unseemly for Tahmasb to write his sisters and daughters into his memoir, his participation in the "occult economy" had to remain a private matter experienced only with his intimate circle of relatives and friends at court. To appreciate the power of the *Falnama*, we must "picture" the fear and anticipation it elicited among courtiers for whom the art of seeing the future continued to stimulate imaginations, especially with the imminent arrival of the Islamic millennium. ۞

وَأَنَّكَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ
وَأَنَّكَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ

انم که علام شام است به جام
در روز ازل محصل و دلخواهم



دربار که خاتم اکبر باری میسر
این پس که بصدق تن کام

Appendix A.1: The Dispersed Falnama

Translated by Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr.



No text



AMSG

[Angels Bow before Adam and Eve in Paradise]



MMA



P Coll

[Solomon and Bilqis Enthroned]

*What has come into your augury—don't you know?
The majesty of Asaf and the grandeur of Sulayman.
In these two days you will have luck from your good augury;
From your horoscope distress will depart.*

O augury user, know that the paradisiacal assembly of His Exalted Majesty Sulayman [Solomon]—upon our Prophet and him be peace—has appeared in your augury. This augury indicates peace of mind and removal of distress from within and without, and in the next few days you will attain every advantage from a great person, and from a place that you would by no means expect, something will come to you, and any sorrow you have will be exchanged for happiness. If this augury is for travel, it is very favorable, but arrange it so that the beginning of your trip is during the day on Thursday, and if it concerns the sick, on the eve of Friday, in an assembly where a group of believers are present; ask them for a *Fatiha* so that complete recovery will come about, and concerning any other possible intent—such as buying and selling anything, or renting or renting out land, a garden, or a house, or forming a partnership, or moving into a new house, or making a request from important people or others—it is very, very favorable. You must begin without hesitation, but keep upon you the armband of His Majesty Sulayman the prophet, son of David—peace upon our Prophet and the two of them—so that you will be protected from the evil of demons, fairies, and men and will attain your heart's desire if God, be he exalted and sanctified, be willing.

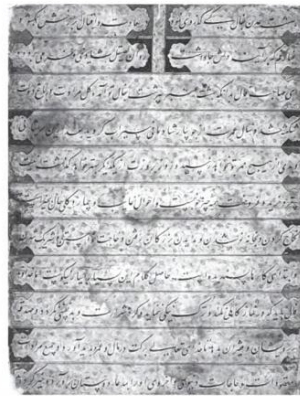


Text unknown

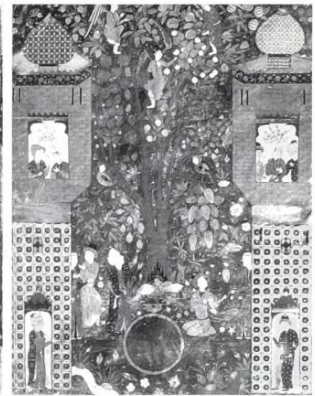


MMA

[Muhammad Revives the Sick Boy]



HAM



P Coll

[Paradise]

*When the Garden of Eden has appeared in someone's augury,
The gate of felicity and fortune has opened before him.
The mist of grief that has occupied the mirror of his heart
Has been wiped away with the polish of joy and gladness.*

O augury user, know that the ambergris-kneaded paradise has appeared in your augury. The rose of your desire has bloomed in the garden of good fortune, and the sapling of your life has been watered with the river of joy. After this, on no account will distress and evil come to you, and each day will be better than the last. The intent to travel or buy and sell anything is good, as is the condition of absent and sick ones; altogether the situation is good. Marrying and moving into a new house, going to see important people and stating what you want, and forming a partnership and beginning projects are approved; in short, this is very, very good. But the user of the augury must not neglect prayer nor abandon goodness, nor go around with evildoers and bad people, and he must give alms to the poor and impoverished, so that God, be he exalted, might bring about blessings in his wealth and his life, and turn into good, as his friends would pray, all his desires and aims and needs of this world and the next.



Text unknown



HAM

[Day of Judgment]



P Coll



P Coll

[Hell]

*Why, out of stupidity due to Satan's whisperings,
Do you ready your body for the flames of hell?
If you want freedom from the fire of hell
Dwell always upon the threshold of piety.*

O augury user, know that this augury is very bad and is not good for anything and indicates vileness in the ascendant. By all means turn away from whatever intent you have formed, and if you have something to do in the future that you cannot avoid, wait forty days and begin after that. And to the extent you are able in these days, do not converse with anyone or have a legal discussion. And do take candles and offerings to sacred shrines, and in almsgiving and charity do not fall short of the amount that you are able to give. And do not stay out late, and for several days do not go on walks and excursions or to parties, and refrain from associating with unworthy people. And do not neglect prayer, and keep amulets and talismans with you. And on the eves of Thursday and Friday, put wild rue [a wild herb] and salt in the fire and carry it around the house, and hand it to a young girl to dump at the head of the lane until the stricture on your affairs goes away. And be with the scholars of the true religion, so you will find happiness and attain your desire.



AMSG



P Coll



D Coll



AMSG

[Bahram Gur Hunting]

*Bahram Gur has appeared in your augury;
Out of God's bounty, you will be fortunate in everything.
The hearts of the people will as one fall prey to you.
Never has anyone in the world hunted thus.*

O augury user, know that the hunting ground of Bahram Gur has appeared in your augury. Let there be good news to you that the door of victory and success has been opened to you, and you have found freedom from sorrows and tribulations. And from a place that you do not expect, legal gain will come into your possession, and a great benefit will reach you from a wealthy man. If this intent is to buy, sell, become a partner, or travel, do it without hesitation, since it is favorable, and there are many advantages in it. If it is to buy slaves or move into a new house or set up house-keeping, wait ten or twelve days, and after that go ahead, because you will get what you desire. And if it concerns someone absent, you will be honored by the sight of him. In short, the augury and your affairs have come out favorably. You must not neglect the memory of God, be he exalted, and give alms to the poor and do not neglect prayer, so that doubtless you will attain your desire, if God, be he exalted, he alone the mighty, be willing.

[Joseph Enthroned with His Brothers in Egypt]

*This augury is the prophet Joseph and his rank and grandeur,
His imperial majesty and glory and his comeliness and beauty.
The user of this augury has become ruler of the Egypt of the world;
He continually receives a thousand emanations of [Joseph's] excellence and perfection.*

O augury user, know that his majesty the prophet Yusuf [Joseph]—peace be unto him—to whom his brothers came out of necessity, has appeared in your augury. This augury indicates good fortune, happiness, wealth, the alleviation of wants, the improvement of affairs, the vanquishing of foes, and the happiness of friends. Although for the last few days you have seen afflictions and troubles from everyone, especially dear friends, nevertheless do not worry, since distress has left your horoscope, and after this, day by day, things will get better again, and all your family, relatives, and friends will need you, and God, be he exalted, will give you the power to attain their wishes and desires. But you must not rely on everybody nor be friendly with untried people, and in no case whatever forget God, and do not omit worship and piety, so that, God willing, you will attain your desire.



LACMA



D Coll



MAH



LACMA

[Azure Monastery]

*When that secret, like the Monastery, comes into the augury—
That in the monastery of the world no good is left—
In this augury, trust in God is good.
After this, wash from your heart the picture of any other.*

O augury user, know that the Azure Monastery has appeared in your augury. Beware, a thousand times beware, turn away from this intent that you have formed, and occupy yourself with another thought, since this augury is extremely bad and has come up bad for all activities, especially stating what one wants from important people, forming a partnership, making contracts, marrying, or buying and selling. But if travel or buying slaves or livestock should be necessary, you must wait forty days and after that set to it, but if abandoning it is possible it would be better. Certainly for a few days do not converse with anyone, and postpone legal and common law discussions that might come up, and as far as you can do not mix with unworthy people. And get amulets and talismans from Muslim people and keep them with you. Remove the writings of Jews and the armbands that they write from your person and your house. And do not neglect prayer, and give alms to the poor, and beware of a man of great stature with a long beard, so that you will attain your desire.

[Arrival of the Antichrist]

*The Antichrist in the augury is like an affliction;
It is most appropriate to beware of this augury.
Anyone who is wise knows
Avoiding bad company is necessary.*

O augury user, know that the Antichrist has appeared in your augury. This intent indicates great grief and misfortunes without number and anguish of the mind. Traveling and commerce are bad, and engagement and marriage are not good, and transporting and transferring things are not approved. It seems that the augury user has become friendly with a group that is outwardly friendly but inwardly extremely hostile. He should certainly leave their company; otherwise through them utter dissipation will find a way into his affairs. And no longer should he excuse himself from worshiping and serving God nor should the remembrance of God, be he exalted, be neglected. And he should give to the poor and deserving alms and charity to whatever extent he can and take care that he not put off the required prayer. On the eves of Monday and Friday, he should carry lamps and candles to the holy shrines, so that he might attain his desire, if God, be he alone the exalted, the mighty, be willing.



MAH



MAH

[Death of Dara in Alexander's Arms]

Where are the majesty of Jamshid and the throne of Faridun?
Where are the dominion of Dara and the glory of Iskandar?
Since the world will be faithful to no one,
If you do some good for the people of the world, it will be better.

O augury user, know that the death of Dara and his bequest to Iskandar [Alexander] has appeared in your augury. It indicates weakness in the ascendant and the strengthening of rivals and despair from your brothers, relatives, and allies, and disappointment with the leaders of the world, and for whatever you have opened this, it is not good. In particular, going on a trade mission, forming a partnership, entering a marriage contract, or making a claim against religious or civil adversaries are disapproved and bad. But charitable intentions, such as the repair of mosques, madrasas, bridges, and way stations on the hajj route or on the route of the holy shrines, are very good. And to the intent maker, complete awareness of unworthy companions is essential. And there will appear, along with someone else, a black-bearded man, big in stature, with joined eyebrows and sallow face and a scar at the side of his breast. In this place are those who are about to do you evil. Keep with you an amulet against the evil eye, and on the eve of Wednesday do not come out of the house. And do not omit almsgiving and charity or neglect prayer, so that you will attain your desire.



MMA



MAH

[Uvays-i Qaran and the Camel]

His Majesty Uvays-i Qaran has come into your augury,
Intimate of the Prince of Apostles, believer in God.
From the hand of the wine bearer of pleasure, take the cup of delight;
Pull back the curtain of your weariness from the door of the house of grief.

O augury user, know that the sign of Sultan Uvays-i Qaran has appeared in your augury. Let there be good news to you that you have found freedom from sorrows, and the doors of joy and happiness have been opened to you, and your affairs, as you would wish, will turn out well, and day by day your fortunes are on the rise. This intent is good with respect to everything, especially travel, buying and selling, contracting marriage, entering a city, and transporting and consigning things. In short, the auspiciousness of this intent and the goodness of this augury cannot be denied, and every desire that you have in your heart will turn out beautifully. Almsgiving, charity, performing obligatory prayers and good works—why is there need to recommend these to the maker of such an intent? Were he not pure within and without, the sign of such a lucky person would not appear. By all means, keep a talisman against the evil eye, so that you may be safe from the eye of wicked people, if God, be he exalted, be willing.



MdL



MMA

[People of the Cave]

He who, like the People of the Cave, was rescued from the earth's confinement
Was admitted to the sanctuary of union with the beloved because of his sincerity.
Like the dog of the People of the Cave, who sat with good men,
He grew fortunate and was freed from misery.

O augury user, know that the cavern of the People of the Cave and the sign of the sheepdog that accompanied them (according to the theologians and historians, the name of that dog is recorded as Qitmir) and the pursuit by the king of the age Daqyanus [Decianus] and their abiding in secure and tranquil protection and being rescued from the wickedness of the enemy have appeared in your augury. This augury indicates high dignity, elevated position, worldly happiness, otherworldly salvation, realization of desires and wishes, and fulfillment of needs, especially with regard to travel, which includes limitless advantage. But you must nowhere fail to remember God nor omit charity and good deeds, and anything that you do, having viewed the advantage to your friends, begins with their consent. And no matter how powerful your enemies may be and how numerous they seem, do not let the whisperings of Satan cause you to worry, since God, be he exalted, will preserve you from the wickedness of your enemies, and you will be gratified in your desire.



AMSG



MdL

[Imam Riza Saves the Sea People]

King of the throne of the imamate; commander of the kingdom of religion,
Ali, son of Musa, son of Ja'far, imam who shows the way,
Encompasser of divine knowledge, safe keeper of the law of the Prophet,
Physician of the disease of disobedience, intercessor on the day of retribution.

O augury user, know that His Majesty Sultan Abu'l Hasan ibn Musa al-Riza, upon him be salutations and praise, has appeared in your augury. Let there be good news to you that the doors of gladness and felicity have been opened to you, and you have found freedom from troubles and grief, and you have been drowned in the sea of God's mercy. It seems that in these times a wrongdoer is hostile towards you and wants to injure you. Beware, a thousand times beware, not to allow trouble to reach you, and put anxiety and worry out of your heart, since His Majesty the divine God, be he exalted, surely by his power will make your enemies low and wretched, and your affair come out as your friends would wish. In brief, for whatever you have opened this augury, it is good, especially for sea travel, which is indicated for great profit and limitless tranquility. You must never forget God and must always spend your days mentioning the good qualities and publishing the virtues of their majesties, the imams of the religion—God's mercy on all of them—and if anyone asks you for a pledge to Imam Riza, peace be upon him—do not skimp in what you give, so that, God willing, you attain your desire.



M1K



AMSG



MAH



M1K

[The Angel of Death Descends on Shaddad ibn Ad]

Whoever from Satan's evil suggestion has become like Shaddad ibn Ad
Has given up his soul to grief and turned from the Garden of Eden.
And he who has gone via vain imagining into the valley of ignorance
Has died and in the confines of the grave has become companion of snake and ant.

O augury user, know that in your augury has appeared the sign of Shaddad's
paradise, which that accursed one wanted to behold. When he arrived, freed one
foot from the stirrup, and stepped to the ground, and with the other foot still in the
stirrup, the angel of death, at the order of the omnipotent one—magnified be his
mention—seized his vile soul. This augury indicates confusion of mind and evil
suggestion by Satan and depraved imagining and incorrect thoughts. By all means,
turn away from this intent that you have formed since there are all sorts of
murkiness in the contents of this thinking. Travel is not good, and buying and selling
are disapproved. The affairs of the sick appear bad, and in partnership there is
much loss. Buying livestock and slaves is pointless, and moving into a new home or
residence is extremely bad. Beware, a thousand times beware, that you keep
trustworthy amulets with you, and by almsgiving, charity, prayer, and devotion,
make the conjunction of your horoscope a sort that turns favorable, so that, God
willing, you will find safety from all vexations.

[Salih and the She-Camel]

Anyone befriended by the grace of God from all eternity
Like the prophet Salih has found safety from troubles.
Whatever wish comes into his heart, out of God's grace,
Instantly he is successful in getting his desire.

O augury user, know that in your augury has appeared the prophet Salih—upon him
be blessings and peace—who by prayer has brought out the she-camel from the
rock so that his people would believe. This augury indicates glory, rank, and
authority before God and the people and the obtaining of your wants and granting of
your desires. If you have planned a trip, go in any direction possible, since you will
return with your heart's desire, and if you have resolved upon a partnership and
buying and selling, it is extremely favorable. The absent person, completely happy
and relaxed, will arrive in a few days from the trip, and a hope and desire that you
had held will be granted three days hence. You need not fear your enemies, since a
multitude of enemies will not bring injury upon you, and as for your friends, be
confident that you will see great benefit from them. But you must not neglect
obligatory prayers, and give alms to the poor, and keep with you an amulet against
the evil eye, so that, God willing, you attain your desire.



CBL



MAH



CBL



CBL

[Circuit of the Ka'ba]

In the opinion of a learned man, the circuit of the Ka'ba of the heart
Is better than the circuit of the Ka'ba of clay—you should know this.
To seek to make amends
In this circuit is equivalent to the running and sacrifice [of the pilgrimage].

O augury user, know that the sign of the Great Ka'ba—may God increase it in
nobility and honor—has appeared in your augury. The door of happiness and good
fortune has been opened to you, and all your stated desires have turned out well.
On every intent you have formed, set to it, since doubtless it will come out as you
would wish. Travel, buying and selling anything, forming a partnership, contracting
marriage, and seeing kings and important people as well as news about absent
people, the condition of sick ones, and all affairs are at their best, and it appears that
in the next few days, from a source that you would not at all expect, a great
advantage will come to you. Also in these days, you have good intents in your heart,
such as circuiting the Ka'ba and visiting the shrines of the Prophet and the holy
imams—upon them be mercy and peace—and almsgiving and charity, or you dream
that you are occupied with these matters. Whether these thoughts be sleeping or
waking ones, certainly by being awake you will best succeed. But you must not
neglect prayer, and do good for people, bad and good, so that you attain your desire.

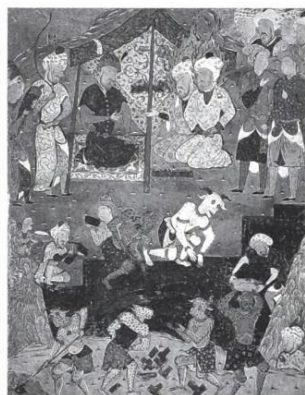
[Ali and Muhammad at the Gates of Khaybar]

Commander of the kingdom of right guidance, Ali, friend of God,
Who with the strength of his arm plucked the door from the fortress of Khaybar,
Guards you from the fire of hell—
Upon his power and rank and greatness, I swear it.

O augury user, let there be good news to you that the hand of His Khaybar-seizing,
Khaybar-opening Majesty, King of Saints, Proof of the Pious, Victorious Lion of God
Ali ibn Abu Talib, upon him be most excellent prayers and perfect greetings, has
appeared in your augury. You have become successful in all your desires, and the
closed door opened to you, and your difficulties relieved. Every desire that you have
had in your heart and for years longed for will in these times come out as well as you
could imagine, and in the next few days you will do something from which you will
gain the approval of God and the people, and you will become renowned among men
for goodness. In summary, the star of fortune has risen from the horizon of felicity,
and every intent you have will turn out for the good. But you must keep with you
the armband of His Majesty, Commander of the Faithful, Ali—upon him be prayers
and peace—and not neglect worship, devotion, and charity, and by all means carry
out the vow that you have taken in your heart, so that you attain your desire.



Bsc



CBL



AKTC



Bsc

[Alexander Builds a Wall against Gog and Magog]

Anyone for whom, from all eternity, the grace of God has become a guide,
Has built, like Iskandar, the wall against the Gog of oppression,
Has gained, like Khizr, eternal life on account of his grace;
The pen of fortune has written his description on the page of existence.

O augury user, know that in your augury has appeared the sign of Two-Horned Iskandar [Alexander], who is busy building the wall against Gog and Magog. This augury indicates power in the ascendant, an auspicious horoscope, victory over the wicked, profit from the fortunate, enemies laid low, and friends content. If you resolve to travel, begin without hesitation, since you will find great profit, and if you desire to buy and sell, it is advantageous. The sick will be cured quickly, and those absent will unexpectedly arrive. Contracting marriage is good, and forming a partnership is approved. Asking for favors from important people, accepting work in the *divan* [privy council], and anything you have wished for is approved. But whether traveling or at home, you must not forsake the obligatory prayers, and everything that you do, do with the counsel of wise men. And do not neglect almsgiving, charity, and amassing good works, nor turn away from serving the fortunate, so that you will attain your desire if God, he alone the mighty, be willing.

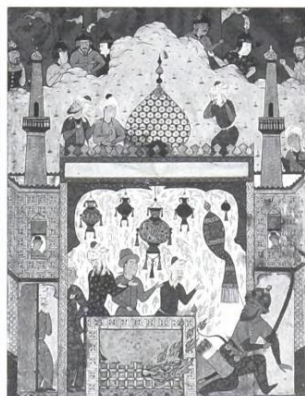
[Moses Challenges Pharaoh's Sorcerers]

When the prophet Moses threw his staff,
It became a serpent and annihilated the magicians.
By manifesting this miracle, he gained the power of leadership.
The Creator became pleased with him; he made the people happy.

O augury user, know that in your augury has appeared His Majesty, the prophet Moses, who threw his stick, and it became a serpent and swallowed the magicians. Let there be good news to you that the bad has vanished from your horoscope, your important affairs will turn out well, your enemies will be vanquished by the wrath of God, and your friends will be drowned in infinite blessings. The star of your prosperity has risen from the horizon of wealth, and the bud of your hope has blossomed in the meadow of joy. Buying and selling are excellent, and travel is blessed. Entering a partnership is approved, and seeing kings and important people is good. Whatever matter you have in mind for this world or the next, begin on it. Do not allow hesitation, since this augury is too good to be described. But you must keep with you a prayer that counteracts sorcery, so that you will be safe from the evil of magicians and the tongue of those who say bad things, and you will attain your wish and desire if God—be he alone exalted, the mighty—be willing.



AMSG



AKTC



MAH



AMSG

[Imam Ali Slays Murra ibn Qays]

The king by whom Murra bin Qays got chopped into two halves:
Know that the evidence of his purity are the Ka'ba and the right hand.
Honored by him is the tribe of Isma'il;
Illuminated by him is the eye of the family of Abraham.

O augury user, know that in your augury has appeared the sign of the miracle-manifesting, Khaybar-conquering two fingers of His Majesty, the Lion of God, the conqueror Ali ibn Abu Talib—upon him be mercy and peace—which appeared from the blessed grave of his majesty and struck in two the accursed Murra bin Qays. This augury indicates increased status, glory, high position, lasting and enjoyable life, and the disappearance of enemies. If it is your intent to take a trip, set out, since you can attain your aims on this trip, and if you are considering work in the *divan*, proceed boldly, since there are certainly great benefits in that. Buying livestock and slaves is good, and moving to a new city or house is blessed. Forming a partnership and contracting marriage appear good, and sick and absent ones will meet you in good health and fortune. But you must keep with you the armband of the commander of the faithful, Ali, and do not neglect prayer and charity, so that you attain your desire.

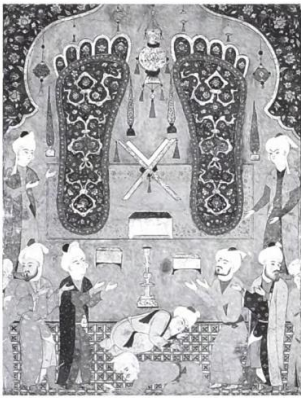
[Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise]

His Majesty Adam is leaving the Garden of Eden
Came to pass by order of the eternal maker.
Yes, he who seeks that God be pleased with him
Bows his head to whatever is commanded.

O augury user, know that the exodus of Adam and Eve has appeared in your augury. This augury is at first very, very unfortunate, but be hopeful since it turns out well in the end. Moreover, from this intent it thus becomes clear that God, be he exalted, has bestowed upon you happiness and pleasure, but you do not know the worth of that blessing, and awful imaginings pass through your mind. Beware, a thousand times beware! Be glad for what you have been given, but guard yourself against diabolical suggestion and withdraw from this kind of bad company, so that you will always stay joyful. And if you intend to travel, it is possible, but delay it; wait forty days from now, and if you go, you will at first find troubles, but then they will be put right. In short, this augury is average for everything, but the good is greater than the bad. Certainly the intent maker should vow abstinence from heinous sins and should avoid venial sins, so that he attains his desire.



MMA



MAH

[Footprints of Imam Riza]

Any place that Imam Riza sets foot,
There hyacinth and basil always grow.
With the fragrance of love is perfumed the nostril of anyone
Who smells the dust of the court of that king of the truthful ones.

O augury user, know that the footprint of the Lord of Jinns and Men, father of Hasan, son of Musa, Ali Riza, upon him be mercy and peace, has appeared in your augury. This augury indicates happiness, prosperity, contentment, and success in your affairs, and good fortune in both worlds. With every intent you have, proceed, since your undertaking, with the blessing of the footprint of His Majesty the Imam, is progressing perfectly. Travel is very good, and buying and selling will bring about increase of wealth. If you go to see someone important, state what you want, because it will turn out well, and if you are asking marriage, go ahead, since it is blessed. In summary, this augury is highly recommended for whatever you have opened it. Having put fear and distress from your mind, set out in complete devotion and be strong of heart, since His Majesty the Eighth Imam, the Guarantor, will keep you in the protection and safety of God, be he exalted, and you will attain your hopes and desires.



WAM



MMA

[The Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey (miraj)]

From the house of Umm Hani, His Majesty, King of the Apostles,
On the eve of the Ascension, when he got to the Sanctuary of God:
Everything that happened that night, blow by blow,
Murtaza Mufataba recounted to him the next day.

O augury user, know that in your augury has appeared the sign of the Ascent of the Lord of All Beings, the Microcosm of the Universe, the Mercy to Mankind, and the Measure of Man, Muhammad Mustafa—God be merciful upon him and his family and grant them peace. Be of strong heart, since victory and triumph will appear in your affair, and the closed door will be opened and your difficulties resolved. And from the sapling of happiness you will pluck the fruit of your desire, and the flower of your hope will bloom in the garden of plenty, and you will find happiness in this world and the next by the grace of the Prophet and his family. His Majesty Galen the Wise commands that if you have resolved to travel, go, since on this trip you will be under the protection of God. And if someone is absent from you, he will arrive very soon, and if someone is sick, you must give alms on that account so that his illness is changed to health. And respecting every affair and important thing you have in mind, it has come out well. You must pray perpetually for the Prophet and his family, so that you will never see a bad day. Say, "If God, be he exalted, be willing."



AMSG



MMA

[Coffin of Imam Ali]

When Hasan had placed on the camel the coffin meant for himself,
From the dust of the road there came a youth wearing a veil.
He grasped the rein of the camel and, upon Hasan's entreaty,
Lifted the veil from his face: it was the Charging Lion.

O augury user and O man of happy condition, know that in your augury has appeared the sign of the Lion of God, the King of Saints, Ali ibn Abu Talib—upon him be peace—who, through the wisdom of his sainthood, revealed himself to his son and removed the concealing veil from his face. The prophet Daniel, upon him be peace, says that the dead affair of the augury user has come to life, and the rose of his hopes has bloomed in the garden of plenty, and he will find great profit from travel, and his desires will come to pass, and this longtime hope will materialize, gladness will come to him through a saint or from the world of the unseen. If you have resolved to travel, go, because you will find much peace of mind on this trip, since by the grace of Murtaza Ali, you will be happy for years. And if you are inclined toward farming and improvements, it seems good, and your sick ones will be quickly cured, but you must not neglect prayer.



Text unknown



WAM

[Zakariya in a Tree]



Text unknown



ex-Binney

[Iman Ali Saves Salman al-Farsi



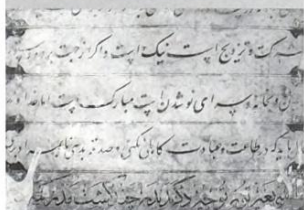
Text unknown



ex-Tulin

[Qambar and Duldul

MFA



S Coll



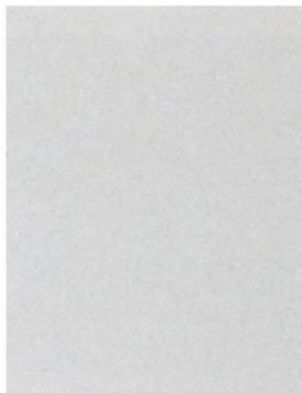
Image unknown

[Fragmentary text of Jesus Kills the Antichrist]

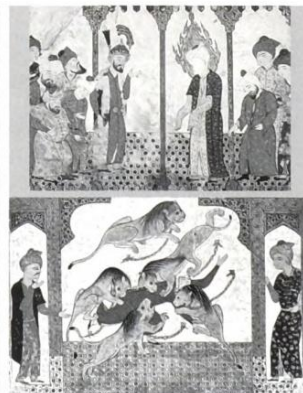
When Jesus passes across the celestial sphere,
 he is so alone that he takes refuge every moment at your threshold.
 Tusi has seen nothing but you, no matter how much he searched school and dervish lodge.

O augury seeker, know that the prophet Jesus (upon our Prophet and upon him be peace) has turned up as your omen, spearing the Antichrist in the mouth. This indicates success victory, divine assistance, and triumph. If you intend to travel, go for you will be under God's protection. If it is for buying and selling or going into partnership or marriage, the omen is good. If it is for buying slaves and animals or moving to a new house, it will be blessed, but augury seeker, you must not be negligent in your worship, and you should give alms in order to reach your goal.¹

MFA



Text unknown



S Coll

[Four Lions Devour Zaynab

Appendix A.2: The Topkapı Persian Falnama (TSM H.1702)

Translated by Sergei Tourkin



2a



1b

[Folio 1b—*Dabbat al-arz* (Beast of the earth)]

[Folio 2a]



3a



2b

[Folio 2b—Moon]

And the Moon,—we have measured for her mansion [to traverse] until she returns like the old [and withered] lower part of a date-stalk (Koran 36:39).

The beautiful Moon has appeared as your augury;

Travel soon, travel, travel!

Misfortune has completely left you

Since felicity became your associate; relax joyfully.

[Folio 3a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the Moon, which is extremely benevolent, has come up as your augury. This augury indicates attaining all desires from friends; arrival of pleasant news from [all] ends and directions, and [also] from the beloved or from somebody absent. If you have intended to travel, go. If you have somebody absent traveling, s/he will come soon. If you are determined to marry, do so, because you will be pleased with the male child [from this marriage] and will attain great tranquility. If you are going to visit somebody important for a necessity or on a matter, go on Monday because this is auspicious. However, do not depart until two-and-a-half hours and seven minutes have elapsed in the morning of the day. If you have lost something, by no means should you let sadness and grief find their way to you because it [the lost object] will surely come back to your hands very soon but in another place. If you are forming a partnership or joint company with anybody, it is extremely good; you will become glad from a place of which you are unaware. However, you must not share the secret of your heart with anybody and must know friend from foe. Beware of plots and mischief from someone who has a dark complexion because he is very much an enemy of yours. You must [always] keep with you an [amulet for] tying up [his] tongue and a prayer against the evil eye so that you are rescued from the wickedness of the devil, from unexpected affliction, and from all calamities and illnesses, if God, the only, wishes.



4a



3b

[Folio 3b—Mercury]

Nun. By the pen, and by the [record] which [men] write—thou art not, by the grace of thy Lord[¹, mad or possessed] (Koran 68:1-2).

Look at the augury—Mercury has appeared.
For months and years, you will be blessed.
Go, be cheerful, and walk in delight,
Because [your] enemy will soon perish.

[Folio 4a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that Mercury has come up as your augury. This augury indicates that you have many considerations in your mind, and this abundance of concerns is the reason for [you to think], "What kind of circumstances shall I have? What shall I end up with?" Yet, do not let sadness, grief, and anxiety find their way to you because the exalted God, may his grandeur be great and his bounty universal, will bless you, and all matters will be accomplished according to your desire and wish. If you are inquiring about somebody absent, s/he will reach you safe and sound, and you will be much pleased to see her/him. It appears that s/he will show up in two days. If you have intended to travel, it is not good to go, because the comet¹ is in your sight. If you still go, you will not gain any profit, but damage and calamity will happen to you. If you [intend] to form a partnership or do business, this consideration will have a very agreeable and pleasant result, and you will never have seen in your life such felicity and cheerfulness that will meet you. Beware, and a thousand times beware, that you do not retreat from your intention because all your wishes and aims will come out well. If you are inquiring about a youth you have seen or about your beloved, wait for another two days so that the matter develops according to your desire. Your beloved will become obedient to you and will be longing for you to such a degree that s/he will not be able to stay calm without you for a single moment. However, you must by no means share your secret and mystery with anybody and must not mingle with wicked people. Think of the plots and mischief of a red-haired, short man with bluish eyes. Be certainly aware of him, because he is your enemy. If you have somebody ill, s/he will be cured. However, [always] keep with you an [amulet] against sorcery and [another one for] tying up [its] tongue, so that you will be safe from afflictions and attain your desires. Say, "If God, the only and the almighty, wishes."



5a



4b

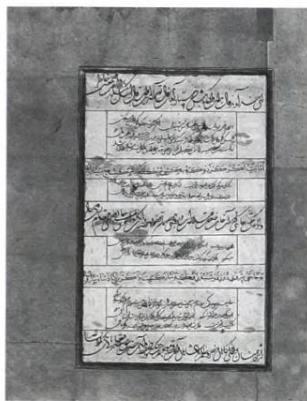
[Folio 4b—Venus]

And what will explain to thee what the Night-Visitant is?—[It is] the Star of piercing brightness—there is no soul but has a protector over it (Koran 86:2-4).

Anybody in whose augury Venus has appeared,
If he celebrates, it is always proper.
Ask from God whatever you want.
Seek your needs from God, and they shall be realized.

[Folio 5a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that Venus has come up as your augury. This augury indicates that you have some strange thoughts in your mind. Beware, and a thousand times beware, that you do not let suspicion and fear find their way to you. Never be concerned and do not let fear come to your mind because the intention you have made will come out well and agreeably. Your circumstances will be of such a kind that all your enemies will be blind from envy while your friends will be glad and happy. In three days, the exalted God, may his grandeur be great and his bounty universal, will make you prosperous and cheerful and will bring you revenue and much gold from the invisible world. It is possible that you will find something on the road, such as silver or a pearl, whose color will be extremely white and shining. If you have inquired about your own trade and business, it appears good. If you are going to travel, it is extremely good. Hurry, because large crowds will be waiting for you. However, if you go east, make arrangements for money and property, cows and sheep, and other means of comfort. If, however, you are going west or south or toward the qibla, it is better if you wait for some days, because the star Shukur-Yulduz is located in front of you, and that is a very malevolent star. God willing, you will wait for another twelve days. If you intend a relationship, the exalted God will grant you fortunate children. This year is blessed for you. If something has gone away from you, it will return, and victory and splendor will manifest in your work. Say, "If God wishes."



6a



5b

[Folio 5b—Sun]

By the Sun and his [glorious] splendor; by the Moon as she follows him; by the day as it shows up [the Sun's] glory (Koran 91:1-3).

O you, in whose augury the Sun has appeared,

You have asked a good question, now listen to the answer:

"O you with a good reputation, the Sun is auspicious, [it is] auspicious, Your enemy will fall into torment."

[Folio 6a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the Sun has appeared as your augury.

This augury indicates relaxation and peace of mind, attainment of desires, hopes, and leisure, and listening to pleasant news. If you intend to enter a marriage and nuptials, it is extremely good. If your question is about something lost or stolen, or if you are asking something from somebody, you should seek it on Sunday or require a messenger so that it reaches you on Sunday. However, wait for another seven days so that it comes to you in the easiest way, and you will be very thankful for that. If you have intended to form a partnership with somebody, you will get much profit from this partnership. If you have inquired about an ailing person, even though s/he is quite sick, do not let sadness, grief, and sorrow come to you. Thank the blessed and exalted God, may his grandeur be great and his bounty universal, so that within several days, "We send down in the Koran healing and mercy for the believers" [Koran 17:82]; quick remedy and full delight are [the person's] destiny, and you can attain gladness and delight because of that. If the object of your deliberation is somebody absent, that person is safe and sound and will reach you in the soonest possible time. Immense happiness and delight have come to her/him, and endless wealth has reached her/him. However, every moment his/her mind is drawn to you. Do not let grief find its way to you since, in fourteen days, s/he will come to you, and you will be glad from seeing her/him. If you intend to circumcise a son, this intention is extremely good. If you intend to marry, this is auspicious: you have a male child in your horoscope, and you will attain much serenity. If you are going to visit a grandee with a request, go on Monday because it is auspicious. If you are going to visit a monarch, wait for some days, wait at your place, and then go to visit the monarch. Thus, you will attain much tranquility, happiness, and pleasure. In every moment that passes, your circumstances will improve, and all your enemies will weaken and become confused. However, know friend from foe, and do not feel secure from the plots of a sallow-faced, short man with a defect on his head or eye. That person is very hostile and seeks to gain victory over you. Do not unexpectedly be without a talisman, and keep with you a counter-charm prayer and an armet, so that you are under the protection and security of the almighty and exalted God from the wickedness of enemies, sudden calamity, obstructions and tyranny of monarchs, hardships of famine and plague, and hooves of strange quadrupeds. Say, "If God wishes."



7a



6b

[Folio 6b—Mars]

O you, in whose augury Mars has appeared.

I shall reveal that this is a bad augury.

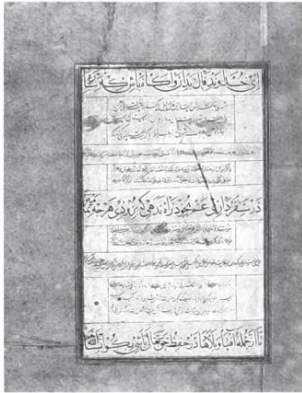
This star is malevolent, it is malevolent in the sky, Among the stars, it is the evil of the evils.

[Folio 7a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that Mars [has appeared as your augury].

This augury indicates a scattered mind and a damaged purse. You have wasted a great deal of money, or something that was extremely precious has disappeared.

[This has happened] because of somebody whom you greatly fear or because somebody has spoken evil of you to a grandee, and you are afraid and are wondering [if any harm or injury would befall you from those words. Or one of your children, brothers, and close relatives was ill, or a part of his body injured, and you are afflicted by that. You must wait with] your intention and must not hurry. As said the majesty, the best of the creatures and the glorified of the beings, intercessor of the day of retribution, the moon-faced, "And the forenoon" [Koran 93:2], and the black-haired, "And the brooding night" [Koran 93:3], the friend of God, that is, His Majesty Prophet Muhammad, the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family: "Patience is the key to opening the gates." Wait for fifteen days, so that, God willing, on the sixteenth day all your circumstances will be revealed to you in triumph and splendor, and you will be secure from all calamities and grief. However, you must not be negligent in charity, and you must not tell the secret of your heart to everyone, because you have many enemies. Be cautious of the red-haired, tall person with green eyes who has a scar on the forehead or on the neck. Keep with you an amulet against the evil eye, the prayer against charms, and make your tongue constantly pronounce the phrase, "There is no God but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God, and Ali is the favorite of God," so that you attain your desire. Say, "If God, the exalted, the only, and the almighty, wishes."



8a



7b

[Folio 7b—Jupiter]

By the Star when it goes down,—your Companion [Muhammad] is neither astray nor being misled (Koran 53:1-2).

*Everyone in whose augury Jupiter has appeared
Will soon obtain grandeur.*

*Since Jupiter is the beneficent greater benevolent,
It is proper that you do not look to the augury anymore.*

[Folio 8a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that Jupiter has appeared as your augury. This augury indicates tranquility of mind, attainment of all desires and aims, being hopeful from friends, and arrival of pleasant news from the east or from the direction of the *qibla*. If you have inquired whether you will receive something, do not let grief, anguish, and affliction find its way to you because your desire will be soon fulfilled. If your question was about relocation and a move, union, partnership, or commerce, you will be extremely pleased and happy, and your aims and desires will be well realized. If you have somebody absent traveling, do not grieve because s/he will return very soon, and you will be joyful and glad to see her/him. If you have intended to visit a ruler [sultan], go, because it is a good time for him to see you, and rulers will give you a horse, garments, and riches as gifts. If you are considering travel, go, because you will make extremely good purchases and will sell at a profit what you own. If some members of your family are willing to travel [with you], they will be good companions, but it is best to hurry on this trip. If you have inquired about someone you love, s/he loves you a hundred times more, and in the end you will attain your aims and goals from her/him. However, you must not tell the secret of your heart to anybody and must know friend from foe. Beware of frauds and plots of a tall man whose arm or leg is scarred or withered. Be cautious, because he is slandering you. You must keep an amulet with you so that you are protected by the exalted God from all calamities and afflictions. Say, "If God wishes."



9a



8b

[Folio 8b—Saturn]

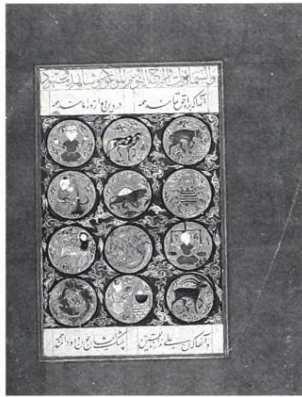
*Saturn has appeared as your augury, O wise one!
Abandon this [intention of yours] and be content.
Do not come close to this intention at all,
Otherwise you will, like a bird, fall into a trap.*

[Folio 9a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that Saturn has appeared as your augury. This indicates a troubled mind, weariness, and distraction, a variety of worries and hardships, and failure of desires. If you intend to travel, by all means do not go, because if you go, everything you have will be lost immediately. More so, all goods, gold, and money that you have collected will vanish; there will be an attempt to kill you, and much weariness affects you. However, you must fear not and keep your heart strong, because within several days triumph and victory will reach you. You must remember that you will see profit from a powerful monarch. If you have [intended] to marry, wait for two to three days, but do not set your mind upon this intent. For if you have set your mind on it, you will see much grief, but if you abandon [your intent], your wish will be fulfilled. If you have inquired about somebody absent, s/he will remain away longer but will return safely, and you will be delighted to see her/him. However, if you are asking about a move, partnership, or trade, wait for some days because you will not gain much profit soon. Beware, and a thousand times beware, that you have with you a prayer against charms, a prayer to fasten to the arm, and a prayer against misfortunes and witchcraft, so that you reach your desires. Say, "If God, the exalted and the only, wishes."



10a



9b

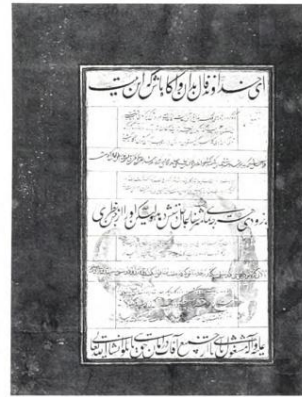
[Folio 9b—Zodiac]

By the sky, [displaying] the zodiacal signs; by the promised day [of judgment]; by one that witnesses, and the subject of the witness (Koran 85:1-3).

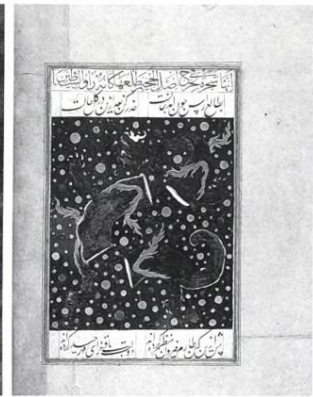
*All those who are perfect on the path to God.
They all are within the religion of the Twelve Imams.
Those who do not believe in the path of Ali,
Without doubt, they all are like wild and tamed beasts.*

[Folio 10a]

O augury user! May glad news be for you because the twelve towers of the heavens have appeared as your augury. The intention you have made is felicitous, and the messenger of your happiness is on the way. You will benefit from gifts, delight, and joy. You will see no damage or harm from whatever you have desired. Do not let any strangers into your business, so that your secret remains hidden. Within these two days, somebody noble will come to you from the invisible world; keep your heart contented. It also appears that an accident has happened to you within these days, and you have suffered much hardship because of that and have seen no pleasure from your hope. Now go in contentment and calm your mind, because happiness has lifted you from the ground. Wipe the dust from the mirror of your heart and pull your legs under the skirt of contentment because the beloved of your desire has embraced you, and what you ask from the exalted God, illustrious be his name, has been bestowed upon you. However, be polite with friends, and pour water on fire so that it does not make your selfishness excessive. You must be humble so that everyone holds you dear and respected. Also, take care of yourself, since you have an enemy who is slandering you in front of your friends. Some grief will come to you, but their frauds and plots will soon be revealed; they will be publicly shamed, and this is the sign of felicity. You will have many disturbed dreams, which are due to the pride of carelessness. If you relinquish the fear that you have taken to your heart, you will attain your desires. This augury is good for everything: travel and matrimony, inquiring about an absentee, and forming a partnership. Seek and search the souls of the imams, and say, "If God wishes."



11a



10b

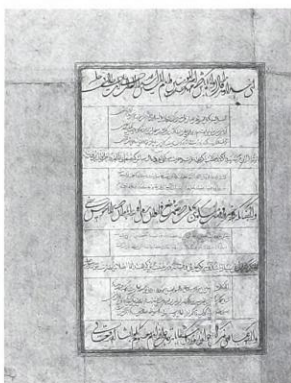
[Folio 10b—Draco in the Sky]

For it is a tree that springs out of the bottom of Hell-fire: the shoots of its fruit-stalks are like the heads of devils (Koran 37:64-65).

*Once "the Head" has come up as the ascendant in your augury,
Be cautious after that in all your situations.
Before this turquoise-looking dome was made,
Eternal felicity was made the reward for the love to the Lion of God [Ali].*

[Folio 11a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that for the intention you have made, the Dragon of the Sky has appeared as your augury. Stay away from this intention because it appears that much distress and adversity will happen to you. It is better to abandon this wish because your augury is inauspicious. Do not travel, and if you cannot postpone it, would be God, wait for one month, give alms, fast, and give away everything you have so that your matter will resolve soon. If you hurry, you will remain enslaved and profitless in your occupation and will not know what to do to improve. If you intend to go somewhere, it will be a mistake because it is illegal. If you are searching for something lost, do not do so, because it is a useless attempt, and the property you have lost you will not regain. If the inquiry is about somebody absent, s/he is preoccupied and cannot come to you. If you intend to sign a contract and form a partnership, do not do so; otherwise you will get into trouble, regret it, and will not experience anything but grief, toil, and adversity. However, someone who is ill will have no pain and will undergo no discomfort. If s/he has a wound, it will heal quickly. However, a *jinn* [evil spirit] has given s/he the evil eye, and you must write for her/him a prayer against *divs* [demons] and *paris* [fairies] so that you are liberated from annoyance. If you are going to visit somebody about a matter, wait for some days so that your case becomes favorable and you do not have grief and affliction. This is because you have many enemies, and you must know friend from foe. Be cautious of the plans of a dark, tall person who pretends to be your friend, because he is hypocritical behind your back while in front of you he shows friendship. Grief, anxiety, and harm will come to you because of this. You must, day and night and at all times, be pure and pious and refrain from taking disapproved morsels. On each Wednesday eve, you should pour rue [a wild herb] and salt on the fire and add fat, salt, and onion to the flames so that you will be under God's guardianship and protection from wickedness and the sedition of *jinn*s. You should always praise and salute the lord of humankind, may God bless and salute him and his family, so that God will protect you from all calamities. Say, "If God wishes."



12a



11b

[Folio 11b—Infant Ali Slays a Dragon]

[Verily those who plight their fealty to thee do no less than plight their fealty to God:] The Hand of God is over their hands: then any one who violates his oath does so to the harm of his own soul[, and anyone who fulfils what he has convened with God—God will soon grant him a great reward] (Koran 48:10).

Each heart that chose the friendship with Ali,

God made it fortunate in the two worlds.

Have you heard of another four-month-old baby except Ali,

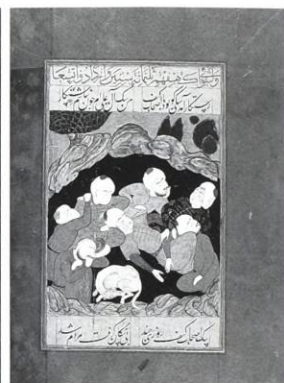
Who has made such a battle right from the cradle?

[Folio 12a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the cradle of his majesty, the Commander of the Faithful and the Leader of the Pious, the triumphant Lion of God, Ali b. Abi Talib, best blessings and salutations be upon him, has appeared as your augury. This augury is extremely auspicious. Immerse yourself in this idea, because it will give you much peace of mind. Go, because you have chosen a sound aspiration; prepare for your wish, step forward toward it, and do not refrain from this intention since what has come to your mind is doable. Search for each desire and aim what you wish; there is indication that it will be realized. Your circumstances will become like silver and gold and will improve every day. It also appears that you pursue this intention because you are looking for a business, and you will be honored. If you are searching for power and respect, do not grieve, because your external and internal purity will be apparent as of this day and will increase every moment so that you will obtain what you are searching and desiring. It appears that much gold and many books will arrive for you from the invisible world, so much so that you will be astonished by the amount. For some days, be diligent and courageous. If you are speaking about buying and selling, do it, because you will make many contracts and much profit. However, know that you will be meet someone fair, mild-tempered, love-inspiring, and affectionate, and you will be impatient and distracted by her/him. You will experience pleasures and delights unlike anything else in all your life. However, [you will spend] the greater part of your money and wealth on your beloved. You have many plaintiffs, and each of them is trying to slander you with a story and a tale, but they will not be able to do you any harm. But you cannot ignore their plots. Write down the legend of the seal of Solomon, peace be upon him, and keep it with you so that you are under protection of the righteous, exalted God. It also appears that you will move or transfer within several days and will gain much profit from this. If [your inquiry] is about somebody absent, that person will happily reach you in two to three days, and you will be delighted to see him/her. If you are inquiring about nuptials and marriage, this is extremely auspicious, and the Creator will bestow you with a male child, and through the blessing of this child you will obtain many worldly effects. If you have lost something, it will appear in your horoscope. If you form a partnership, it is not good. If you have inquired about somebody ill, he will be cured in twelve days by the grace of the twelve innocent imams. Say, "If the exalted God wishes."



13a



12b

[Folio 12b—People of the Cave]

So they stayed in their Cave three hundred years, and [some] add nine [more] (Koran 18:25).

The dog, which was with the People of the Cave, became safe.

I am the dog of the family of Ali, how can I not be safe?

The dog of the People of the Cave for some days

Followed good men and became a human.

[Folio 13a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the People of the Cave have appeared as your augury. The intentions are auspicious; your ascendant appears to be strong; happiness has become your friend; and in all matters the door to victory and triumph has opened for you. Rejoice, because you will spend most of the time in pleasure and happiness, and the doors of delight and felicity will open for you. It appears that you will find some money, probably a treasure. It also appears that you will experience an honor in six days time, the likes of which you have not seen in your entire life. However, [do not share your secret] with everyone. If you intend to travel, [go, because] you will benefit. If you have the intention of marrying, do it, because it will be auspicious, and your horoscope predicts a beautiful and fortunate child. However, stay away from making loans and forming a partnership. If somebody is absent in travel, s/he will return within ten days and with abundant wealth. If you are going [to visit a grandee] with a request, go on Thursday and stay at his right-hand side. If you are searching for something lost or stolen, you will certainly find it within fifteen days. However, you are captive among your enemies, and because of your enemies, you must not be negligent in prayers so that you are safe from the wickedness of hypocrites and envious people. Keep with you the armband of the commander of the faithful Ali, peace be upon him, so that you can attain your desires.



14a



13b

[Folio 13b—Iman Riza Saves the Sea People]

Verily we have granted thee a manifest victory: that God may forgive thee thy faults of the past [and those to follow; fulfill His favor to thee; and guide thee on the straight way] (Koran 48:1-2).

*O you, whose throne is proclaimed the shadow of mercy!
The rug at your door is referred to as the throne of mercy.
From the earth to the heavens,
he is the culminating point of judgment and command.
Not only this, your name is the ruler of Khurasan.*

[Folio 14a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the water people have appeared as your augury. From this augury, no damage will reach you, and happiness, joy, and prosperity will come to you. Your enemies became contemptible and your friends cheerful because the sultan of the East and West, the leader of angels and humans, Abu l-Hasan Ali b. Musa al-Riza, peace be upon him, who separated the tyrant from the oppressed, has appeared as your augury. Go and do not grieve, because you have made a good intention in your heart; whatever you embark on will be felicitous; you will find happiness and quickly attain your desire. It also appears that somebody of high rank has developed a connection and relationship [with you]. From him, your fortune will rise and reach the apogee so that everyone will envy you. You will attain respect, and dignity, and gold, and a robe of honor, and prosperity. Some of your relatives and friends will bring you gifts, which will give you relief and profit. It also appears that a great danger has missed you these days. Relinquish the fear in your heart, but be careful of somebody with bluish-greenish wounds on the back of his head. These are not wounds but leprosy, which are called "marks of Uvays" [*allamat-i uvaysi*]. S/He is causing you great _____. You must keep with you the seal of the prophecy of His Majesty the Prophet, may God bless and salute him, so that you will not be as the enemy wishes you to be. If you intend to travel, go, because it is good and auspicious for you. In partnership and acquisition, your business will be slow. If you are going to visit a grandee, go on Friday. Do not neglect prayers, and say, "If the exalted God wishes."



15a



14b

[Folio 14b—Mary and Jesus]

And behold! God will say: "O Jesus, the son of Mary! Didst thou say unto men, 'Worship me [and my mother as gods in derogation of God]?' He will say: "Glory to thee! Never could I say what I had no right (to say). Had I said such a thing, Thou wouldst indeed have known it. Thou knowest what is in my heart, though I know not what is in Thine. For Thou knowest in full all that is hidden"] (Koran 5:119).

*When Jesus, son of Mary, was brought into being by his mother,
In an hour he prostrated himself and started speaking.
He touched the ground with his face, humbled himself,
And his mother heard prayers from him at that time.*

[Folio 15a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that Jesus, son of Mary, peace be upon him, has appeared as your augury. The intention you have made is very good. Set your mind [to it], and approach it with utmost conviction and sincerity because happiness has turned its face to you. Your augury shows clarity of thought, relaxation of body, and ease of mind. The sooner you embark on this intention, the better it is, because your ascendant is strong, and you will attain your desire. It also appears that you have fallen into a group of disrespectful people, and because you see no solution [*bi-charigi*] [to the problem], you have become erratic in your business. No matter how you gain gold and dinars, you spend it all worrying about them, and you want to be free of them by any means. There is good news for you: very soon, the heavens will draw a design on the water and obliterate it; soon this will be the reason of your salvation, and you will shortly be liberated from all grievances. You have travel in your horoscope, and this is sea travel. You will go, and your business will flourish and prosper, so that all your enemies will be upset and your friends and helpers, who love you, will be happy. You will gain much money and many riches, and people will envy you. God, may he be honored and glorified, will grant you a male child, who will be handsome, knowledgeable, and devout. If you have inquired about somebody who is ill, s/he will soon recover from sickness. If you have inquired about something that has been lost, you will find it in ten days, and it will come back to you. If you have inquired about matrimony and nuptials, or travel, moving house, and partnership, all this is favorable. Of course, in each intention you make, behave manly; do not neglect prayers, do not overlook fasting, and make offerings to the pure imams, God's blessings and salutation be upon them all.



16a



15b

[Folio 15b—Iman Ali Kills Amr bin Abdud and Antar]

Your [real] friends are [no less than] God, His Apostle, and the [Fellowship of] Believers—those who establish regular prayers, and regular charity, and they bow down humbly [in worship] (Koran 5:58).

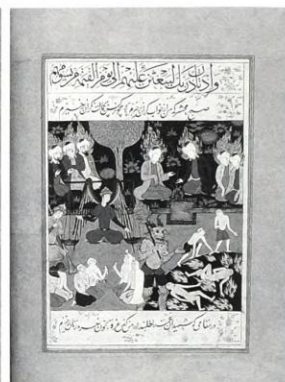
*O you, from the felicity of whose generosity the world is adorned.
The slave of dust of your door has found prosperity.
Everyone who has thought of disobedience to your zulfiqar
Exposed himself completely and found himself decapitated.*

[Folio 16a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the King of Heroes, the Lion of God, the Favorite [vali] of God, the Commander of the Faithful, Ali b. Abi Talib, peace be upon him, who by a single stroke sent to hell Amr b. Abdud and Antar at the day of the battle of Khandaq, has appeared as your augury. You must proceed courageously toward your intention and roll up the sleeves of resolution, because the star of your ascendant has moved away from misfortune, your enemies have become contemptible, and the great majesty has taken you out of difficulty, anxiety, and grief. In the end, your circumstances will be fortuitous. You must thank the creator of the creatures so that everything you seek and desire is fully realized and you attain it. It also appears that your intention is about someone absent, such as a beloved or an old friend respected by others. You will attain your desire from that absent person, and s/he will soon return. If you intend to change location or move, hurry and go, because you will gain joy, triumph, and victory. However, it also appears that someone is befriending you in deceit and is feeling extreme animosity toward you. Be aware of his plot and deceit, and do not be misled by the words so that you are safe. If your intention is for forming a partnership or buying and selling, try hard and make an effort quickly and do not stop, because it is auspicious. If you have intention for marriage and union and nuptials, wait another five days. If you have inquired about a child, or somebody ill, or having lost something, or the quadrupeds—these all are auspicious. Say, "If God wishes."



17a



16b

[Folio 16b—Day of Judgment]

Behold! Thy Lord did declare that he would send against them, to the Day of Judgment[, those who would afflict them with grievous penalty. Thy Lord is quick in retribution, but he is also oft-forgiving, most merciful] (Koran 7:167).

*When I wake up from deep sleep in the morning of Judgment Day,
I stand up like narcissus beholding your beauty.
At the station where the martyrs ask for your compassion,
I stand up, raising my cries with my gravecloth in blood.*

[Folio 17a]

O augury user! Be aware and know that the desert of the Judgment Day has appeared as your augury. You are distressed by your intention, which shows much suffering and difficulty. If you abandon this intention, you will be satisfied. If you have an urgent matter, wait for a month, give alms, fast, perform the vow to God that you have in your heart, and show patience, since "hurry is the work of the devil." If you wait, you will attain your desire. You must know your friends from enemies and from the hateful ones, and you must not reveal your secret to anybody. This is because there is an enemy behind you who wants to get hold of your business and cause you distress. You must not ignore your enemy's plotting. There will be difficulties on your way these days, but by God's grace, they will pass. Give alms with gratitude, and light a lantern at a large shrine so that your business will benefit and become unobstructed. It also appears that you have a fiery temper and will show violence, which will instantaneously embarrass you. You must hold your temper and work hard and show kindness so that you will enter people's hearts. If your [inquiry] is about something lost, do not make useless efforts because you will not find it. If [you have inquired about your] relatives and friends, who give you advice and counsel but you do not listen to their words, you will suffer every possible setback and difficulty. It also appears that one of your sins has become evident, and you asked for forgiveness and understanding. Repent and show devotion so that you can attain your desire. Say, "If God wishes."



18a



17b

[Folio 17b—Dragon in the Pit]

For them is a penalty in the life of this world, but harder, truly, is the penalty of the hereafter[: and defender have they none against God] (Koran 13:34).

*Do good to everyone wherever you are,
So that from doing good, your life also will become good.
Do not turn toward evil, and do not say evil;
Because of your evilness, your friend will become your enemy.*

[Folio 18a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the well of Vayl in hell—which is the place of those who do not pray, of the ill-fated, hypocrites, sinners, and culprits—has appeared as your augury. It indicates confusion and distress, either because of yourself or because of concern of the outcome of a move or travel. It appears on this page of the book that you must not hurry in the intention you have made, since hurrying is not auspicious. By all means, you must be patient in accomplishing your intention so that your desire is attained. As of today, for the period of twenty days, you must be aware of the plots and deceits of women so that you do not get into trouble. In addition, you must avoid desires and lust, and you must not bind your heart to this intention. You must stay far away from the words of the wicked, you must not make friends with everyone, and you must be abstinent so that sorrow and grief do not reach you. If your intention is about your profession and work, it will resolve favorably in a month, and you will gain profit; if it is about change of location and moving house, it is not auspicious; marriage and union are also not inauspicious. If you have inquired about travel, abandon it because it is very dangerous. If [you have inquired] about somebody absent, do not give this person your heart because you will regret it, but s/he is fine. Do not search for money that has been lost or stolen because you will not find it. Any other intention you may have made appears difficult. Turn your heart away from it now, and do not neglect your prayers because this augury is extremely unfavorable. You must be aware of yourself and must not trust the words of everyone, even if everyone appears to be your brother. Especially do not trust a short, dark, and heavyset man with a mark on his chest or face. And beware not to disclose this intention. By all means, repent of evil deeds and keep with you the name of the blessed and exalted God, may his grandeur be great and his bounty universal, so that your desire is attained. Say, "If God, the only and the almighty, wishes."



19a



18b

[Folio 18b—Moses and the Giant Uj]

[Said (the father): "My (dear) little son! Relate not thy vision to thy brothers, lest they concoct a plot against thee:] for Satan is to man an avowed enemy!" (Koran 12:5).

*Since the time the form-maker of the world existed, Ali existed.
Since the time the shape of the earth and time existed, Ali existed.
Musa, and his staff, miracles [white hand], and prophecy—
Who showed it in Egypt to the Pharaoh? Ali did.*

[Folio 19a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the Prophet Musa [Moses], peace be upon him, who struck his staff on the foot of Uj [Og] bin Anaq, and Uj perished by his hand, has appeared as your augury. It appears, O augury user, that your ascendant is still disturbed. The matter you are pursuing is not working out, and you are constantly perplexed. However, it also appears that suddenly, from the invisible world, your situation will be fixed, there will be triumph, and you will be happy. You must show patience and not hurry, because nothing gets done by hurrying, and patience is from God. Therefore, wait to attain your desire. It also appears that you have a strong enemy who wants to inflict damage on you. You must be aware of his plots and deceit, and keep with you the names of God so that, in the end, the enemy becomes despicable, you gain victory over your enemy, your friends are glad, and you will bring honor to your family and friends. If you intend to travel, go, because even though there are some difficulties [in the beginning], there will be comfort in the end. If you have someone absent traveling, s/he is confused with her/his affairs and cannot return soon. If your intention is for union, marriage, or partnership, do not do it, because it will not be profitable. If you are going to visit grandees with a request, do not go for the next forty days. You must know friend from foe, and you must not tell the secret of your heart to anybody. Beware of the plotting of enemies. You must certainly keep with you a charm to be safe, because you have a strong enemy who wishes to hurt you. You must completely entrust yourself to God in everything you do so that you can attain your desire.



20a



19b

[Folio 19b—Abraham's (Ibrahim's) Sacrifice]

And we ransomed him with a momentous sacrifice (Koran 37:107).

When Khalil [Abraham], based on the saying of the owner of the glorious throne,

Wanted to sacrifice Isma'il at the festival day,

Isma'il became content with the fate after he heard this.

He read his prayer to God, and in a moment, the sacrifice [animal] appeared.

[Folio 20a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that Mount Arafat, the prophet Ibrahim [Abraham], peace be upon him, and Isma'il [Isaac], peace be upon him, who sacrificed his life on the path to the one whose existence is necessary, have appeared as your augury. They indicate ease of mind and health of body, attainment of desires, and accomplishment of hopes from friends. However, you must behave manly in achieving this intention and completely entrust yourself to God. Like Isma'il—who entrusted himself to God, proceeded, and sacrificed his life, and the exalted God, may his grandeur be great, sent a lamb to be sacrificed—you, too, O augury user, must behave accordingly so that you attain your desire soon. This intention of yours is good for short trips and travels, and in these travels you will reach your destination and wish. Nuptials and marriage are auspicious, and blessed children will come forth. As far as traveling is concerned, let it be; do not have any fears about this journey, for you will certainly attain your goal. A grandee will add something to your purse, which will delight you. If you have inquired about somebody who is absent, s/he will come soon. You will get back the money that you lost or was stolen from you. However, do not search for something that you have lost; you will never find it again. It appears that this coming year will be better for you than any other year, and you will be at ease. Yet, do not tell the secret of your heart to everyone, because even if you are kind to everyone, you will see evil in return, as you have many enemies. Especially do not trust a short, heavyset person with a dark complexion who has a mark on his head or neck; by no means let him take advantage of you. If you have inquired about your profession and work, it is extremely good. If you have inquired about a pregnant woman, a captive, or prisoner, s/he soon will be liberated. If you have someone who is ill, s/he will be cured. Say, "If God, the only and the almighty, wishes."



21a



20b

[Folio 20b—Alexander Builds a Wall against Gog and Magog]

They said: "O Zulqarnayn! The Gog and Magog [people] do great mischief on earth" (Koran 18:94).

This world, whose beginning is inexistence and whose end is vanished,

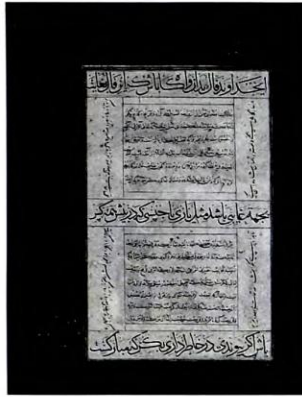
It is a mistake to think of it as stable and eternal.

The foundation of the heavenly sphere is on water because of the reason

That it constantly rotates in motion, like a mill.

[Folio 21a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the wall of Yajuj [Gog] and Majuj [Magog] has appeared as your augury. This augury is extremely inauspicious. It indicates distraction, fear, danger, debt, accusation, and so on, because of somebody for whom you care or because of the fear that the omen seeker has of that person. It appears that you should most certainly turn away from this intention and never return to it. You should show patience and should not waver much, for otherwise you will fall into such trouble that there will be no escape for you. If you have somebody absent, do not stay attached to him/her right now. If you intend to travel, do not go, because it is dangerous. Do not hurry to change your domicile or move house, because it is not good. Nuptials and marriage are not auspicious. Do not search for anything stolen or lost, because you will never find it. However, there is a chance that in a few days you will be aware of something that has disappeared. Wait with regard to your profession and work so that your business improves. God save you from forming a partnership! If you have inquired about somebody who is ill, s/he has three days before s/he dies. You must give alms for her/him, and maybe s/he will recover. Whatever intention you have made, it is extremely unfavorable; you must be cautious because this omen is troubling. By any means, you must avoid conversing with evil people and keeping company with villains. Know friend from foe, and do not tell the secret of your heart to everyone, because if you are kind, you will see evil in return. Beware of a short person with a ruddy complexion and smallpox on her/his face or body. You must be careful about her/him, because s/he is thinking of bringing you misfortune by way of friendship; beware of her/him. You must fast for three days, give alms, and do not neglect your prayers so that the star of your ascendant rises from misfortune, and you will be freed from difficulties, if the exalted God wishes.



22a



21b

[Folio 21b—Imam Ali Slays Murra bin Qays]

And they feed, for the love of God, the indigent, the orphan, and [the captive] (Koran 76:8).

*Since the time when Najaf became the place for the sun of religion and reign,
Its ground has excelled in glory over the Zamzam well in Mecca and the temple of Mecca.
Doubtless, it is the principal Ka'ba for the faithful,
Because the strongest lion [of God] has its place in it.*

[Folio 22a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that this augury is extremely auspicious. The exalted God has taken you out from the labyrinth of grief, and finally the outcome of your situation is fortuitous. You must always thank the exalted God, may his grandeur be great, so that you can attain your goal. This is because [the city of] Najaf—which is the place of the pure of this world and the tomb of the King of Heroes, the Commander of the Faithful, the Lion [of God], Ali b. Abi Talib, peace be upon him, who pulled his arm out of the casket and cut Murra b. Qays in two halves—has appeared [as your augury]. Now, O augury user, behave bravely in your circumstances so that your enemies are disgraced and your friends glad. It appears that you have made this inquiry about somebody or something absent, such as a friend or goods that are dear to all. Do not give up hope in this matter, because it is certain that a situation will occur, and you will reach your intention without delay and will be happy. It also appears that you will be going on a journey. Go, because you will find pleasure, triumph, and victory. It also appears that somebody pretends to be your friend while s/he is your enemy. Beware not to be deceived by her/his tales and not to trust her/his words so that you are not trapped by her/his deceits and plots. If you have inquired about forming a partnership and buying and selling, buying and selling is good, but stay away from forming a partnership and incurring debts. If you have marriage on your mind, do it, because it is auspicious. If you wish to have a child, fast for three days, and keep with you the name of the Almighty so that the exalted God, may his grandeur be great and his bounty universal, grants you with a fortunate and happy child. You must not neglect your prayers, and you must curse the enemies of the king of heroes so that you can attain your desire. Say, "If God, the only and the almighty, wishes."



23a



22b

[Folio 22b—Muhammad Splits the Moon]

The Hour [of Judgment] is night, and the moon is cleft asunder (Koran 54:1).

*O you, whose pure entity is the reason for the creation of existence!
Your moon-splitting hand is more generous than any munificence.
If you raise your moon-splitting hand at the day of resurrection,
None of your followers will stay in hell forever.*

[Folio 23a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that your augury indicates integrity of mind, attainment of desires from friends and grantees, and the arrival of pleasant news so that, if you have any grief in your heart, it will change to pleasure. The star of your ascendant has come out of malevolence, and your enemies have become disgraced and contemptible—by the power of the lord of the beings and the purest of the creatures, who has the honorable seat on the full-moon dais over the foundation of fidelity, Abu I-Qasim Muhammad the Prophet, may God bless and salute him and his family. Now you must not let vicious thoughts come to you, and you must not, by any means, turn away from your intention, because the almighty God, may he be glorified and exalted, has bestowed safety and security upon you. This coming year will be better for you than any other year, and you will always be at ease, because any malice in your horoscope is gone, and the door to triumph and victory has opened for you. So much so that soon your desire will be attained, you will receive a large profit from a grandee, your wallet will be full, and there will be stability in your circumstances. Therefore, if the inquiry you made for this augury is about somebody absent, s/he will return soon, and s/he will be happy. Nuptials and matrimony are auspicious. Short journeys and trips are profitable; traveling is extremely good, and during the travels, you will attain what you desire. You will receive something from a grandee, and you will be happy about it. Anything stolen or lost will come back to you. Your profession and work are extremely good. Buying and selling are very good, but do not sell slaves because you will suffer a loss. Forming a partnership is good after eight days. You must give alms for the pregnant woman or a prisoner, so that s/he is liberated. Someone will be ill for ten days but will be cured. Any other intention you may have made is extremely good. Do not neglect your prayers so that, God willing, you will attain your desires.



24a



23b

[Folio 23b—Khizr and Ilyas Discover the Water of Life]

[The other] said: "Verily thou wilt not be able to have patience with me!"
(Koran 18:67).

O parrot with beak full of sweet honey!

Make sweet discourse with mellifluous words.

[Prophet] Khizr sought for the water of animals² in darkness,

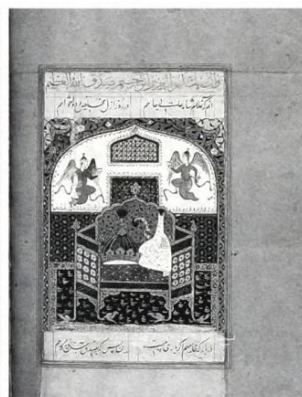
And you, too, like Khizr, search in the darkness.

[Folio 24a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the prophets Khizr and Ilyas [Elijah], peace be upon both of them, who reached the spring of the water of life, have appeared as your augury. Now this indicates you have been thinking a great deal about your future life or someone absent, or about something you greatly desire. You must not reconsider your intention nor turn away from it, because any disturbance in your horoscope is gone, and your horoscope has turned towards tranquility, and the door to triumph and victory are open to you. From this time on, with each new day, your circumstances will be improving, and the exalted God will open the door to triumph and victory for you. It appears in your augury that something will arrive in your purse from an unknown place, so much so that your purse will fill up and a group of people will need you. It also appears that immense benefits will come to you from a grandee. It is possible that you, who are stuck in a situation or desire someone, ask yourself, how will this matter end or what will happen? You must not let any suspicion enter your mind, because in this intention you will attain whatever you desire. If you have inquired about nuptials and matrimony, it is auspicious. Traveling is good; somebody absent will return safely with endless joy. Your profession and work are strong. From the intention you have made, on Wednesday, when four hours have elapsed from the [beginning of the] day, your circumstances will strengthen. In three weeks or in four months, you will certainly attain what you desire. However, you must never tell the secret of your heart to anybody, and you must know friend from foe. Especially, do not trust anyone who has a ruddy (*surkh*) or sallow (*zard*) complexion, whose face is neither red nor yellow and who has a mark on the head or on the chest. Always observe ritual purity to attain your desire.



25a



24b

[Folio 24b—Turban and the Crown]

And verily, thy Lord is He, the Exalted in Might, most Merciful (Koran 26:9).

I am the one who is the slave of the exalted-dignity king.

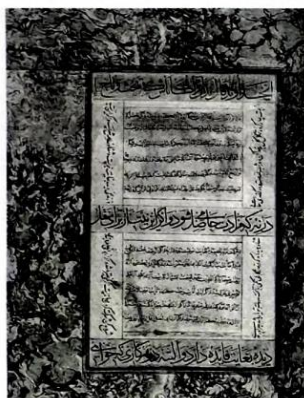
From the first day, I am [his] sincere well-wisher.

If I do not have a place at [his] noble court,

That I am truly the slave of the court is enough.

[Folio 25a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the imperial throne and crown have appeared as your augury. By all means, do not turn away from your intention and have no reconsideration [about it] because your desires will be attained, and the exalted God will open to you the door of felicity, happiness, prosperity, and tranquility. You will certainly receive a profit from a grandee who has dignity, high rank, and an army. So much so that many people will envy your fortune, and your relatives will receive full advantage. It [the augury] indicates that for a time now, the augury seeker has a wish in his/her heart, and it appears that s/he cannot abandon the desire. Proceed because you will attain your wish. If your intention is to travel, it is extremely good, and you should go; if it is for nuptials and marriage, it is extremely auspicious; if it is to travel, go, because you will make a good profit, and it also appears that much booty will come your way on this journey. Something will also come to you from "men of the pen" [scholars]. If you have inquired about somebody absent, that person is safe, but it may be that s/he will be absent for a few more days. If you have inquired about something stolen or lost, you will learn about it within eleven days. Your profession and work, and your buying and selling are extremely profitable; certainly, start any business you wish. Forming a partnership is middling; it will be better if you do not do it. If you have inquired about a pregnant woman, a captive, or a prisoner, they [prognostications] are extremely good, and they will be cured or liberated [respectively]. If you have inquired about somebody who is ill, entrust yourself to God completely and give alms on Friday eve, so that the exalted God will grant recovery. You must not neglect your prayers, so that fortune and happiness become your friends, and you can attain your desires.



26a



25b

[Folio 25b—Salih and the She-Camel]

Behold, their brother Salih said to them: "Will you not fear God?" (Koran 26:142).

Camel-loads of grief are in the chamber of my body,

[But] I shall not behave cowardly like a camel,

because what is this grief in comparison to my chamber?

An Arab camel-rider is the treasure of the house of Ka'ba,

Because the room cleaner for the owner of his camel is Uvays-i Qaran.

[Folio 26a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the she-camel of the Prophet Salih, peace be upon him, has appeared as your augury. Salih prayed and a she-camel appeared from stone. This augury is extremely good; go and do not be disappointed, because you have chosen a beautiful image and made an agreeable thought. You will advance in everything you considered, and you are liberated from grief and affliction; now the time of comfort has arrived. It appears that recently you avoided a great danger; now be aware of yourself, because you have an enemy who wants to throw you out of your business. You must keep with you the greatest name and a charm to bind [evil] tongues in order to be safe from the enemy's wickedness. Abd-Allah [b.] Abbas says that you will develop a connection or a relationship with a benefactor or a commander, and you will receive much power from him, so that everyone will envy you, and a group of those who love you will benefit from you. You will get immense strength from a place you never hoped or expected, and a fortunate child will be your lot. It also appears that your heart desires [something or someone]. Take the grief away from your heart and be happy, because you will attain your wish, achieve your goal, and after that, splendor will fill your circumstances. If you are thinking of traveling, go, because it will be auspicious. On this journey, you will find something that you lost several days ago, and you will be glad and will attain your desire, if the exalted God wishes. Stay away from forming a partnership; if not, you will be in trouble. If you have somebody ill, s/he will be cured within ten days. If you have somebody absent . . . [text ends].



27a



26b

[Folio 26b—Muhammad at the River Kausar]

To thee have we granted the Fount [of Abundance]. Therefore to the Lord turn in prayer and sacrifice. For he who hateth thee—he will be cut off [from future hope] (Koran 108:1-3).

If I wash my mouth at the Kawthar spring [in paradise] for one hundred years,

Where is that freshness for me to pronounce the name Haydar?

Ali is my mihrab, my imam, and my qibla.

God forbid that I go and search for another imam!

[Folio 27a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the spring of Kawthar, which is the abode of Muhammad, the messenger of God, may God bless and salute him, has appeared as your augury. Endeavor with resolution, sincerity, and fidelity in this important intention, because this augury tells about your tranquility of mind, clarity of conscience, comfort of body, and ease of heart. The sooner you proceed with this intention, the better it is for you, because your ascendant is strong, and you will attain your desire. It appears that you have lost respect among a group of people, and because you feel helpless [in the situation], you feel trapped. You toil and labor every day, and everything you earn is wasted worrying about them. You desire to be freed by any means from their grip. Here is good news for you from the invisible world: very soon, the heavens will draw a design on the water and obliterate it; this will be the reason of your salvation, and you will be liberated from all grievances. You have travel in your horoscope, and this is sea travel. Certainly go, and you shall receive endless fortune, wealth, and riches so that people will envy you, and you will find comfort in your fortune. However, there will be no profit for you from relatives and friends, but if you proceed bravely in this intention, all your wishes will come true, and you shall obtain an immense fortune. You will receive a robe of honor and riches from grandees; you will govern a group of people and will profit from your profession and trade. If you intend to marry or form a partnership, do so, because this will go according to your heart's desire, and you will achieve your goal. Say, "If the exalted God wishes."



28a



27b

[Folio 27b—Jonah and the Whale]

He would certainly have remained inside the Fish until the Day of Resurrection (Koran 37:144).

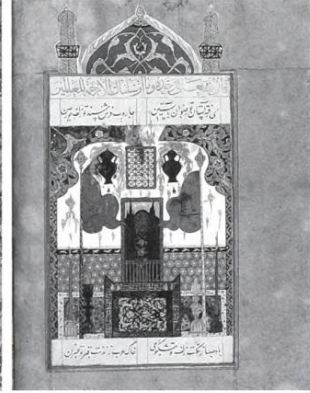
*By the decree of the eternal judge, the prophet Yunus
Was inside the belly of the fish for forty days, and his eyes became wet.
In the end, the grace of God became his guide,
And through this prayer he came out [of the fish],
like the Sun comes out of Pisces [on New Year's Day].*

[Folio 28a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the prophet Yunus [Jonah], peace be upon him, has come up as your augury—the one who came out of the belly of the fish with great difficulty by the decree of God. It indicates attainment of desires and goals from a place that you did not consider. The star of your ascendant has come out of the depth, and you were liberated from grief because all your circumstances will be according to your desire. Immense mercy and blessing will turn to face you, and you will receive riches and a robe of honor from a grandee, will govern a group of people, and will profit from your profession and trade. Legitimate fortune will come to you from some place, and you will become rich, on the condition that you behave bravely in this intention and show no uncertainty. Even if it is difficult in the beginning, it will be pleasant in the end, and its pleasure is larger than its difficulty. Since the pleasure is larger than the difficulty, proceed and entrust yourself to God, and what you desire will certainly be attained. There will be good news from the one who is absent, and your beloved will fulfill your wishes. The prophet Daniel says if you intend to travel east, go, because your wish will be attained after forty days. If your intention is a relationship, marriage, or partnership, do it, because the circumstances will conform to your heart's will. "After forty days" is because the prophet Yunus, peace be upon him, stayed for forty days in the belly of the fish and safely left the belly of the fish after forty days without harm. Now, O augury user, even though the intention you are stepping toward is difficult in the beginning, there is pleasure in the end. However, you must not neglect your prayers so that you may achieve your desire. Say, "If the exalted God wishes."



29a



28b

[Folio 28b—Tomb of Muhammad]

We sent thee not, but as a mercy for all creatures (Koran 21:107).

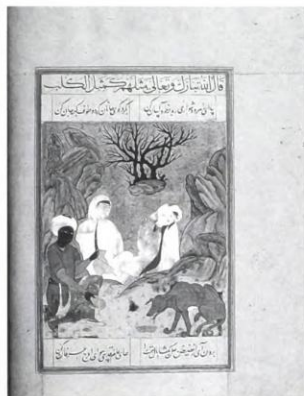
*O, sweeping your blessed threshold with a sleeve,
Curling locks of black-eyed huris sweep the carpet of your throne.
The morning breeze is musk-scented from the scent of your curls,
The dust of Arabia became amber-colored from the delight of [having] your tomb.*

[Folio 29a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the purest tomb and the most fragrant structure of the facade of the portico of the beings and the full moon on the sky of the creatures, the intercessor at the Day of Judgment, the lord of lords, the source of happiness, Abu l-Qasim Muhammad, the messenger of God, may God bless and salute him and his family, has appeared as your augury. Now, may happy news be for you, because this intention indicates favorable circumstances, accomplishment of needs, and occurrence of felicity, happiness, and prosperity. Keep your heart cheerful, because your ascendant has escaped from malice and entered tranquility. The door of daily bread and food is opened for you. There is good news for you, because through the power of Muhammad and his family, you have attained your aims. If you have inquired about somebody absent, s/he is safe and will come within one month, or news about her/him will reach you. There is a possibility that s/he received something from a grandee. If you yourself intend to travel, go, because it is auspicious, and in this travel you will certainly attain your aims. If you made this inquiry about marriage and partnership, marriage is good, but do not form a partnership because it is evil, and you will regret it in the end. If you are inquiring about your profession and important matters at court, [the prognostication] is not good. If your inquiry is about something stolen or lost, you will soon reclaim it. If you have inquired about someone ill, s/he will be cured in ten days. You must not turn away from this intention, because you will achieve your goal, utmost splendor will be revealed in your circumstances, the lantern of your [success] will be lit, the exalted God will open the door of felicity for you, and you will attain the desire of your heart. Say, "If the exalted God, the only and the almighty, wishes."



30a



29b

[Folio 29b—The Desert of Majnun]

His similitude is that of a dog[, if you attack him, he lolls out his tongue, or if you leave him alone, he (still) lolls out his tongue] (Koran 7:176).

Come, O traveler, make the difficulty of the journey easy for you.

Go to the quarter of the beloved ones and make the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba of your life,

Come out of the perigee of ignorance and spread the wings of resolution, Make the phoenix of the divine world fly to the apogee of learning.

[Folio 30a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the desert of Majnun has appeared as your augury. Turn away from the intention you have made and choose another matter, because there is nothing in your intention but difficulty, distress, and torment. It appears that you have hostility with your relatives. Guard yourself from them, and do not be without the greatest name [of God as an amulet] so that the knot of your circumstance unties. Abd-Allah [b.] Abbas says, "O augury user! It appears that your ascendant is weak. You must turn away from this intention, and if you cannot turn away from it, wait for some days and do not hurry, because your circumstances are trapped by time." It also appears that you show much hypocrisy and pursue corrupt thoughts in an affair. Now is not the moment for that; besides, you are afraid of your enemies and are subject to reproach. You must hold your tongue to be safe from the plots of your enemies. If you intend to travel, do not go, because you will suffer loss. If you intend to marry, do not do it, because you will regret it. If you have inquired about somebody absent, s/he has undergone endless difficulties and will return late. If it is about someone who is ill, her/his illness will last long; you must put the armlet of the commander of the pious of this world onto her/his arm so that s/he will be cured by the reverence of the king of heroes. And you, too, if you want to have the obstacles [bastigi] removed from your situation, behave courageously in revering members of the Prophet's house; leave behind evil actions, do not neglect your prayers, desire the king of heroes, be merciful, and light a lantern at a noble tomb so that the obstacles are removed and you achieve your desires, if the exalted God, the only and the almighty, wishes.



31a



30b

[Folio 30b—Angel of Death Descends on Shaddad ibn Ad]

Of the [city of] Iram, with lofty pillars, the likes of which were not produced in [all] the land? (Koran 89:7-8)

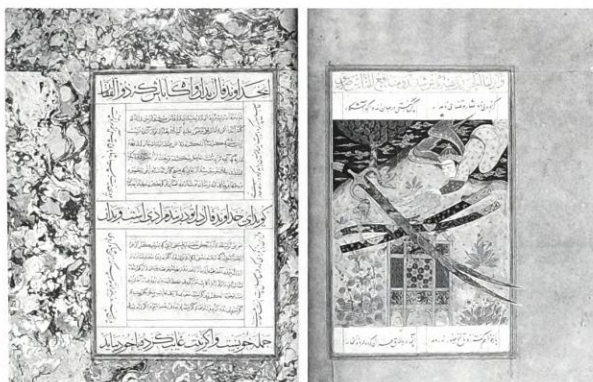
O heart! If you wish to join the companion,

Pass by everything that exists and break up with everyone who is available on the path of love.

Stop looking at yourself so that you see the face of the companion, Because self-love in the middle is an obstacle, like a curtain.

[Folio 31a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the intention you have is not felicitous, because the garden of Shaddad, curse be upon him, has appeared as your augury. Be careful of the wish you have made; turn away from it, and do not try for it, because any matter you pursue is immature. Do not search for anything that is not advantageous; you must choose another desire so that splendor may reveal in your circumstances. It appears that you have suffered much distress because of an unworthy situation and that you have been responsible for many ignorant acts and have strayed from your work. Go, stay away from illegal morsels, cleanse your heart from hatred, be sincere, and make your intention with the right people so that you may achieve your desire. Furthermore, you have an evil companion who wants to involve you in trouble. You must be aware of his plots and frauds, because the devil is an evil companion for humans. It also appears that you have undergone difficulties in recent days, or you have lost something and are bewildered. You must be patient during [times of] trouble and calamity so that, at the end of the day, you can achieve your desire. You must repent evil deeds, not abandon prayers, and you must keep with you the names of God [as an amulet] so that you may be safe from the plots of the devil. If you intend to travel, to marry, to establish a relationship, or to form a partnership, do not do so, and choose patience. If you have someone ill, you must perform two prayers on Friday eve and give alms for her/him on Friday morning, so that s/he is cured. If you are going to visit a grandee or a friend, do not go, because this will bring you loss. It appears that you have taken a vow in your heart but have not kept it. Try to keep it, so that you achieve your desire. Say, "If the exalted God, the only and the almighty, wishes."



32a

32b

[Folio 32b—Zulfiqar]

[We sent aforetime our apostles with clear signs and sent down with the Book and the Balance (or right and wrong), that men may stand forth in justice:] and we sent down Iron, in which is [material for] mighty war, as well as many benefits for Mankind[; that God may test who it is that will help, unseen, Him and His apostles: for God is full of strength, exalted in might (and able to enforce His will)] (Koran 57:25).

*If there was no zulfiqar of the noble chosen [Ali],
No one in the world would have said, "God is greatest" in public.
I shall say again about him, "When he strikes the cutting blow [with his sword].
The same will happen as what he did to Tuq of Harran and to Umar zu'al-khumar.*

[Folio 32a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the sword [zulfiqar] of the King of Heroes, the Lion of God, the brave in combat, the illuminator of the earth and time, the one who spreads safety and security—Ali the Chosen, peace be upon him—has appeared as your augury. Do not turn away from the intention you have made; roll up the sleeves of your resolution, soar in your spirit, and proceed with your intention, because your desire will be attained and your sword will be sharp and blade-singing. You will receive support from a place you have never imagined and will attain the desire of the two worlds. Your friends will be cheerful, and your enemies will become blind [with envy]. Abd-Allah [b.] Abbas says, "O augury user! Your heart is trapped by a desire, and you will achieve it." You will receive a robe of honor and riches from a grandee, and very many people will obtain pleasure from you, because you will be liberated from grief. Your circumstances were dead; now they have come to life. Your star came out of difficulty, and after this your circumstances will improve each day. You will receive a sign about something that was lost; you will become delighted about your child or about someone absent. Your circumstances will ascend soon, and you will enjoy your wish. If you have intent to travel in the direction of the qibla, it is auspicious, and if you go, you will soon achieve the desire of your heart. If you have intent to buy and sell, or enter into a relationship, or have a child—all this is good. If you have inquired about someone absent, s/he will arrive in a few days, or you will receive news about her/him and will be happy about it. There is much joy in this intention, and what you desire will be attained and possible through the care of the commander of the faithful. You must behave courageously and must not turn away from this [intention], because your desire has been attained, if the exalted God wishes.



33a

32b

[Folio 32b—Zakariya in a Tree]

Kaf. Ha. Ya. Ain. Sad. [This is] a recital of the mercy of thy Lord to His servant Zakariya (Koran 19:1-2).

*One hand was acquainted with the sleeve of power,
Which was separate from the robe of worldly prosperity.
Where there is carelessness, all delights are easy.
Where there is love of God, one trouble adds to another.*

[Folio 33a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the prophet Zakariya [Zachariah], peace be upon him, whom the infidels cut in two halves when he was inside the tree, has appeared as your augury. It indicates that you are distressed, because there is a weakness in your ascendant. You must turn away from this intention, and if [you can] not, be patient for some days and do not hurry, because "patience is the key to joy," and your circumstances are trapped by time. Abd-Allah [b.] Abbas says, "O augury user! Be sincere with the exalted God, and do not tell lies." Stand aside from evil people, and keep with you the greatest name [of God as amulet] so that you do not fall into trouble, because you have many enemies. Consult with the knowledgeable, put a lantern at a shrine, give alms to the poor, and do not neglect your prayers, so that the knot of your circumstances unties. Know that the prophets were patient when in trouble, and you, too, do not hurry in the intention you have made, so that, through patience, your circumstances become as you desire. If you can, turn away from this intention and choose another matter, because there is no good in this augury. If you cannot [turn away from it], wait for another thirty days so that you do not fall into trouble. It appears that in recent days you have developed _____ or will become hostile toward someone. Protect yourself from her/his plots and keep with you an amulet, so that you are safe from the wickedness of the enemy. If you have intention to travel, do not go, because you will suffer loss. Anything that was lost will not come back to you. If you have inquired about someone absent, s/he is not free from distress and will return late. Marriage and forming a partnership are extremely inauspicious; it is much worthier if you turn away from them. Do not neglect charitable acts so that you achieve your desires.



34a



33b

[Folio 33b—Imam Ali Splits Jabala in Half]

[But when the forbidden [months] are past,] then fight and slay the pagans wherever ye find them, and seize them, beleaguer them [, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war); but if they repent and establish regular prayers and practice regular charity, then open the way for them, for God is oft-forgiving, most merciful] (Koran 9:5).

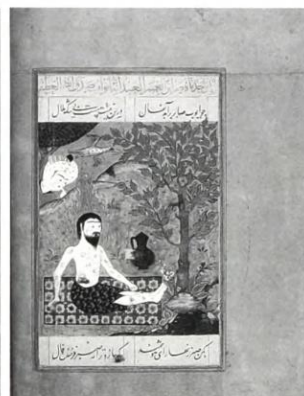
*O heart! Listen, because the voice of Ali is beautiful.
Each heart and soul that is devoted to Ali is beautiful.
Any heart that does not have love for him is not beautiful.
The heart of my soul is delightful by the love of Ali.*

[Folio 34a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the King of Heroes, the Lion of God, and the first in fighting with sword in battle, the commander of the faithful, Ali b. Abi Talib, peace be upon him, who, at the age of eleven, stroke the sword on the head of Jabala in the manifest way, has appeared as your augury. Proceed with this intention and do not give up hope, because you have vanquished your enemy, and the lead of your goal has fallen into your grasp. Without relying on others, you will advance an important matter, and the obstacle in your circumstances will be removed. However, it appears that your purse is empty, and everything that you earn is spent quickly. Do not let grief find its way to you, because in a few days peace will reach you, and your purse will fill up. You shall receive many benefits from a grandee who is the descendant of the Prophet. So much so that you friends will be delighted, and your foes will become blind [with envy]. However, you make friends with good and evil people, and you must know friend from foe and must not keep company [with evil people]. Be cautious of blue-eyed people, because they are ill-fated, and if you show loyalty to any of them, you will see nothing but cruelty. If you are thinking of marriage, or forming a partnership, or traveling, embark on the trip, because your business will be at its most successful on this journey. However, stay far away from marriage and partnership, because you will achieve your desires from the hidden world by the power of Haydar [Ali]. If you have someone absent who is traveling, s/he will return soon and with immense wealth. You will become delighted about something that was lost; you will find something precious and will be very happy. If you are going to visit someone to ask for a necessity, go on Saturday, so that you achieve your desire. You must keep with you the armet of the commander of the faithful, so that you are protected from the wickedness of the enemy. Say, "If God wishes."



35a



34b

[Folio 34b—Job Scratches Himself with Stones and Wood]

["And take in thy hand a little grass, and strike therewith: and break not (thy oath)."] Truly we found him full of patience and constancy. How excellent in our service! Ever did he turn [to us]! (Koran 38:44).

*If the patient Ayyub has appeared as the augury,
Undoubtedly, there is affliction in this intention of yours.
Be patient in the loss, O prudent [one],
Because patience will make your augury auspicious.*

[Folio 35a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the prophet Ayyub [Job], peace be upon him, who had been weeping in misery for seven years and then found relief, has appeared as your augury. This augury is middling, neither good nor bad. However, do not be contemplative; remove sorrow and grief from your heart, and do not tell the secret of your heart to anyone. Very soon, a situation will occur that will support your intention, and you will achieve your goal. Even if it is a little difficult [now], it will ease at the end. It also appears that you are suffering from accidental grief and affliction; you are distressed and have suffered some harm, and because of all this, you are filled with despair and regret. Do not trust the friendship and animosity of people. Do not tell your secrets to everyone, for revealing the secrets of your heart to everyone does not suit you, because your enemy will become [strong] and thereafter will engage in slandering you, since you do not have any companion in your fate. If you do not do so, you will always suffer damage. It also appears that you are in the middle of a business negotiation with someone, which can be of two kinds: either love or you wish to get hold of some gold. Be patient in thinking about this, so you can achieve your desire in a timely manner. If you have intention to travel, or if you [have inquired] about somebody absent and something lost, or about marriage and forming a partnership, or about grandees, justice, and commerce, wait for about twenty days, so that your needs are fulfilled through patience. Ayyub was patient during seven years of trouble, and after that he achieved his desires; he did not lament when he was in trouble and thanked [God]. By all means, do not neglect prayers, so that you achieve your desire, if God, the only and the almighty, wishes.



36a



35b

[Folio 35b—The Ka'ba]

[In it are signs manifest; (for example), the station of Abraham;] whoever enters it attains security; pilgrimage thereto is a duty men owe to God [—those who can afford the journey; but if any deny faith, God stands not in need of any of His creatures] (Koran 3:97).

Ka'ba came up as your augury, O king of kings.

By the grace of God, you will obtain power.

Your business will be right at its best,

You will obtain authority from a mighty lord.

The commander of the faithful and [Imam] Ja'far [al-Sadiq] said,

Go and behave courageously in your matters.

[This augury indicates] seeing your hidden desires,

Pleasant travels, and arrival of those who are absent.

[Folio 36a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the intention you have made is extremely auspicious, because the sacred Ka'ba has appeared as your augury. Proceed to the valley of this consideration, because your thought speaks of ease of mind. Go, and do not leave this quest, because everything you have on your mind will be realized, and the ball of your desire will come to the hook of your polo stick. It also appears that the reason of your intention is that you wish to move to a position of leadership; authority will come to you. Because of your power, you seek respect. Do not be saddened, because you will show external and internal purity, and your lantern will be lit from the splendor of the divine light. Besides that, you will be fortunate in transactions and in buying and selling. It appears that you have developed an affection and love for a beauty. Banish this love from your thoughts, so that you will not be harmed. Do not be careless of the plots of the enemy; write down the legend of the seal of his majesty, the prophet Sulayman [Solomon] and keep it with you to be safe. It also appears that within a few days you will move locations. Hurry, because it will be good for you, and you will obtain many worldly goods, so that everyone will envy you. If you have someone absent on travel or are searching for something lost, the traveler will return shortly, you will receive the lost object, and you will be happy and delighted. Say, "If the exalted God wishes."³



37a



36b

[Folio 36b—Joseph in the Pit]

Verily in Joseph and his brethren are signs [or symbols] for seekers [after truth] (Koran 12:7).

The prison of Yusuf has appeared as your augury.

Look at what has happened in the life of Yusuf:

At first, he underwent vehement reproaches,

But in the end, fortune showed him companionship.

[Folio 37a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the prophet Yusuf [Joseph], peace be upon him, who is bound in the well, has appeared as your augury. If you wait and do not waver, it will be better for you. If you hurry, your circumstances will become entangled. Also, you must know friend from foe and must not tell your secrets to anyone, because you have enemies behind you who want to get hold of your business and cause you distress. You must not ignore them. It appears that recently you had a difficulty, but it has passed. Give alms with gratitude and light a lantern at a shrine, so that your circumstances become fortuitous. However, you quickly showed your hasty temper and soon regretted it. You must learn [to have a] calm temper and show love, friendship, and compassion, so that you are pleasant to everyone. Be careful about yourself. If you have intention to travel, wait for some days. If you are planning to form a partnership or to marry, do not do it [now] and postpone it, because if you do it, you will regret it. If you have someone who is ill, give alms so that s/he is cured soon. You will repossess, in the end, something that you lost. If you are going to visit a grandee with a request, go on Monday and stay on his right, so that your request is approved. You must behave courageously in this intention, because if it is difficult in the beginning, [it] will be agreeable in the end, and its pleasure greater than its difficulty. Entrust yourself to God and step out, because in the end you will achieve your desire, if the exalted God wishes.



38a



37b

[Folio 37b—The Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey (miraj)]

[Then he approached and came closer] And was at a distance of but two bow-lengths or nearer (Koran 53:9).

Salute to the king on the throne of the kingdom of the Chosen [Muhammad].
That is, salute to the Chosen and beloved by God.
To the lord whose crown is but for you.
Salute to the one who reigns over the eternal kingdom.

[Folio 38a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the ascension of the lord of all beings and the pride of the worlds, Muhammad, the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, has appeared as your augury. The phoenix of fortune spreads its wings over your head; happiness turned its face to you; adversity and darkness have vanished from your fate; and after that, brightness and splendor is manifested in your circumstances. Clean up the mirror of your heart from darkness, because through the favor of the exalted God, you will attain your desire. It appears that in the past year you possessed some worldly goods that you lost, and now your purse is empty. However, do not grieve, because you will receive a great deal of wealth and legal riches, so that grief will disappear from your mind, and you will succeed in any matter you will face. You will have to travel. Undertake it, because it is auspicious and peaceful. If you intend to marry, establish a relationship, or form a partnership, do it, because it is fortuitous. However, be aware of a tall man with a sallow complexion and blue eyes, and keep with you [an amulet with] the name of the exalted God and the legend of the seal of prophecy of his majesty, the messenger, so that you are liberated from the wickedness of the enemy. It appears, O augury user, that you are unfortunate and see cruelty from everyone to whom you show loyalty. On Thursday, you must pour wild rue in the fire and perfume your house to protect yourself from the evil eye. Also, you will gain little from relatives and will be in want of daily food. If you are thinking of making a loan, do not do it, because it will be repaid late. If you have somebody who is absent in travel, s/he will return in twenty days; and within ten days you will find what you have lost. You will benefit from the ruler, but you must not neglect in prayers to achieve your desire. Say, "If God, the only and the almighty, wishes."



39a



38b

[Folio 38b—Dragon and Treasure]

The person who has an auspicious fate as a companion
Has the key to the treasure of happiness in the pocket.
Roll up the sleeves of tranquility and be ready,
Because the cruel time has the stone of discord in the pocket.

[Folio 39a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that your heart will be happy, and you will, in the end, achieve your desire and the goal of your intention; even if it is somewhat difficult [now], it will turn fortuitous in the end. If you act decisively and quickly in this intention, you will achieve your desire. The exalted God, may his grandeur be great and his bounty universal, will grant you immense fortune, and you will gain confidence from a place you never hoped for, and a happy child will be your fortune. It also appears that your heart is trapped by a desire, and it has been a while that you have pursued this desire. Banish grief from your heart and be happy, because at the end of the day, you will achieve your desire and your goal. If you act decisively and quickly in this intention and do not let any fear find its way to you, all your circumstances ultimately will correspond to your desire, and after that, splendor will appear in your life. If you have intended to form a partnership, by all means do not do this, because partnership does not suit you. If you intend to travel, go, because even if it is difficult [in the beginning], it will be pleasant in the end. If you have intended to marry or establish a relationship, do not do it, because it is evil and ultimately you will regret it. You must, O augury user, consult with prudent and knowledgeable people about this and must not tell the secret of your heart to anyone, because you have many enemies who plan to take your life. Beware of the plots of a corpulent woman who has a mole on her face. Protect yourself from her, and keep with you the seal of prophecy of his majesty, the messenger, so that you are safe from her plots and frauds. Say, "If God, the only and the almighty, wishes."



40a



39b

[Folio 39b—Moses Challenges the Pharaoh's Sorcerers]

Then Moses threw his rod, when, behold, it straightway swallows up all the falsehoods that they fake! (Koran 26:45).

As a treachery to the interlocutor of God [Musa], the people of the Pharaoh Magically released hundreds of thousands of dragons.
When Musa threw his staff to repel this affliction,
Through praying, [the staff] became a dragon and devoured all [other dragons].

[Folio 40a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that your augury is very auspicious and gives you news about happiness, victory, and triumph. Your enemy will be subordinate to you, and your friend will be happy. Like the prophet Musa [Moses], peace be upon him—who threw his staff, and his staff became a dragon and swallowed his enemies, and Musa gained victory over his enemies—you also will gain victory over your enemy, on the condition that you do not neglect prayers and know friend from foe. Then the exalted God will certainly grant you such affluence and wealth that a group of people will gain satisfaction from you. However, while some people are superficially befriending you, they oppose you and deceitfully eat your bread and salt. You must be aware of them so that they do not plot against you. However, since you are determined [to be] on the path of Muhammad and Ali, nobody can scheme against you, and you will not experience grief or suffering. Those circumstances that were dead for you will come alive, and there will be no distress for you thereafter, because the exalted God opened the closed doors for you, removed the obstacles, and after this you will get better every day. If you have intention to travel, wait for several days and then step out. If you have someone absent, you will receive news from him/her within ten days and will be happy about it. If you have someone ill, on Friday eve you must light a lantern invoking the Chosen [Muhammad] at a sacred shrine and beseech the beggars to pray for that person by reading the first sura of the Koran, so that the sick person is cured soon, and you are liberated from the debt. However, you must not be negligent in charity so that you reach your desire, if the exalted God wishes.



41a



40b

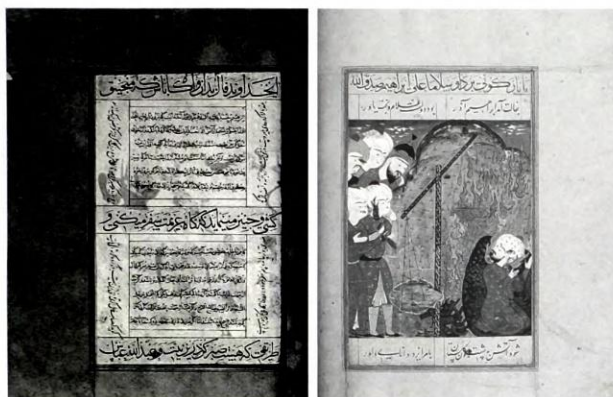
[Folio 40b—Imam Husayn and the Miracle of Water]

Out of them come pearls and coral (Koran 55:22).

Since the martyred king of Karbala came out as your augury,
Your circumstances became how your heart wishes.
If you had grief and sorrow in your heart,
Be delightful because your circumstances became as your heart wishes.

[Folio 41a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the desert of Karbala and the oppressed Imam Husayn, peace be upon him, who miraculously revealed water [there], has appeared as your augury. O augury user, act courageously in this intention, because the star of your ascendant came out of disadvantage. You will advance in every important matter that you face. Know that a group of people is conspiring against you, and you are unaware of them. You must look at the actions of your friends and foes with prudence, and be aware of the plots of your relatives, so that you can achieve your desire and goal and attain the object of your heart. Do not put yourself in hardship, because through eloquence you can drive the polo ball through the playing field. It also appears that in recent days you had some business with an ignorant person. You must quit the company of the ignoble so that you do not experience grief. You must not let sorrow find its way to you, because by the power of the innocent, the oppressed Imam Husayn, peace be upon him, every day and every hour your circumstances will grow increasingly splendid. If you have lost anything, it will return and you will be happy. If someone is absent, s/he will return with much money and great affluence. If you have intention to travel, do not go, because you will greatly regret it. If you intend to marry or form a partnership, do not do it, because it is not good, and you will not attain anything except regret. If you are going to visit a grandee with a request, on Thursday you must put on clean clothes, make two cycles of prayer for the request, and then proceed. Stay at the right side of that person, read the invocation prayer [nad] of Ali five times, and blow at yourself, so that you attain your desire soon. You must be cautious about the sorcery of your enemies, and keep with you the names of God to be safe from their wickedness.



42a

41b

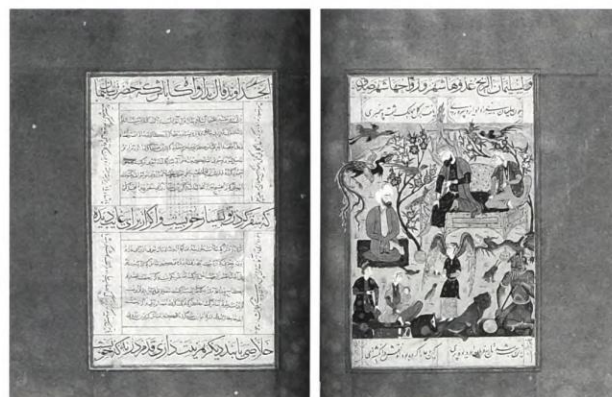
[Folio 41b—Abraham's (Ibrahim's) Trial by Fire]

We said, "O Fire! Be thou cool, and [a means of] safety for Ibrahim!" (Koran 21:69).

*Ibrahim, the son of Azar, has appeared as your augury.
Good fortune will be your slave and prosperity your assistant.
The fire behind you will become a rose garden
By the order of all-knowing God, the Supreme Judge.*

[Folio 42a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the catapult of the prophet Ibrahim [Abraham], peace be upon him, whom the people of King Nimrod, curse be upon him, violently threw into fire, has appeared as your augury. Turn away from the intention you have made and abandon the work [you have started], because it indicates difficulty and distress. Even if the beginning of this intention is distressful and its end is fortuitous, its sorrow is greater than its pleasure. You must not tell the secret of your heart to anyone so that you stay well. Everyone to whom you tell the secret of your heart will play sleight of hand in your momentous business, and you will become confused and will suffer distress. It appears that sometimes you intend to travel, but then you cancel it. The reason is that you are distressed and do not know what to do, because you regret whatever you did. You must not hurry; show patience, repent of evil deeds, and stay away from the forbidden, so that the exalted God becomes your protector. If you have inquired about someone absent or something lost, you must wait and must not hurry, because "hurry is from the devil, and patience is the key to joy." If you have intended to marry or to form a partnership, do not do it, because it will be inauspicious and will not bring any profit. If you have someone ill, give alms so that s/he is cured. By any way possible, wait in this intention. Abd-Allah [b.] Abbas says, "O augury user! Turn away from this intention if you can, and if you cannot, wait for another twenty-five days and start at that time." Be sure to stay aware of the plots of a slim, tall person who has a wound on his/her face or on his/her back, so that s/he does not harm you. Keep with you the greatest name, and do not be negligent in prayers so that you can achieve your desire.



43a

42b

[Folio 42b—Solomon and Bilqis]

And to Sulayman [we made] the wind [obedient]: its early morning [stride] was a month's [journey], and its evening [stride] was a month's [journey], and we made a font of molten brass to flow for him; and there were *jinn*s that worked in front of him, by the leave of his Lord, and if any of them turned aside from our command, we made them taste of the penalty of the blazing fire" (Koran 34:12).

*When God granted sovereignty to the prophet Sulayman,
He obtained magnificence and prophecy over all countries.
Demons and fairies became subordinate to him because of the reason
That he had engraved this prayer on his seal:
"O Abu Turab! O Ali! O Abu'l-Hasan!"*

[Folio 43a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that his majesty, the prophet Sulayman [Solomon], son of Davud [David], peace be upon both of them, has appeared as your augury. It indicates peace of mind, delight, legal fortune, and much profit from grantees, lords, judges, and theologians. Abd-Allah [b.] Abbas says, "It appears that you will soon attain your desire in the intention you have made." Some money will come into your wallet, so that you will become happy, and your wallet will become full. The exalted God, may his grandeur be great, will open a door to the invisible world for you, which will lead to a place you know nothing about. If you have inquired about travel, hurry, because your journey will be felicitous. If you have inquired about someone absent, here is good news for you, because s/he will return safely to you, and you will be delighted about [seeing] her/him. If you have inquired about something stolen or lost, do not be upset, because it will return to you but through patience. Change of location and moving house is extremely good. If you have inquired about nuptials and marriage, proceed, because it is very auspicious. Your profession and work, your buying and selling will be profitable, but do not form a partnership, because you will suffer loss. If you have inquired about a pregnant woman, a captive, or a prisoner, do not be sorrowful, because they will be liberated shortly. Any other intention you may have, proceed, because it is auspicious. It appears that you will shortly obtain for certain some profit from a grandee who possesses dignity, rank, and an army, or from a monarch, or from a minister, so much so that hundreds of people will envy you. However, you must not neglect your prayers, and you must have with you the legend of the seal of the prophet Sulayman, so that you are safe from the calamities of demons and humans. Say, "If God, the only, wishes."



44a



43b

[Folio 43b—Worshippers at the Tomb of Imam Riza]

[There is no god but He: that is the witness of God, His angels, and those endued with knowledge, standing firm on justice.] There is no god but He, the exalted in power, the wise (Koran 3:18).

*From the splendor of the tomb of Riza,
The mirrors of the sun and the moon are polished every morning and evening.
From the carpet on the roof of the castle of Riza,
This golden brick in the azure edifice [the golden sun in the blue sky].*

[Folio 44a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the shining tomb of the stranger in the land of Khurasan, imam of the eastern and western worlds, the eminent ruler Abu l-Hasan Ali b. Musa al-Riza, peace be upon him, has appeared as your augury. Proceed with this intention, because the augury announces happy news. Be determined in your wish, make up your mind, and strive toward this important business with purpose, sincerity, and earnestness, because your circumstances will improve every day and every month. This is because darkness and adversity have left your fate, and you will certainly obtain your desire. Also, you wish to gain fame among some people and become known for your reputation. However, you are suspicious of someone who has an opposite lifestyle from you, and you cannot remedy this. Be free from sorrow, and do not pull the reins of thought away from this intention, for you will grasp the skirt of fortune because the sun of your prosperity has risen from the eastern horizon. However, you are anxious and extremely distressed in your life, and corrupt thoughts have kept you from your business. From time to time, evil thoughts come to you because of your enemies' sorcery and witchcraft. You must think about your business, and keep with you the armlet of the necessarily obeyed Imam Ali b. Musa b. Ja'far b. Muhammad-Baqir, peace be upon him, so that you are safe from the wickedness of those who envy you, of the hypocrites, and of the ill-fated. Act courageously in your intention, because your goals will be achieved according to your desires. The intentions to travel, marry, and form a partnership are extremely good. Somebody who is absent will return soon. Something stolen or lost will come back to you shortly. If you have inquired about someone ill, on Monday eve light a lantern as an offering to Imam Riza, peace be upon him, so that the sick person is cured, and your desire for the faith and the world is achieved. Say, "If God wishes."



45a



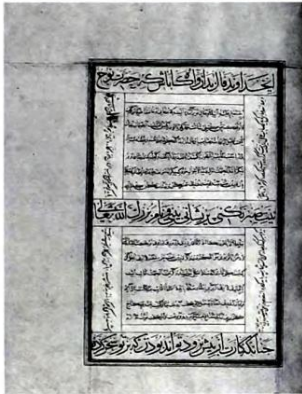
44b

[Folio 44b—Ali and Muhammad at Khaybar]

*When he [Ali] raised the ensign on the day of [the battle of] Khaybar,
He removed grief from the heart of the Chosen [Muhammad].
He was a hero in battle and a commander of the chancery.
One time he would take the sword, another time the pen.*

[Folio 45a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the lion of inspired knowledge, the heir to Harun's rank, the one dressed in the robe of honor [decorated with the inscription], "Those who are integral in vow and are afraid one day, their wickedness is public," commander of earth and time, the father of Husayn and Hasan, the commander of the faithful, Ali b. Abi Talib, peace be upon him—who, at the age of twenty-two, in the manifest way rooted out, with the help of God, the door weighing thirty-three thousand *mans* [unit of weight] from the tower of the castle of Khaybar—has appeared as your augury. Now, O augury user, proceed on your intention, because you have chosen a beautiful image and have made an agreeable thought. With the help and mercy of the Lion of God, you will succeed in everything you set your mind to, and your business will attain the highest success. You will obtain what you desire, because all your circumstances will conform to your desires, and you will receive great mercy and prosperity. You will obtain a robe of honor and wealth from a grandee and will preside over a group of people, but on condition that you act courageously in this intention. Even if you suffer some difficulty [in the beginning], do not be afraid, because in the end there will be great joy. If you have inquired about travel, hurry up and go, because you will receive a legal fortune and will become rich; most of your relatives will depend on you. If you have inquired about someone absent, this person will return in a few days in full serenity, and you will attain your goal with your beloved. If you have inquired about marriage and _____ relationship, do it, because it is auspicious, but you must stay away from forming a partnership. If you have someone ill, on Saturday, which is the day of victory of the king of holiness [Ali], give alms to the poor so that the sick person is cured. Within several days you will receive profit from a noble grandee, so that your goal will be attained.



46a



45b

[Folio 45b—Noah's Ark]

And Nuh said: "O my Lord! Leave not of the unbelievers, a single one on earth!" (Koran 71:26).

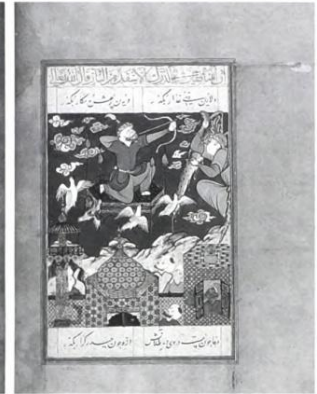
Because of the tyranny of idol-worshipping infidels, the prophet Nuh, Asked God for the flood and escaped from [their] abundance. In that whirlpool, his boat suddenly broke. As soon as he read the prayer, the flood ceased immediately.

[Folio 46a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that his majesty, the prophet Nuh [Noah], peace be upon him—after whose prayer the flood covered the whole world, but by the order of God he built a boat, and everyone who had boarded the boat with him was rescued from the flood—has appeared as your augury. For the augury user, this indicates disquiet and much grief and sadness. The reason for this can be somebody absent or suffering, something lost or stolen, a conversation with someone else with regard to worldly riches, and [concern about] your own circumstances and the future. By all means, do not desire this intention; wait for some days, and do not hurry. If you do not wait in this intention, you will regret it. Keep with you the great name of the exalted God, may his grandeur be great, so that he will open for you the door to riches and fortune, and your enemy cannot do any evil to you. If you have intention to travel, cancel it, because it has much hardship and, may this not happen, its damage can affect you. If you inquired about someone absent or someone ill, you must give alms for her/him, so that the one who is absent returns safely and the one who is ill is cured soon. Change of location and short journeys are auspicious. Nuptials and marriage appear to be cumbersome. Your profession and business, buying and selling, and forming a partnership are not strong, and [if you engage in them], your work will not progress. It can be that a spell has been placed on you or you have been to a place where spells were present and, therefore, your business is blocked. You must keep with you the legend of the seal of the master of the time, so that you are safe from the sorcery and wickedness of the devils. Abd-Allah [b.] Abbas says that the augury user should turn away from the intention s/he has made, and if s/he cannot, s/he should wait for forty days, because after that s/he will see immense pleasure. You must act courageously to have your goal achieved, if God wishes.



47a



46b

[Folio 46b—Kay Kavus and the Flying Machine]

The hypocrites will be in the lowest depths of the fire[: no helper wilt thou find for them] (Koran 4:145).

O heart! Abandon this treacherous world! Abandon this swindler full of dubious affairs. Since there is no fidelity in it, divorce it! Abandon it like the impetuous lion [Ali] did!

[Folio 47a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that Kay-Kavus, curse be upon him, has appeared as your augury. He bound four vultures to his throne; the vultures brought his throne to the heavens, and that impudent [one] shot an arrow at the heavens. And this Kay-Kavus is Nimrod [Nimrod], who pretended to be God and turned people away from God. No matter how much the prophet Ibrahim [Abraham], peace be upon him, guided him to God, he would not accept. Now, O augury user, beware and one hundred times beware, not to come back to the intention you have made and not to come near it, because this augury is extremely inauspicious. Do not approach it, choose patience, and do not waver. If not, you will fall into such trouble that there will be no escape, because there is no gain in this intention. Be careful to avoid hardship and distress. If you have inquired about travel, do not go, because it is extremely inauspicious, and there is no profit for you on this journey. If you have inquired about someone absent, at this moment do not desire this absent person; entrust yourself to God, and give alms for the absent person so that s/he returns safely. If you have inquired about nuptials and marriage, it is bad; abandon it, so that it may not cause you any harm nor affect you adversely. If you have inquired about something stolen or lost, abandon it, because it will not return to you. If you have inquired about profession and work, buying and selling, do not do it, because it is unfavorable. If you have inquired about forming a partnership, it will be a complete loss. If you have inquired about a pregnant woman, a captive, or a prisoner, give alms so that they are free from difficulties if you hope for their liberation. If you have inquired about someone who is ill, you must give alms on Friday eve, fulfill two cycles of prayers, and perform the vow you have made, so that the sick person is cured. If you have inquired about buying slaves or livestock, do not do it, because it is not auspicious. This augury is ill-fated for everything; you must abandon [your intention].



48a



47b

[Folio 47b—Dabbat al-arz (Beast of the earth)]

... Those that are rightly guided (Koran 19:76, 31:8, 41:8, 85:11, 98:7, 47:2).

*It is the time for the tumult to come to the world
From the drum of your magnificence, or master of the time.
When will anyone be safe from the wickedness of the devil's sedition,
Except by resorting to you for protection, O master of the time?*

[Folio 48a—Dabbat al-arz]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the Beast of the earth has appeared as your augury. This beast comes out from the earth close in time to the appearance of the "Master of the time" (*Sahib-i zaman*); and the height of its stature is [equivalent to the distance of] five hundred years of walking. Within one day, it traverses the entire world and advises the people of the world, "Be aware that the one-eyed impostor is coming out. Do not act according to his words!" Some theologians said that this beast is the commander of the pious of the world, the chosen Ali, peace be upon him. In the *Khutbat al-Bayan*, he says, "Now, O augury user, act courageously in this intention, because what you pursue in this intention will be attained, and the star of your ascendant has come out of disadvantage." Abd-Allah [b.] Abbas says, "Being unlawful does not suit the augury seeker, so that if one illegal dinar comes to her/him, much legal money will be lost." Another matter is that, in the end, the circumstances will turn auspicious; first of all, there will be profit from travel, the arrival of someone who was absent, attainment of desires from friends, and benefit from them. Know that the exalted God granted safety and security to you, and this coming year will be better for you than all other years, and you will always be at peace. This is because any misfortune that was in your fate has disappeared completely, and the door to victory and triumph has opened for you, so that soon you will attain your desire. You will obtain profit from a grandee, your wallet will fill, and your business will stabilize. If you have inquired about someone absent, s/he will come soon and you will be delighted. If you have inquired about nuptials and marriage, it is auspicious. Change of location and a short trip will be profitable, and something stolen or lost will return to you. [If you have inquired about] your profession and work, it is auspicious, but forming a partnership is ill-fated. If you proceed with another profession and work, the exalted God will open the door to victory and triumph for you, if God wishes.



49a



48b

[Folio 48b—Arrival of the Antichrist (Dajjal)]

[Said (the father): "My (dear) little son! Relate not thy vision to thy brothers, lest they concoct a plot against thee:] for Satan is to man an avowed enemy!" (Koran 12:5).

*Verily, the morning of the Day of Judgment comes, O son, be awake!
Until when will you be time-ignorant in drunkenness; be sober!
Leave the wicked, vile-nourishing time to the donkey-nature ones
And then, like Jesus, become companion with wandering stars [planets].*

[Folio 49a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the torturing and violent Dajjal, curse be upon him, together with the damned devil, curse be upon him, have appeared as your augury. Beware, and a hundred thousand times beware; turn away from your intention, because this is an extremely bad augury. Make another wish; if not, you will fall into trouble. It has been some time now that you have been distressed about your business and do not know how to improve it. Whatever you did, it did not work, and you are tired of your life. Go and look inside of your house; see if there is anything forbidden; throw it away and do not come near the forbidden item. If you earn one illegal *dirham*, you will lose ten legal *dirhams*, because you cannot make an illegal fortune. You have often wondered why there is no blessing in your life. You must keep the mirror of your heart clean for God's people and stay away from evil people. If you intend to travel, by all means do not go, because if you go, you and your belongings will be in danger. If you have inquired about someone absent, s/he is tired of her/his own life and will not return soon. If you have inquired about something lost, do not search for it, because you will not find it. If you have inquired about someone ill, this ailing person still has some time; after Friday eve, at the time of morning prayer, you must perform two cycles of prayers for her/him and send one-hundred-and-one blessings to the lord of the existence, so that the sick person is cured. If you have inquired about marriage and forming a partnership, do not do it, because you will remain in trouble and will suffer hardship. O augury user, by any means possible you must turn away from the intention you have made, and keep with you the greatest name to be protected from the wickedness of demons. You must not neglect your prayers, so that the exalted God keeps you safe and secure from the calamities of the end of the time, if the exalted God wishes.



50a



49b

[Folio 49b—Imam Mahdi's Abode]

[So if they believe as ye believe, they are indeed on the right path; but if they turn back, it is they who are in schism;] but God will suffice thee as against them, and He is the all-hearing, the all-knowing (Koran 2:137).

O God! Make our unhappy mind cheerful!

Make manifest the beauty of the supporter of the family of Muhammad!

O God! Protect the faithful people from the plot of time!

The hearts of the people in the world became unkind; make them compassionate!

[Folio 50a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that as your augury has appeared the residence of that imam, who is the call of the Prophet, the generosity of the lion [Ali], the virtues of Hasan, the courage of Husayn, the adoration of [Ali b. Husayn] al-Sajjad, the knowledge of [Muhammad] al-Baqir, the miracles of Ja'far [al-Sadiq], the epithets of [Musa] al-Kazim, the humanity of [Ali] al-Riza, the legal prescriptions of [Muhammad] al-Javad, the morals of [Ali al-Naqi] al-Hadi, and the reverence of [Hasan] al-Askari. He is the supporter of the truth, the one who calls to the light of the faith, the manifestation of religions, the lord of the humans and the demons, the proof of the God—Muhammad al-Mahdi, the master of the time, salutations of God be upon him. The beauty of the Mahdi has no place of proof, because the heavens become illuminated by the dust of his steps. It would be pleasant if there were a touchstone of proof, so that anyone who says falsehoods about him would turn black from shame. Here is good news for you, because peace, repose, felicity, happiness, and prosperity have come to you. Beware, one hundred times beware, that you do not turn away from the intention you have made, because you have auspicious thoughts, and fortune will face you. The star of your ascendant has come out of disadvantage and the essence of your goal will be attainable. However, do not neglect charity so that your desire is realized. Abd-Allah [b.] Abbas, may God have mercy on him, says, "If the augury user acts courageously in this intention and curses the enemies of the people of the house of the Chosen [Muhammad] and the Approved [Ali], he certainly will be honored through the beauty of the master of the time but on condition of good faith. He must not neglect prayers and must repent evil deeds." If you have inquired about traveling to the west, go, because your circumstances will reach the greatest success, and you will face peace. If you have inquired about marriage and a relationship, do it, because it is auspicious. If you have inquired about someone ill, s/he will be shortly cured. If you have inquired about cultivation and agriculture, do it, because it is profitable. If you have inquired about something lost, run away, or stolen, search for it, and it will come to you, if God wishes.



51a

[Folio 50b—Gabriel Sent to Lot]

There was, for Sheba, aforetime, a sign in their homeland [—two gardens to the right and to the left. "Eat of the sustenance (provided) by your Lord, and be grateful to Him: a territory fair and happy, and a lord oft-forgiving!" (Koran 34:15).

You did not behave rightly from the beginning, O despicable coward.

At the end, you weep at yourself like an adulterous woman.

In the end, a black horse will take you to the grave,

Even if you reign in the world for a single day.

[Folio 51a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the city of the prophet Lut [Lot], peace be upon him, has come up as your augury. It was a city of seven quarters, and the people were engaged in evil activities. No matter how much the prophet Lut guided those people towards religion, they would not accept it. People of one quarter came to the religion, but people of six other quarters became rebellious and strayed. The exalted God sent Jabrail [Gabriel], peace be upon him, so that he would take the prophet Lut and the people who believed in God away from the others. On the order of the Great Lord, Jabrail flew down to the earth and took all city quarters of those [unfaithful] people [on his wings], in a way that no leaf moved on a tree, no door-ring trembled, and no baby awoke in the cradle. He brought them up so high into the sky that the voices of the angels reached them. When the sun rose, Jabrail received the order, "Throw down everything you have on the wings." He threw everything down, and it came to the earth upside down. People of [the city of] Lut descended to the earth lamenting and crying, and their city quarters were destroyed into pieces. The shards of the city buildings fell down on everyone's neck like necklaces with the name of each person written on them. These are the words of the exalted, which are marked by your Lord for those who are honored. O augury user, by all means, turn away from the intention you have made, repent from evil actions, do not do anything wicked to any other slave of God for the purpose of acquiring worldly goods, and abandon the devil's actions and the devil's nature. Turn away from your intention, and do not forget charities. If you have intended to travel, refrain, because if you go, you will suffer harm. If you plan to perform pilgrimage to the shrines of the people of the family of the Chosen [Muhammad] and the Approved [Ali], go, because it is extremely auspicious. If you have inquired about marriage and relationships, do not do it, because it is ill-fated. If you have inquired about someone ill, give alms on Friday eve, so that the sick person is cured soon. If you have inquired about something lost, a runaway, or stolen, do not make useless efforts, because it will not come back to you. If you have inquired about cultivation and agriculture, do not do it, because it is not good, and you will suffer loss. You must turn away from this intention to achieve your desire, if God wishes.



52a



51b

[Folio 51b]

[We said:] "O Adam! Dwell thou and thy wife in the Garden[: and eat of the bountiful things therein as (where and when) ye will; but approach not this tree, or ye run into harm and transgression"] (Koran 2:35).

On the day when water and soil were mixed,

The mark of grief was made on the piece of clay of Adam.

Humans were not free of any grief,

After this first blow was stricken on Adam.

[Folio 52a—Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the pure Adam, peace be upon him, and Havva [Eve] have appeared as your augury. They left paradise because of the misfortune caused by the devil, curse be upon him. The serpent was the doorkeeper of paradise, and the devil seduced him away from the right path, and the serpent smuggled the devil into paradise by hiding him in its mouth. The impure devil seduced Havva away from the right path and [convinced her] to eat the corn of wheat. One way or another, Havva gave the corn of wheat to Adam. There came the decree from him whose existence is necessary to Jabrail that he should expel Adam, Havva, the serpent, the peacock, and the devil—all five of them—from paradise and send them into the world. After Adam came into the world, he was weeping and wailing for three hundred years at the top of the mountain of Sarandib [Ceylon], and his cry, "Our Lord treated us unjustly!" reached the glorious throne [of God]. Only because of the reverence to the five wearing the Bedouin cloak—whose light God saw and who are Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hasan, and Husayn—and out of respect for their intercession was Adam's repentance accepted. Now, O augury user, if you proceed toward your intention, it will be a little difficult, but the conclusion will be easier than difficult—on condition that you do not turn your head away from obedience to him whose existence is necessary, that you make room in your heart for love for the family of the Prophet, that you act courageously in this intention, and that you do not behave like a hypocrite. Even if you suffer some difficulty [in the beginning], the end will be auspicious. If you have intended to travel, go, because it is extremely good. On the journey, your circumstances will reach the highest success; you will receive the greatest profit from a grandee who has dignity, rank, and an army; and your friends will greatly benefit from you. If you have inquired about marriage and a relationship, do it, because it is extremely auspicious. If you have inquired about something lost or a runaway, search for it, because in the end you will find it. If you have inquired about someone absent or ill, the absent person will return late but in peace, and the sick person will be cured shortly. However, you must not neglect your prayers so that you attain your desire, if the exalted God wishes.



53a



52b

[Folio 52b—Moses and Qarun]

Qarun was doubtless of the people of Moses[: but he acted insolently towards them: such were the treasures we had bestowed on him, that their very keys would have been a burden to a body of strong men. Behold, his people said to him: "Exult not, for God loveth not those who exult (in riches)"] (Koran 28:76).

Be cautious about pride and greed,

Because both of them multiply jealousy.

Nothing will come from these two except corruption.

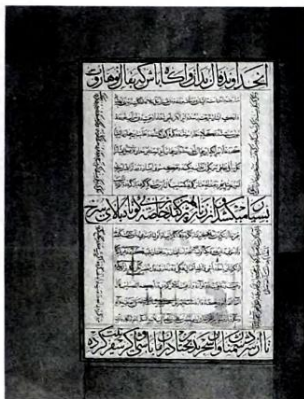
Do not make your heart bound to these two.

Increase in making gifts and being humble,

And it may be that God grants you success.

[Folio 53a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that Qarun [Korah], curse be upon him, has appeared as your augury. Qarun was the nephew of the prophet Musa [Moses], peace be upon him. In the beginning, he was pious and read the Torah. [Afterward], because he collected many riches, he became greedy and did not give required alms (*zakat*); he became an infidel. The exalted God, may his grandeur be great, says [in the Koran], "Verily, Qarun was from the people of Musa" (Koran 28:76). This Qarun was the son of Safin, and Safin was the son of Qahin, and Qahin was the son of Lazi, and Lazi was the son of Yaqub [Jacob], peace be upon him. When Qarun became wealthy, he separated from his relatives, became haughty because of the riches, showed disobedience to Musa, peace be upon him, and became an infidel to God, may he be honored and glorified. He collected so much wealth that the exalted God mentions his treasures in the Koran: "We gave him so many treasures" (Koran 28:76). In the end, he defamed Musa, but the exalted God entrusted the earth to Musa's command. Musa prayed so that this cursed [Qarun] collapsed into the ground with his wealth and effects. Now, O augury user, turn away from the intention you have made, abandon evil deeds, repent from evil companionship, and do not search for worldly [goods], so that the devil, curse be upon him, does not seduce you away from the right path. It was the cursed devil who seduced [some] sons of the prophets away from the right path; [be cautious] that he does not seduce you, too. You must be a friend to your relatives and not be hostile. You should not undertake illegal travels with the aim of acquiring worldly goods; the exception is travel to [the shrines of] the innocent imams, peace be upon them. If you have inquired about marriage and a relationship, do not do it, because it is not good. If you have inquired about somebody who is ill, the only way for her/him to be cured is for you give alms to the poor on Friday and Monday eve. If you have inquired about something lost, stolen, or a runaway, do not search, because it will not come back. If you have inquired about someone absent, s/he is preoccupied with an occupation and will not return [soon], but s/he is completely at peace. The suffering that was in your way has gone for good.



54a



53b

[Folio 53b—Harut and Marut]

[They followed what the evil ones gave out (falsely) against the power of Solomon: the blasphemers were not Solomon, but the evil ones, teaching men magic,] and such things as came down at Babylon to the angels Harut and Marut[. But neither of these taught anyone (such things) without saying: "We are only for trial; so do not blaspheme." They learned from them the means to sow discord between man and wife. But they could not thus harm anyone except by God's permission. And they learned what harmed them, not what profited them, and they knew that the buyers of (magic) would have no share in the happiness of the hereafter. And vile was the price for which they did sell their souls, if they but knew!]] (Koran 2:102).

My Harut-like magic in the well of imagination

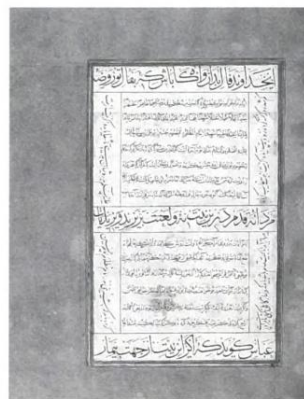
Surpassed the magic of Babylon in sorcery.

Modest virgins of my imagination—

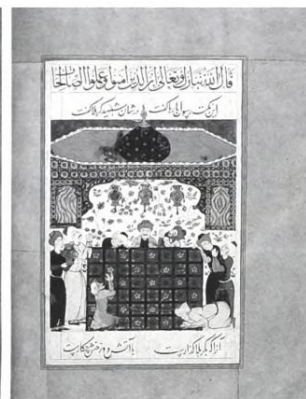
You would ask whether they are the water of life from their freshness.

[Folio 54a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that Harut and Marut have appeared as your augury. They were two angels, and the exalted God, may his grandeur be great, granted to them the kingdom of the earth so that they would spread law. However, in the end they rebelled, drank wine because of a woman, and when they became drunk, they burned the words of God and murdered a child. They chose the torment of this world, because this world will come to an end while the other world will not. Therefore, the exalted God tortures them by hanging them upside down in a well at the mountain of Babylon, and everyone who comes to them learns something from them, such as sorcery. Abd-Allah [b.] Abbas says, "The augury user should turn away from the intention he has made, and if not, he will suffer much hardship. He should [also] be careful about women, especially a short woman with a ruddy complexion, so that he does not get into trouble because of the wiles of the woman. Most of the prophets and favorites of God suffered difficulties because of women's avarice, and it was because of women's avarice that hypocrites and malicious people murdered the favorites of God." Therefore, you must be cautious about the plots of women, abandon evil actions, and do not fail to pray and fast, so that your circumstances reach fulfillment, and tranquility and repose embrace you, and you are freed from disaster. The augury seeker must certainly keep with him the names of God and especially the legend of the seal of prophecy of his majesty the refuge of heraldry, may God bless and salute him his family. You also must keep with you the armlet of the commander of the faithful and the leader of the pious, Ali ibn Abi Talib, may salutations be upon him, so that you are protected from the wickedness of the enemies and from the sorcery of the malicious people. If you have inquired about traveling, do not go, and if you go, everything that you receive will be wasted. If you have inquired about nuptials and marriage, do not do it, because it is inauspicious. If you have inquired about buying and selling, or about something lost, run away, or stolen, do not do the former and do not search for the latter, because it is ill-fated. If you have inquired about someone absent, s/he is distressed and tired of searching for something; s/he is not likely to return [soon]. If you have inquired about someone ill, take the sick person to the bathhouse on Friday eve, read the invocation against sorcery over the water, and pour water on her/his head so that that person is cured, if the exalted God wishes.



55a



54b

[Folio 54b—Tomb of Imam Husayn]

Those that have faith and do good works . . . (Koran 2:277, 10:9, 11:23, 18:30)

The Prophet many times made this pithy remark,

Which he said about the dignity of the martyr of Karbala:

"The person who prayed at Karbala,

What concern should s/he have about the fire of hell?"

[Folio 55a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the tomb of the oppressed, innocent Imam Husayn b. Ali b. Abi Talib, blessing and salutation be upon him, has appeared as your augury. He is the leader of absolute justice and importance, great and superior, splendid and grateful; beloved for his counseling, his purity and simplicity, appearance and manifestation, authenticity and kindness, his arguments, his glory and bravery, for his role as deputy, the maker and the selected, the pivot, the servant of God, faithful and true, for being the stranger and the martyr. Now, do not turn away from your intention, because very soon your objective and goal will be attained. It is established and ascertained that everyone who steps inside this blessed threshold in the search of any desire from a friend or foe, his desire is attained, and nobody has left the threshold disillusioned. Now that the blessed tomb of that distinguished lord has appeared as your augury, act courageously in this intention and curse Yazid and his people so that your desire soon comes true, and the lantern of your fortune lights up. Immense benefits will come to you from a high-ranking lord, so much so that a group of people will envy you. It also appears that some of your relatives are your enemies, and they wish to displace you from your business. However, keep your heart strong, because you will subdue all your enemies and gain victory over them. If you intend to travel, you must wait for twenty days and proceed thereafter, so that your circumstances reach their pinnacle. If you have inquired about marriage and a relationship, do it, because it is auspicious. Abd-Allah [b.] Abbas says that if you have made this inquiry about someone who is ill, you must give sweets to the poor as the offering to the oppressed Imam Husayn, peace be upon him, so that the sick person is cured. If you have inquired about something lost or run away, it will soon return to you. If you have inquired about someone absent, s/he will come back in a while, but s/he is in peace. You must not neglect your prayers so that you achieve your desire.



56a



56b

[Folio 56b—Paradise]

Gardens watered by running streams . . . (Koran 2:25, 3:15, 3:136, 3:195, 3:198).

If you need a sovereign in the capital of paradise,

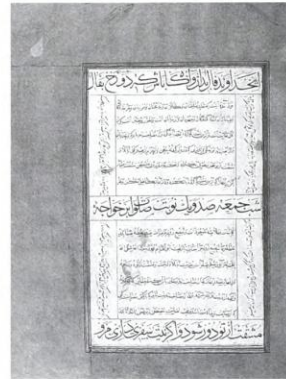
After the Prophet, be the slave of the impetuous lion [Ali].

He is the sun of the zodiacal sign of protection and the leader of the religious,

Assistant of God, the soul of the Prophet, commander of the faithful.

[Folio 56a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that paradise has appeared as your augury. Paradise is the place for the pure, and for those who are servants, friends, and slaves of the king of the heroes and the Lion of God—Ali, the favorite of God. Now, O augury user, act courageously with your intention, because the essence of your desire has come to you, your desire is attained, your lantern has been lit from the invisible world, the phoenix of fortune has descended onto your head, and the star of your ascendant has moved away from disadvantage. Your desire and goal in this world and in the invisible world will be attained. Beware, a hundred thousand times beware, that you do not turn away from your intention, because you will certainly receive immense benefits from a grandee of high dignity and rank, so that a group of people will envy you. You must not be a hypocrite and must act courageously and faithfully in this intention; you must hold on to the members of the family of the Chosen [Muhammad], may God bless him, and the Approved [Ali], peace be upon him, so that your desire is achieved very soon. If you intend to travel, go toward the east, because much profit will come to you. If you have inquired about cultivation and agriculture, do it, because it is good. If you have inquired about something lost, run away, or stolen, within seven days you will certainly receive news about it or it will return to you. If you have inquired about someone absent, shortly the absent person will return with immense wealth and endless contentment. If you have inquired about having children, in a short time the exalted God, may his grandeur be great, will grant you with a male child who will become knowledgeable, and most people of the world will need his knowledge. However, the augury user must not neglect prayers, must always have ritual purity, must banish doubts away from the heart, and must always curse the enemies of the family of the king of holiness and the chief of guidance, Ali b. Abi Talib, peace be upon him, so that the desire is obtained, in this world and in the invisible world, if the God wishes.



57a



56b

[Folio 56b—Hell]

To it [hell] are seven gates: for each of those gates is a [special] class [of sinners] assigned (Koran 15:44).

Those people who became aware of the divine secret,

Know that they have found a way to escape this deadly place.

Search for your desire [from dissatisfaction] because

Those who went this way have found what you wish.

[Folio 57a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that hell has appeared as your augury. This is the place of hypocrites, infidels, the vicious, the afflictive, villains, the non-praying, adulterers, and non-believers. It is established and ascertained that this augury is extremely [bad], and caution must be paid to your intention. You must be careful about bad company, must repent from evil deeds, must perform the vow that you have made in your heart, and must refrain from the forbidden, so that affliction and difficulty pass away from you safely and for good. If you step out toward this intention, you will suffer endless difficulties. By no means, do not return to the intention you have made, do not neglect prayers, and every Friday eve send one hundred and one blessings to the lord of being and the essence of existence, the intercessor at the Day of Judgment, the facade of the doorway of purity, the full moon over the foundation of fidelity, the advocate at the day of retribution, the noble Abu l-Qasim Muhammad, the messenger of God, may God bless and salute him and his family, so that harm, troubles, and difficulties leave you. A hundred thousand times beware and be cautious about evil company, because every cruelty that you suffer and everything that leaves you—all of it is because of evil company. You must keep company with a devout and pious person who loves the people of the family of the Chosen [Muhammad] and the Approved [Ali], so that evil and hardship leave you. If you have intention to travel, do not go, because it is extremely bad, and [if you go] you will suffer endless anguish and will waste what you have. If you have inquired about marriage and a relationship, do not do it; if about someone who is absent [and] traveling, s/he is unlikely to return [soon]. Do not search for anything lost, runaway, or stolen, because you will not find it. If you have inquired about somebody ill, s/he is unlikely to get well, unless you give alms and offering to the family of the Prophet so that the exalted God provides the cure. If you have inquired about cultivation and agriculture, do not do it, because you will regret it. Abandon this intention! God knows best.



58a



57b

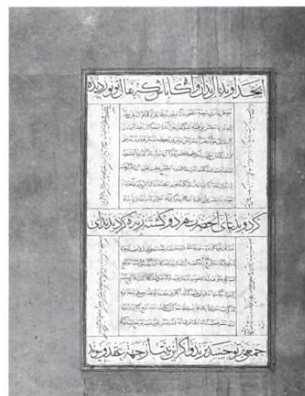
[Folio 57b—Ishab Killed Trying to Destroy the Ka'ba]

Seest thou not how thy Lord dealt with the companions of the elephant? (Koran 105:1).

*O brother! For how long more will you follow passion and affection?
The time has come that you turn your face toward the throne of God.
Cash money of your life has been wasted for this transitory world.
O Muslim! How much more will you be going the wrong way?*

[Folio 58a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the people of the elephant [Koran, sura 105] have appeared as your augury. Those cursed, headed by the damned Abraha, came in order to destroy the edifice of Ka'ba, which is the temple of God. The exalted God, may his grandeur be great and his bounty universal, sent upon them flocks of birds, and they arrived, with a stone in the beak of each bird, over the heads of those cursed, and each bird threw the stone on the head of someone from the cursed so that, by the decree of God, by these stones they killed every one of them and their elephant. Now, O augury user, you must turn away from the intention you have made and must not proceed toward it, so that your business reaches the apogee, misfortune leaves your fortune, and tranquility turns to you. If you proceed with this intention, any peace you have had will very soon be wasted, and you will not achieve your desire. Therefore, it is best that you abandon this intention, do not neglect prayers and fasting, and do not knock at the door of anyone's house searching for it, because your desire will not be attained. It also appears that your business has a problem that you would like to eliminate. Make a vow that you will go on pilgrimage to the [tomb] of one of the innocent imams, so that God, may he be blessed and exalted, takes the impediment away from your work, opens for you the door to riches and wealth, and peace and repose embrace you. [But this will happen] on the condition that, first of all, you repent your sins and do not go near the forbidden, so that your business reaches its apogee, and because of this you will be able to go on pilgrimage to [the tombs] of the imams. If you have intention to travel that is legal, go, because you will achieve your desire. If you have inquired about marriage and a relationship, do not do it, because you will regret it. Abd-Allah [b.] Abbas says, "Under this augury, if you have inquired about something lost, runaway, or stolen, that which was lost or ran away will come back to you, but do not search for the stolen because you will not find it." If you have inquired about someone who is ill, you must give alms on Monday eve and light a lantern at a shrine, so that the sick person is cured. If you have inquired about somebody absent, s/he will not return soon, but [you will receive] news about her/him.



59a



58b

[Folio 58b—Imam Hasan Raises the Daughter of the King of Yemen]

[There was, for Sheba, aforetime, a sign in their homeland—two gardens to the right and to the left. "Eat of the sustenance (provided) by your Lord,] and be grateful to him: a territory fair [and happy, and a Lord oft-forgiving!"] (Koran 34:15).

*After [praising] the king, praise the master of the assembly.
[Then] say a word about the virtues of the grace of Hasan.
Say it to the wind of the early spring, to the source of water,
and to the meadow!*

Say it in Egypt and Syria, in India, China, and Khutan.

Do not fear anyone; say these words sincerely:

"O manifestation of wonders! Help us, Ali!

I pray to you so that my grief and sadness go far away from me."

[Folio 59a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the light of the eyes of the Chosen [Muhammad], the joy of the heart of the Approved [Ali], the peace of the soul of the brilliant Fatima, the pearl in the throne of God, and the steadfast leader Imam Hasan b. Ali, peace be upon him, has come up as your augury. During his reign, the king of Yemen unjustly killed his own daughter and the son of his minister. Then he regretted the killing of the two, descended into mourning, and there was no one who could cure that pain. In the end, the minister said, "Now is time for the accession of Hasan b. Ali, peace be upon the two of them. We must send someone to search for the imam, so that he heals this pain." When the messenger went out of the gates of Yemen, he saw the innocent Imam Hasan b. Ali, peace be upon him, approaching, and the people of Yemen were delighted. The imam prayed, and with the prayer of His Majesty the two who had been killed were resurrected. O augury user, know that your dead circumstances have come alive; the one whose existence is necessary opened for you the door to fortune, happiness, and prosperity; and your lantern that had gone out has lit up. Within this time, you will certainly obtain profit from a high-ranking grandee, your desire from this world and from the invisible world has been attained, and your business has reached its apogee. You must strive courageously in your intention. Abd-Allah [b.] Abbas says, "If the augury user has intention for travel, travel in the direction of the *qibla* because your circumstances will soon reach their goal, and you will certainly be in full tranquility in this travel." You will receive benefits from a noble monarch, so much so that a group of people will envy you. If you have inquired about marriage and a relationship, do it, because it is extremely auspicious. If you have inquired about something lost, runaway, or stolen, search for it, because it will certainly return to you. If you have inquired about someone absent, you will certainly receive news about her/him or s/he herself/himself imminently or s/he will arrive with much riches. If you have inquired about someone who is ill, s/he will be cured very soon. However, the augury user must certainly keep with her/him the seal of prophecy and the armet of the commander of the pious of the world, Ali b. Abi Talib, peace be upon him, to be protected from the wickedness of the enemies, if God wishes.



60a



59b

[Folio 59b—Imam Mahdi Enthroned]

And we raised him to a lofty station (Koran 19:57).

O heart! The [moment of] appearance of the Mahdi, the master of the time, has come.

The period of justice has come, and the star of this world [has risen].

If some people are in despair from the severity of enemies,

But now the epoch of safety and security has come.

Listen to this prayer that has come through the seven heavens:

"O manifestation of wonders! Help us, Ali!

I pray to you so that my grief and sadness go far away from me."

[Folio 60a]

O augury user! Know and be aware that the sign of the leader of the time, the sovereign of security, His Majesty Imam Muhammad-Mahdi, the lord of the time, has come up as your augury. This augury is extremely auspicious, and felicity and blessed happiness have become your companions. The exalted God opened for you the door to victory from the invisible world. The boat of your hopes [was rescued from] the whirlpool of grief and arrived at the coast of desire. You will receive benefits from a grandee who is a descendant of the Prophet, or from a theologian, or a judge. Somebody who is absent [and] traveling will return safely. Your journey in the direction of the *qibla* is auspicious. Young tree of your hope has brought fruits. It appears that the augury seeker is bound by a desire, but you must not let fear find its way to your mind, because your desire will be attained very soon. However, you must not communicate with anyone, because if you tell your secret to anyone you will suffer damage. If your inquiry is about nuptials and marriage, [proceed], because prosperous children will come from it. If you have someone ill, very soon the exalted and glorified God will grant cure, [as he says in the Koran (17:82)]. "We send down in the Koran healing and mercy for the believers." Forming a partnership and commerce will bring abundant profit. However, do not be careless about the plots of enemies, especially the plots of women, and particularly of a dark, heavyset woman. Do not stay without [the amulet with] the prayer against sorcery and without the armet of his majesty Imam Muhammad-Mahdi, the guide and the master of the time, so that you attain your desire, if the exalted God wishes.

Once the master of the time came up as your augury,

Earth and time will be up to your wish.

No doubt, wherever you go,

You will find only profit and will not suffer damage.

Note: These Koranic translations are found in Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur-an: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge and New York: Murray Printing Co. and Hafner Publishing Co., 1946). Text in brackets was added to complete a Koranic verse or to provide clarity.

Appendix A.3: The Falnama of Ahmed I (TSM H.1703)

Translated by Sergei Tourkin



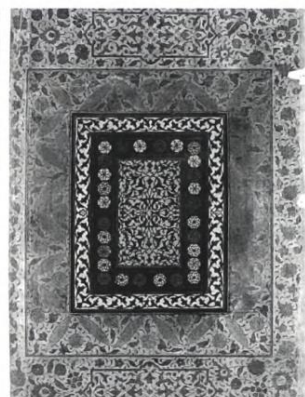
2a



1b



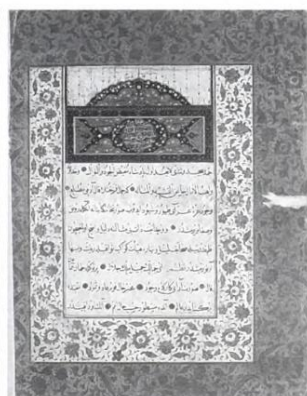
3a



2b



4a



3b

[Folio 3b—Preface]

This is the Book of Auguries of His Majesty the Padishah, Refuge of the World, and Shadow of God—may God perpetuate his regency and kingdom until the day of the last of days.

Endless praise and innumerable accolades to that king who exudes goodness and generosity and to that lord who grants hopes—exalted is he beyond comparison—who made auspicious human beauty the vanguard of existence and pride of being and who gave by means of him splendor and purity to the gallery of existing things. As clear proof of the oneness of his incomparable essence, he increased with the pen of his omnipotence the beauty and magnificence of the tomes of night and day with the forms of bright stars.

Your beauty is the most gorgeous in the realm of magnificence.

With your rays the world is auspicious.

Beautifier of the workshop of existence,

informer of the condition of the nations of Ad and Thamud.¹

In meaning the world is a book in which is written the conditions of nations.

[Folio 4a] *Morning and night are its leaves, in which are depicted fear and hope.*

Take an augury. See what your desire is. See the shape of your beginning and end.

And gifts of prayers and perfumed greetings be to the leader of all beings, the epitome of all things who brought low and smashed the idols of infidelity and heathenism in the temples of Yathrib and Batha, in accordance with the power of the noble meaning of the words “the hand of God is above their hands” [Koran 48:10] and brought to the path of Islamic law and faith those who denied the Right Religion.

Pray for him who is the best of mankind, our lord, our Ahmed the Chosen.

Pride of apostles, leader of the Obvious Religion,

leader of the caravan of legislation and religion.

The dust of his threshold suffices as a crown on the head.

To see him suffices as an auspicious omen.

Lightning casts light into the candle of his beauty.

No one can distinguish his countenance from light.

An image of the condition of past apostles is but a leaf in description of his perfection.

Our goal is to have recourse to him.



5a



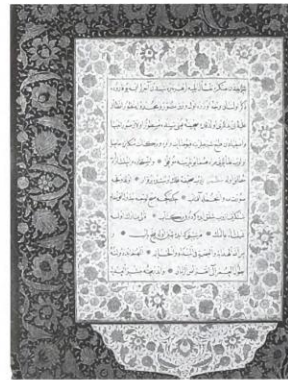
4b

[Folio 4b] O Lord, I pray for him and send greetings.
And to his noble house, companions, and the magnificent pious ones.

The intention of giving precedence to this eloquent introduction and of gathering and arranging these various pictures and shapes is that when in ancient times mankind first stepped into the expanse of the world and looked upon the situation of the world as an example, mystics and ecstasies who fully understand and comprehend the external form of the world have confirmed that the history of past nations is a manual for people and that it is appropriate to learn a lesson in any and every affair from those who have preceded. It is especially right for mighty rulers and exalted kings, who are the bases of order for kingdom and nation and causes for rules for the foundation of subjects and realm, to look upon the tales of prophets and saints and the adventures of past rulers, to contemplate their beginnings and ends, and to comprehend the final end of their own affairs from them. To that end they have filled pages with indications and allusions to the physical shapes of events that happened to past rulers while they were seated upon their thrones of felicity [Folio 5a] so that, by means of augury from whichever of those pages is opened, the seeker of the augury can apply to his own situation whatever is written and depicted of the history of the prophets and rulers on that page, make an analogy from those situations with his own desire, and act accordingly.

If you wish power and glory to increase for you, let your gaze always be upon past events.

Therefore, for him who presently occupies the throne of the kingdom of the Chosroës and adorns the throne of the khaqan, sultan of the sultans of the world, pride of kings and emperors among Arabs and Persians, Solomon of the age, Alexander of the time, envied by Caesars, emulated by Chosroës, who propagates the most magnificent government eastward and westward, who spreads the greatest justice in longitude and latitude, who is alone among all great rulers in his splendor, glory, justice, and equity,



6a



5b

[Folio 5b] who enjoys precedence in his power, honor, and grandeur by eliminating oppression and cruelty with mighty pillars, splendor of Ottoman sultans by virtue of his beautiful characteristics and purity of intention, and more trusted in religion and Islamic law than any ruler of the Islamic nation, and he is the sultan, son of sultan, emperor, son of emperor, His Majesty Ahmed Khan, whose lineage goes back uninterruptedly to the son of Osman—may God perpetuate the days of his kingship and fortune and strengthen the foundation of his glory and magnificence—this humble writer, the least and most insignificant of his servants and smallest of the slaves in his retinue, who has been inundated by his generosity and liberality among the respected viziers, i.e., his servant Kalender, has gathered, arranged, and adorned these above-mentioned pages illustrated, gilded, and beautifully written and presented them as a gift to his imperial presence so that, whatever the imperial intention may be, when taking an augury, after first reciting the chapter *Fatiha* and thrice use *ikhlas* and three repetitions of the noble *salavat*² [Folio 6a] wherever the book is opened, in accordance with what was mentioned above, the incomparable imperial gaze should fall upon that illustrated and ruled leaf, and the forms of the prophets and saints written about on the right-hand page should fill the imperial nature with abundant effluence of multiple blessings, and his augury will be in accordance with the imperial will.

O lord, as long as the shape of the moon, stars, and sun
remain stable upon the page of the celestial sphere,
As long as the ruling of the horizon continues to be drawn across the tablet of dawn,
and as long as the redness of dawn grinds cinnabar to make a book of the sky,
May the omen of the emperor of the world be auspicious,
and may every intention he makes be truly the "opening of a gate."
From God is guidance and immaculateness in the beginning and the end.
O God, perpetuate his fortune with long life until time ceases
and support his exaltedness with the spread of justice.



7a



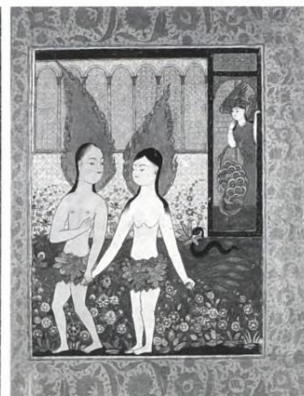
6b

[Folio 7a—Sa'di Dressed as a Chinese Monk]

O augury seeker, know that there is a tale of Shaykh Sa'di entering the realm of Chin during his travels in the guise of a monk. Although the beginning of this omen is indicative of a certain amount of erroneousness, its end is good. Your heart is not stable. There is loss in mingling with those who are not of your sort, but you are aware of their deceit and will triumph over them, just as happened to Shaykh Sa'di. He says, "During my travels across the world I saw in a temple called Sumnat in China an idol made of ivory that had been placed on an ebony platform. Those who saw it thought it was standing on its feet, and the people of that region rubbed their faces on its feet. From time to time the idol would raise its arm. Astonished by this situation, I remained by myself in the temple that night in order to learn its secret. I saw that under the ebony platform had been drawn a curtain, and behind it was seated a priest with a rope in his hand. When he pulled the rope the idol would raise its arm. When I saw this trick, I killed the priest and set out for my homeland. The next morning the trick became known, and most of the infidels ceased to believe in it."



8a

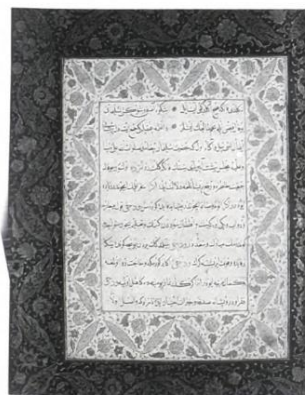


7b

[Folio 8a—Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise]

His Excellency Adam was expelled from the garden from paradise by order of the noble lord. The truth is that he who craves divine pleasure must willingly submit his soul.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that Adam and Eve's expulsion from paradise has turned up as your omen. The beginning of this omen indicates great disturbance, but there is hope that the end will be good and indicative of happiness and joy. From this intention it is understood that the Deity—magnificent and sublime is he—has granted you wealth, enjoyment, and leisure, but you do not appreciate that gift, and you allow corrupt thoughts to enter your heart. Beware, be content with your fate, and keep yourself from satanic temptations. Avoid unworthy people and evil companions that you may remain in eternal life and purity. Do not make excuses for not performing your prayers and being charitable that you may attain your goals.



9a



8b

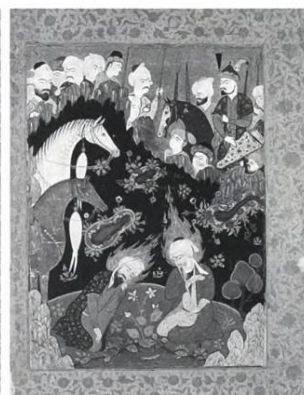
[Folio 9a—Sulayman and Bilqis Enthroned]

Do you know what has turned up in your augury, O seeker? The splendor of Asaph and the majesty of Solomon. This omen works with the effulgence of the star of your ascendant. Do not worry, and calm your distracted heart.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that the paradisiacal assembly of the prophet Solomon—God's prayers be upon our Prophet and upon him—has turned up as your omen. Good news! This omen indicates peace of mind and elimination of worry. If it is for travel, it is good. If for commerce, you will see unlimited profit. It is a good omen for buying slave boys and girls, beasts, entering a new house, weaning infants, and sending children to a teacher for instruction. On a day like today you will gain a benefit and blessing from an unknown place. It is good to the highest degree for seeing grandees and gaining requests. However, it is necessary that you not be slack in your daily prayers. Do good in giving charity to the poor and miserable that you may attain your desire.



10a



9b

[Folio 10a—Khizr and Ilyas]

Although Alexander went to a lot of trouble roaming the world, he did not find the fountain of youth. But the prophet Khizr became his companion, and he found eternal life while Alexander gained renown.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that the prophet Khizr and the prophet Elijah—peace be upon our Prophet and upon them—who attained the fountain of youth, have come up as your omen. Good news for you! This omen indicates that requests will be granted, important business will be done, and brightness will appear in your affairs. In this omen travel is good to the highest degree and contains many benefits. If it is for commerce, it will be blessed to that same degree. If you buy land, it will be gold. If you desire to serve grandees, do not delay and go by all means because you will see great benefit. If your desire is for marriage, begin negotiations without hesitation. However, you must not be unmindful of the Almighty if you want to attain your desire.



11a



10b

[Folio 11a—Hud Tossing the People of Ad]

When Ad's people became accustomed to infidelity
and were not obedient to what their leaders said,
A host of wrath overwhelmed them as the deity afflicted
that people astray with calamities.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that a sign of Ad's people has turned up as your omen. The deity—magnificent and exalted is he—sent down his wrath upon that tribe and cast their possessions to the wind of destruction.³ This omen indicates worry, sorrow, and grief, and it is not devoid of aggravation and pain. In the end, however, it is good because, although a sick person has endured much trouble and pain, God willing, sickness will turn to health, and whatever conjunction there was will have passed. Travel and marriage are not good. Commerce, buying horses, mules, slaves, and slave girls are not blessed. It would be better to be patient, occupy yourself with worship and charity, and not put off your prayers in order that you attain your desire.



13a



12b

[Folio 13a—Paradise]

In what assembly have those with the countenances of fairies gathered?
The Garden of Iram appears to the people of heart with acts of cruelty.
If in that special banquet in which they gather they speak their hopes
for a situation in honor, it becomes an inviolable sanctuary.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that a depiction of the Garden of Iram has turned up as your omen. Good news! This omen indicates pleasure, happiness, joy, and the gates of wealth and felicity in this world and the next are open to you. This omen is good for travel, commerce, and marriage. Going into partnership and buying slave boys and girls are blessed. Entering a new house and moving are auspicious and blessed. Altogether this omen is good for all business, but the seeker of the omen must not swerve from the path of chivalry to attain high position and wealth, and he must not be slack in monotheism, charity, or the five daily prayers, if he is to attain his desire.



12a



11b

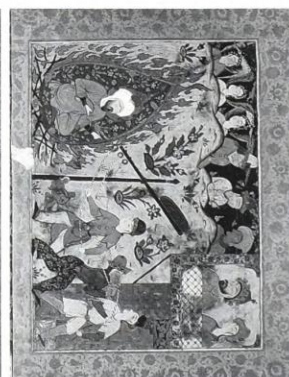
[Folio 12a—Abraham's Sacrifice]

When the moon of Isma'il's beauty rose,
he was acceptable to the Almighty.
You, too, should put your life on the path of God,
for Isma'il's perfection was to be sacrificed.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that a depiction of the prophets Ibrahim [Abraham] and Ishaq [Isaac] and Mount Arafat has come up as your omen. By God's command, Ibrahim wanted to sacrifice his son, but at that moment Gabriel, the messenger of the Lord of the Universe, arrived with a ram and said, "Ibrahim, the Lord sends greetings and says, 'The purpose was to test you to see whether love for Us or love for your son was greater in your heart. O my friend, the purity of your intention has become evident. Sacrifice this ram and remove your hand from Isma'il.'" This omen is blessed for all things, especially commerce, marriage, travel, and entering a new house.



14a



13b

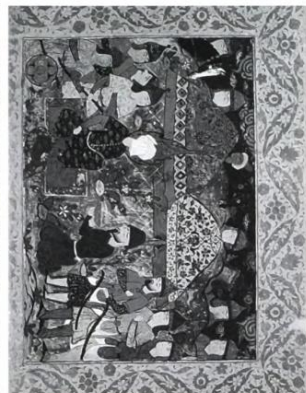
[Folio 14a—Abraham's Trial by Fire]

When success arrived from the effulgence of the world above,
Nimrod's fire turned into a rose garden for Ibrahim.
The fire cast envy into the people of iniquity,
and the refuge of the land of religion became safe and sound.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that Ibrahim, God's friend, for whom God turned the accursed Nimrod's fire into a rose garden, has turned up as your omen. This omen indicates that you will have peace of mind and attain your wishes and goals, and you will be free from the distress of enemies, the envious, grief, and sadness. If this augury is for travel, set out without worry, and you will see unlimited profit. If it is for commerce, marriage, or entering a new house, it is felicitous. An absent person will come in good health and join you, and a sick person will recover. However, do not neglect your prescribed prayers and give alms in order to attain your desire.



15a



14b

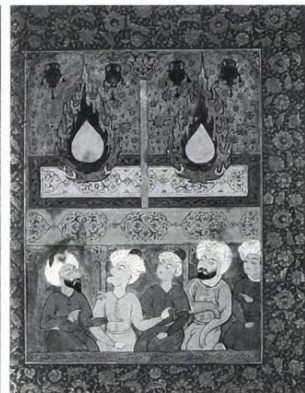
[Folio 15a—Imam Husayn and the Miracle of Water]

At the time of the battle of Karbala,
one of his beloved people brings Imam Husayn a gift of water.
The imam shows that friend a spring as a sign
when he turns up a corner of his prayer carpet.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that Imam Husayn, who miraculously produced a flowing spring from beneath his prayer carpet, has turned up as your omen. Good news! The gates of enjoyment and pleasure are open to you. Success and triumph are apparent and evident in your business. If this augury is for travel, it is very good. Negligence is not permitted. Commerce, entering a new house, moving, and marriage are felicitous. Altogether, this omen is good for all things. However, it would be better for you not to be slack in your prayers and not to take off your amulets. You should give alms to the poor to attain your desire, God willing.



16a



15b

[Folio 16a—Ali and Muhammad at the Aqsa Mosque]

As your omen has come Ali ibn Abu Talib, heir to the caliphate,
the imam of the Aqsa Mosque.
Is it any wonder that you will find eternal life from his words?
The meaning is life-giving, and the form refreshes the spirit.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that the Aqsa Mosque⁴ has turned up as your omen. This omen indicates happiness, joy, pleasure, deliverance from concern and grief, and the attainment of comfort. If the augury is for travel, set out without delay because you will see much benefit. If it is for buying slave boys and girls, horses, or mules, entering a new house, or going into partnership, it is extremely felicitous. It is also good for going to grandees and marriage. Anyone who is sick will soon recover. There will be a meeting in good health within a few days with an absent person. However, the augury seeker should take candles and lamps to mosque and holy places on Monday, Thursday, and Friday eves in order to attain his desire.



17a



16b

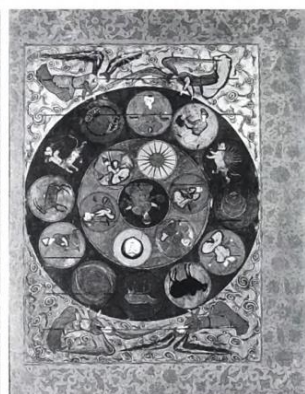
[Folio 17a—Harut and Marut]

All the world is an enemy to him who disobeys the command of the omnipotent.
Be he Harut or Marut with sorcery, he will hang his head low on the gallows.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that Harut and Marut have turned up as your omen.⁵ This omen indicates grief and sorrow, vexation, and worry. Travel is not acceptable. If it is for marriage or going into partnership with someone, confusion lies at its base. If it is for buying slave boys or girls, horses, or mules, it will cause ruin. Overall, this omen is not good for anything. It would be better to be patient for a few days. Repent of your sins, spend your time in worship, and do not stint in charity and alms. Do not be unmindful of God in order to attain your desire.



18a



17b

[Folio 18a—Celestial Sphere]

I saw constellations rising at dawn in the east,
all of them glorifying God, saying, "You are the living one who dieth not."
Aries, Taurus, Gemini, and Cancer and Leo,
Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, and Pisces.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that a depiction of the twelve constellations and seven planets has turned up as your omen. Although this omen is not devoid of inauspiciousness, do not worry, for this omen indicates that felicity will triumph over infelicity. If you are intending to travel, be patient for a few days and then set out without delay, because from this trip you will derive unlimited benefit and profit. Commerce, going into partnership, entering a new house [are good]. If it is for marriage, although it indicates consternation, you will nonetheless see great profit and comfort. However, do not neglect the obligatory prayers or alms and charity in order to attain your desire.



19a

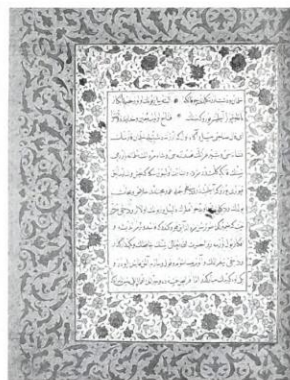


18b

[Folio 19a—Uvays-i Qaran and the Camel]

As your omen has come Uvays-i Qaran,
who perceives breaths of effluence from the light of Canopus in the Yemen.
From today a station of comfort
has become your place after residing in a house of sorrow.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that a depiction of Uvays-i Qaran has turned up as your omen. Good news! You have been delivered from all grief and care, and the gates of comfort and pleasure are open to you. God willing, day by day your possessions and peace of mind will be on the increase. If it is for commerce or travel, it is extremely good. If it is for buying or selling slave boys or girls, horses, or mules, you will see great profit. It is extremely auspicious for going to see grandees, asking for favors, marriage, going on pilgrimage, making a visit to shrines, and circumambulating sacred sites. It is felicitous for circumcising boys and sending them to school. However, do not be slack or negligent in your worship and charity in order to attain your desire.



20a



19b

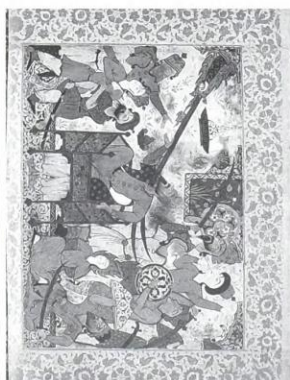
[Folio 20a—Imam Ali Saves Salman al-Farsi]

Salman and the Arzana plain have turned up as your omen;
know for certain that your opponent will be confounded.
Closed gates will be opened to you.
The helper and master of the zulfiqar will be victorious.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that a depiction of the Arzana Plain and Salman of Fars have turned up as your omen.⁶ A raging lion attacked, and the King of Men assisted Salman. Good news for you, for the gates of happiness and joy are open to you. You have been delivered of all grief and tribulation. Enemies and malevolent people will be brought low and confounded. Proceed with whatever good intention you have in your mind, and do not allow corrupt and bad thoughts to enter your mind, for God is your protector and guard. Travel, commerce, and buying slave boys and girls are good, and entering a new house is auspicious, but do not neglect the prescribed prayers or charity in order that you may attain your desire.



21a

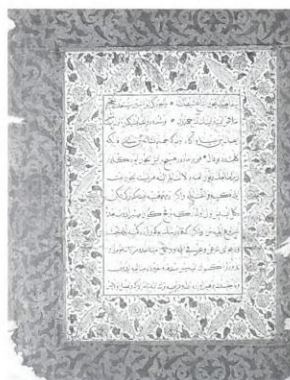


20b

[Folio 21a—Ali Slays Frank Talqitha]

That gate for the preservation of the city of prophetic knowledge
stretched forth his hand in Medina.
He struck Talqitha with his sword so hard
that the delirious one was cloven into four parts.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that Ali—may God ennoble his countenance—who stretched forth his powerful hand from Medina the Illuminated and with zulfiqar clove the Frank Talqitha sitting on his throne into four parts, has turned up as your omen. Good news for you, for you will triumph over enemies and opponents, and all those who wish you ill have been brought low. If this augury is for travel, it is appropriate to set out. If it is for commerce or entering into partnership, it is extremely good. Altogether, it appears good for all things. However, there is heavenly reward if you repent and ask for forgiveness for sins and bad acts. Do not withhold alms and charity from the poor and miserable, and be firm in fasting and prayer in order to achieve your desire.



22a



21b

[Folio 22a—Hell]

Why do you foolishly make yourself ready for the fire of hell by following the devil?
If you desire salvation from the fires of hell,
do not be negligent and always stay at the gate of felicity.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that a depiction of hell has turned up as your omen. This omen is powerfully inauspicious. It is not good for anything because it indicates that your ascendant is low. No matter what your intention is, eschew it. If it is something important that cannot be abandoned, it would be better to be patient for a few days and then begin. If you can, do not enter into any discussion or legal case with anyone. Do not neglect to take candles and votive offerings to mosques and shrines, be extravagant in alms and charity, avoid the unworthy, and do not skip your prayers that you may attain your desire.



23a

23b

[Folio 23a—Dabbat al-arz (Beast of the earth)]

*Dabbat al-arz has come as your omen. It is not good. Avoid this activity.
Be patient, do not pursue your intention, for in the end the deity will give you your desire.*

O augury seeker, know and be aware that Dabbat al-arz [Beast of the earth] has turned up as your omen. This omen indicates vexation, grief, worry, and pain. If your intention is to travel, it is not auspicious for you to set out. If you want to engage in commerce, you will suffer loss. If you have a desire to enter into partnership or buy and sell slave boys and girls, horses, or mules, prospects are not good. It would be more appropriate for you to be patient for a few years and repent of mortal and venal sins. Do not be negligent of your prescribed prayers and charity until vexation and infelicity leave your ascendant and progress appears in your affairs.



24a

23b

[Folio 24a—Hakim Luqman]

*When Luqman the Sage comes as your omen,
you will allow no fear or trepidation into your mind.
Whatever desire is in your heart,
as a matter of course the generous lord will allow you to attain.*

O augury seeker, know and be aware that Luqman has turned up as your omen. Good news for you, since you have been delivered from pain and trouble and from the vexation of tribulation. If your intention is to travel, set out without hesitation because you will derive great benefit. Commerce, entering into partnership, marriage, going to see grandees and the great, making requests, and commencing anything are felicitous and auspicious. Buying slave boys and girls and species of beasts are allowable because it is extremely good for all things. However, it would be appropriate for you not to neglect your prescribed prayers and to be charitable to the poor. Always remember God that you may attain your desire.



25a

24b

[Folio 25a—Qambar and Duldul]

*As your omen are seen Qambar and Duldul.
From the heart all grief will depart. Be happy.
Your life will be long, that of your enemy short.
Let your intention not change, and be pure in your belief.*

O augury seeker, know and be aware that a depiction of the commander of the faithful, Ali, with Qambar and Duldul has turned up as your omen.⁷ Good news for you, since the gates of joy and happiness are open to you, and you have been delivered of all grief and pain. If it is for travel, prospects are good. If for commerce or entering into partnership, it is extremely auspicious. If it is for buying slave boys and girls or horses and mules, it is extremely good, and you will see great profit and suffer absolutely no loss. It is also good for making requests, marriage, and entering a new house. In short, this omen is good for all things, but do not neglect to remember God in order that you may attain your desire.



26a

25b

[Folio 26a—Death of Alexander]

*Alexander conquered the world, and to his command all humans were obedient.
When the time came for him to depart, he was given no opportunity to draw a breath.*

O augury seeker, know and be aware that Alexander's death has turned up as your omen. This omen indicates weakness in your ascendant, hopelessness, deprivation of worldly goods, and separation from friends and relatives. No matter what your intention is, this omen is not good. Going to trade, marriage, and partnership are not good. Buying and selling and legal suits with opponents are not auspicious, but repairing mosques, bridges, and schools is acceptable. Traveling for the pilgrimage or to shrines is extremely good. At this time it would be appropriate for you to repent of your sins and engage in worship so that you may attain your desire.



27a



27b

[Folio 27a—Imam Ali Splits Jabala in Half]

Since Ali has turned up as your omen, the Almighty will preserve you from error.
Suffer no grief from malevolent enemies, for he will preserve you from all catastrophe.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that Ali, who cut the infidel Jabala in two, has turned up as your omen. Good news for you since you will triumph over all enemies and those who wish you ill, and your ascendant will be strong, and God willing, you will not suffer grief or pain. If this augury is for travel, you will derive unlimited benefit. If it is for commerce, it is extremely good. If it is for marriage or entering a new house, or if it is for buying and selling slave boys and girls, it is auspicious. Altogether, this omen appears good for all things. However, you should not neglect or be slack in worship, tithing, or charity in order that you may attain your desire.



28a



28b

[Folio 28a—Kneeling Man Beseeches Standing Woman]

The world does not experience regret for a moment,
but in the end its joy turns to pain and grief.⁸
It is an ancient caravanserai [roadside inn],
on every side of which appears a road to the kingdom of nonexistence.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that a sign of the impermanent world has turned up as your omen. This omen indicates that you will not be free from pain and grief, catastrophe and suffering. If this augury is for travel, it is not acceptable. If it is for visiting the Ka'ba, Medina, or shrines, it is all right. If this augury is for buying and selling, partnership, or trade, it is not approved. It would be better not to set your heart on the faithless world. Let love of it leave your heart so that you will be safe from its trickery and deception. Do not neglect the five times of prayer. Give alms and charity to the poor and dervishes so that you may attain your desire and goal, God willing.



29a



29b

[Folio 29a—Saturn]

Since the Greater Misfortune [i.e., Saturn] has turned up as your omen,
the intention you have in mind is sullied.
Abandon this intention,
for it will bring down upon your head much calamity in the world.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that the Greater Misfortune has turned up as your omen. This omen indicates worry and distraction and grief, misery, and pain. If the intention is for travel, you will experience loss and consternation. If it is for trade, buying and selling, marriage, partnership, or buying beasts, they will result in ruin. In short, the intention you have made will bring loss. It would be better to be patient for a few days and engage in worship, and do not neglect to be mindful of God. If your desire is to travel to the Ka'ba, Medina, or the shrines, set out without delay. Take candles and lamps to mosques and schools so that inauspiciousness may be eliminated from your ascendant.



30a



30b

[Folio 30a—Imam Riza Saves the Sea People]

The eighth imam has appeared as your omen.
By his graciousness he confounded the demon of the sea people.
You have attained your desire.
The augury is in accordance with all goals for anyone who has pure belief.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that the Sultan of Saints Abu'l-Hasan Ali bin Musa al-Riza has turned up as your omen. With his blessed lance he struck a filthy demon in the breast so hard that the tip of the lance came out through its back, and thereby he delivered the sea people from the evil of the demon. Good news for you, since the gates of victory and triumph are open to you, and you have triumphed over your enemies and the envious. If your intention is to travel or to buy and sell, it is auspicious. If your intention is for a wedding or marriage, it is good. Altogether this omen is auspicious for everything, especially for entering a new house, moving, or partnership. However, do not be slack in prayer and charity so that you may attain your desire.



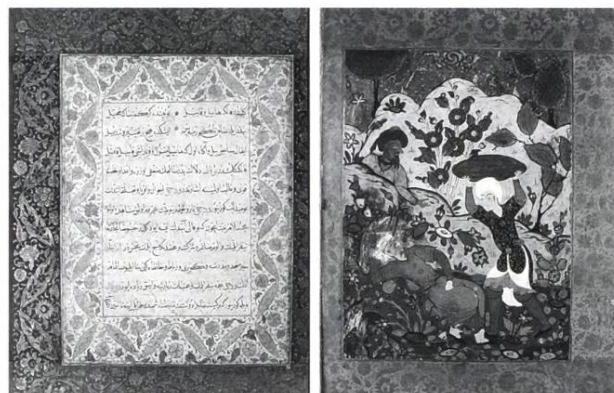
31a

30b

[Folio 31a—Mars]

*Mars [Merikh] has come as your omen, O augury seeker.
Let me say one thing: do not dismiss it as a fable.
With this omen your condition will not be good, you may know.
Abandon immediately this intention courageously.*

O augury seeker, know and be aware that the executioner of the celestial sphere, Mars has turned up as your omen. This omen indicates confusion, grief, and tribulation. If your intention is for travel or for buying and selling, it would be better to abandon your plans because you will suffer loss. If it is for marriage, going into partnership, buying slave boys and girls, horses, or mules, it is not good or auspicious. It is not good for moving or entering a new house or generally for anything. The outlook for a sick person is not devoid of fear and trepidation. Let the augury seeker have patience for a few days and send candles and lamps to mosques and holy places on Friday eve. He should not omit obligatory prayers or neglect alms and charity in order that he may attain his desire.



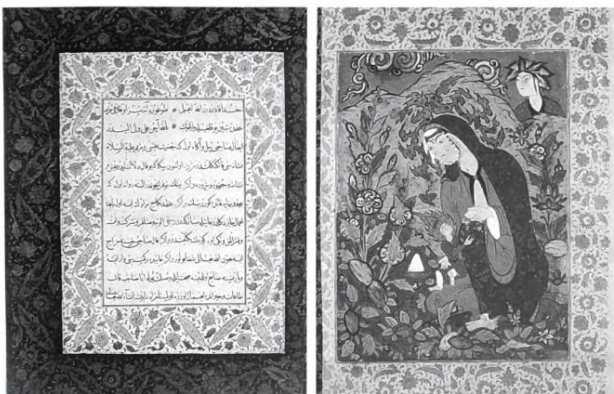
32a

31b

[Folio 32a—Cain and Abel (Habil and Qabil)]

*Cain [Habil] and Abel [Qabil] have turned up as your omen.
You should have no haste in carrying out this intention.
Beware lest you see any change or alteration in your affairs.*

O augury seeker, know and be aware that the murdered Qabil and the murderer Habil have turned up as your omen.⁹ This omen indicates weakness in your ascendancy and points to the fact that your enemies and opponents will be strong and predominate. Hopelessness with regard to your brothers, relatives, and household can be seen. Also seen is deprivation of worldly luxury and comfort. Altogether, no matter what intention you have made, this omen is not good, and it is especially inauspicious for travel, buying and selling, partnership, and marriage. However, it is very good for completing buildings such as mosques, schools, bridges, caravanserais, and dervish lodges and for traveling on the pilgrimage or for visiting shrines. In this omen it is seen that someone is outwardly a friend but inwardly he is an enemy. To remain safe, do not take off your amulets.



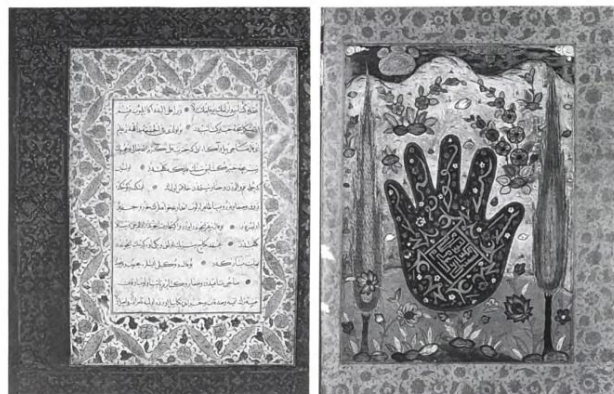
33a

32b

[Folio 33a—Mary and the Infant Jesus]

*God is omnipotent, God is omniscient.
Mary [Maryam] gives birth to a child without a father.
That which loosens the knots in all things is the palm of Ali, friend of God.¹⁰*

O augury seeker, know and be aware that a depiction of Jesus and Mary has turned up as your omen. Good news for you, for this omen indicates comfort, relaxation, and happiness. If your intention is to travel, of course you may set out, for you will see unlimited and endless profit. If your desire is to conclude a marriage, there is no reason for delay since it is extremely auspicious. Buying and selling, partnership, buying horses and mules, and entering a new house are all approved. If the augury seeker is ill, he will recover with God's assistance. If he has someone absent or has lost something, he will recover them in good health, but the augury seeker must not neglect worship or charity in order that he attain his desire, God willing.



34a

33b

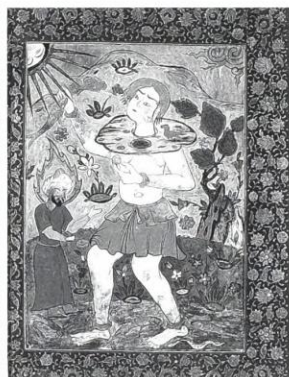
[Folio 34a—Khaybar: The Conquering Palm of Ali]

*The problem solver of all things, O heart, they say is Ali's hand, by which they swear.
His Khaybar-conquering palm has the form of the word Allah.
This became in truth a sign of God's hand.*

O augury seeker, know and be aware that Ali's Khaybar-conquering palm has turned up as your omen. Good news for you, since you have been delivered of all grief and pain, and of all cruelty and oppression. There will be happiness and pleasure in your affairs, and since light and brightness have appeared, your enemies and those who wish you ill will be brought low and despised. If your intention is to travel, it is good. If it is for trade, that, too, appears good. If it is for marriage, entering into partnership, or entering a new house, it is extremely auspicious. This omen is excellent for all things. The seeker should repent of sins, mortal and venial, not neglect the five prayers, and not be slack in giving alms and charity to attain his desire.



35a



34b

[Folio 35a—Moses and the Giant Uj]

By command of the inimitable creator,
by Moses' [Musa] staff Og's [Uj] leg became lame.
The seeker of this augury will also triumph over enemies,
even over enemies who do not attack him directly but obliquely.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that Musa [Moses] has turned up as your omen. That prophet of God struck with his blessed staff Uj [Og], son of Anaq, on his accursed leg and destroyed him.¹¹ Good news for you, since you will attain your desire in all things, and you have triumphed over enemies and the envious. If this augury is for travel or trade, set out immediately, for you will see unlimited profit. Buying and selling, marriage, becoming a partner, entering a new house, and buying and selling horses and mules are good in the extreme. It is extremely auspicious also for weaning infants, sending children to a teacher, and such things. The augury seeker should repent and ask forgiveness, encourage good and forbid the commission of evil, and be charitable to attain his desire.



36a



35b

[Folio 36a—Jonah and the Whale]

Since the prophet Jonah [Yunus] has turned up as your omen,
grief has departed from your heart. Be happy always.
Emerge like Yunus from the sea of grief and always be free of the net of calamity.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that the prophet Jonah, whom the omnipotent and ever-living delivered from the belly of the fish, has turned up as your omen. Good news, for you, too, will be freed and delivered of the strife of the world and the difficulty of time, and the gates of pleasure, comfort, and success are open to you. If you have taken this augury for travel, buying and selling, trade, or marriage, prospects are extremely good. If it for seeing scholars, the pious, or grantees and making requests, you will attain your goal, but it would be appropriate for you not to neglect your five prescribed prayers and to give alms and charity to the poor in order to attain your desire.



37a



36b

[Folio 37a—Joseph in the Pit]

As your omen has turned up Joseph [Yusuf] and his pit, from now on suffer not sorrow.
Success will come to you from God, who has taken you out of the pit of calamity.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that Joseph, whom his brothers envied and cast into a pit, has turned up as your omen. Although the beginning of this omen is not devoid of sorrow, pain, and distress, in the end it is good in the extreme. Good news for the augury seeker, for the gates of wealth, luxury, fame, and high position are open to you, and your enemies and those who envy you have been brought low. Altogether it is auspicious and felicitous for all things, especially for travel, partnership, buying and selling, concluding marriage, entering a new house, going to see grantees, and making requests. However, it would be appropriate to continue your worship, not to be unmindful of the oneness of God, and to give alms and charity in order to attain your desire.



38a



37b

[Folio 38a—Alexander and the Talking Tree]

Since a branch of the Waqwaq has turned up as your omen,
misery is what you will attain from this augury.
Regret this omen, regret, if you would say your omen should be felicitous.

O augury seeker, know and be aware that the Waqwaq tree has turned up as your omen.¹² This omen indicates that the mind will be in trepidation, aggrieved, and saddened. If you have taken this augury for travel, prospects are not good. If it is for buying and selling, becoming a partner, or concluding a marriage, at this time it would be better to postpone and reflect. Affairs like these are also inauspicious. You should take advice, have patience for a few days, respect of and ask forgiveness for your sins, mortal and venial, and occupy yourself with worship in order that inauspiciousness may be eliminated from your ascendant. If you desire to travel to God's House and Medina and want to visit Karbala and the martyrs, set forth without excuse. However, do not stint in alms and charity in order that you may attain your desire.



39a

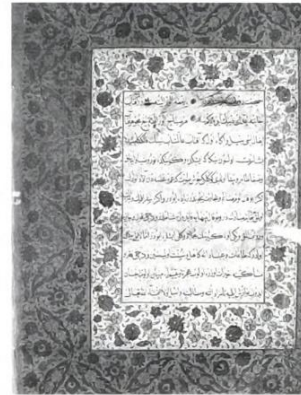


38b

[Folio 39a—Hippocrates]

*Since Bukrat the physician has turned up as your omen,
henceforth do not bring fear or trepidation to your heart.
If you act in accordance with the words of the wise,
an enjoyable state will always be yours.*

O augury seeker, know and be aware that Bukrat [Hippocrates] the physician, seated on the neck of the phoenix and going to Mount Qaf for ministration, has turned up as your omen. Good news! All your affairs have been arranged as you pray for. Be of good cheer, for you have triumphed over your enemies. If you have taken this augury for travel or trade, prospects are good, and you will derive benefit and see no loss or regret. It is also auspicious for seeing kings, rulers, scholars, and the pious and for making requests and attaining desires. However, you should not remove your bracelets and amulets. You should not quit the five times of prayer, and you should give alms and charity to the poor and deserving dervishes in order that you may attain your desire.



40a



39b

[Folio 40a—The Sun in Leo]

*To write the tome of your countenance, which is a verse from wa'sh-shams,
the sun takes a golden pen in its hand.¹³
In order to make breaches in the souls of the enemies of religion,
every morning the bejeweled sun takes in hand a blade.*

O augury seeker, know and be aware that the world-illuminating sun has turned up as your omen. Good news for you, since light and brightness and purity have appeared in your affairs. Be of good cheer, for you have been freed of grief and sorrow. If this augury is for buying and selling or trade, it is exceptionally good. If it is for travel or going into partnership, it is extremely auspicious. This omen includes unlimited benefits. It is good for buying slave boys and girls and beasts, for entering a new house, and generally for all things. However, it would be appropriate for you not to be slack in your worship. Be charitable to the poor and miserable, and be kind and generous to the aged and orphans in order that you attain your desires and requests, God willing.



41a



40b

[Folio 41a—The Pit of Misfortune]

*Like a mad camel is fate in the end: it will drag you to misery.
Beware of it! Think of its end. Do not let it cast you from one pit into another.*

O augury seeker, know and be aware that a mad camel and a pit have turned up as your omen. This omen is not good for any affair or request and indicates grief, pain, suffering, and oppression. Beware. It would be better to eschew this intention. If you have taken this augury for travel, trade, or buying and selling, prospects are inauspicious unless it is for going on pilgrimage and to the shrines. If it is for buying slave boys or girls or beasts, entering a new house, or concluding a marriage, it is inauspicious. It is not unlikely that the seeker of this augury will experience disturbing events at all times. Do not reveal those events or dreams to anyone. Repent of and ask forgiveness for sins, do not postpone the five prayers, and do not neglect alms or charity that you may attain your goal.



41b

Appendix B: Comparative Tables of Omens

The Dispersed Falnama

Collection (text-image)	Title	Good	Bad	Middling	Category
No text-AMSG	Angels Bow before Adam and Eve in Paradise	•			Abrahamic Traditions
MMA-P Coll	Solomon and Bilqis				Abrahamic Traditions
Text unknown-MMA	Muhammad Heals the Sick Boy	•			Islamic Traditions
HAM-P coll	Paradise	•			The Hereafter
Text unknown-HAM	Day of Judgment				The Hereafter
P Coll-P Coll	Hell				The Hereafter
AMSG-P Coll	Bahram Gur Hunting	•			Sages, Heroes, and Villains
D Coll-AMSG	Joseph Enthroned with His Brothers in Egypt	•			Abrahamic Traditions
LACMA-D Coll	Azure Monastery		•		Idolatry
MAH-LACMA	Arrival of the Antichrist (Dajjal)		•		The Hereafter
MAH-MAH	Death of Dara in Alexander's Arms		•		Sages, Heroes, and Villains
MMA-MAH	Uvays-i Qaran and the Camel	•			Sages, Heroes, and Villains
MdL-MMA	People of the Cave	•			Abrahamic Traditions
AMSG-MdL	Imam Riza Saves the Sea People	•			Islamic Traditions
MIK-AMSG	Angel of Death Descends on Shaddad ibn Ad	•			Sages, Heroes, and Villains
MAH-MIK	Salih and the She-Camel	•			Islamic Traditions
CBL-MAH	Circuit of the Ka'ba	•			Islamic Traditions
CBL-CBL	Ali and Muhammad at the Gates of Khaybar	•			Islamic Traditions
B Coll-CBL	Alexander Builds a Wall against Gog and Magog	•			Islamic Traditions
AKTC-B Coll	Moses Challenges Pharaoh's Sorcerers	•			Islamic Traditions
AMSG-AKTC	Imam Ali Slays Murra' ibn Qays	•			Islamic Traditions
MAH-AMSG	Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise			•	Abrahamic Traditions
MMA-MAH	Footprints of Imam Riza	•			Islamic Traditions
AMSG-MMA	Coffin of Imam Ali	•			Islamic Traditions
WAM-MMA	Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey (miraj)	•			Islamic Traditions
Text unknown-WAM	Zakariya in a Tree				Abrahamic Traditions
Text unknown- ex-Binney	Imam Ali Saves Salman al-Farsi				Islamic Traditions
Text unknown- ex-Tulin	Qambar and Duldul				Islamic Traditions
MFA/S Coll -Image unknown	Fragmentary text of Jesus Kills the Antichrist	•			Islamic Traditions
Text unknown- MFA/S Coll	Four Lions Devour Zaynab				Sages, Heroes, and Villains

- - - - - = break in manuscript

= augury page missing but omen accompanies same subject in other Falnamas

The Falnama of Ahmed I (TSM H.1703)

Illus.	Text	Title	Good	Bad	Middling	Category
6b	7a	Sa'di Dressed as a Chinese Monk	•			Idolatry
7b	8a	Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise			•	Abrahamic Traditions
8b	9a	Sulayman and Bilqis Enthroned	•			Abrahamic Traditions
9b	10a	Khizr and Ilyas	•			Abrahamic Traditions
10b	11a	Hud Tossing the People of Ad		•		Abrahamic Traditions
11b	12a	Abraham's (Ibrahim's) Sacrifice	•			Abrahamic Traditions
12b	13a	Paradise	•			The Hereafter
13b	14a	Abraham's (Ibrahim's) Trial by Fire	•			Abrahamic Traditions
14b	15a	Imam Husayn and the Miracle of Water	•			Islamic Traditions
15b	16a	Ali and Muhammad at the Aqsa Mosque	•			Islamic Traditions
16b	17a	Harut and Marut		•		Abrahamic Traditions
17b	18a	Celestial Spheres			•	The Zodiac
18b	19a	Uvays-i Qaran and the Camel	•			Sages, Heroes, and Villains
19b	20a	Imam Ali Saves Salaman al-Farsi	•			Islamic Traditions
20b	21a	Imam Ali Slays Frank Talqitha	•			Islamic Traditions
21b	22a	Hell		•		The Hereafter
22b	23a	Dabbat al-arz (Beast of the Earth)		•		The Hereafter
23b	24a	Hakim Luqman	•			Sages, Heroes, and Villains
24b	25a	Qambar and Duldul	•			Islamic Traditions
25b	26a	Death of Alexander		•		Sages, Heroes, and Villains
26b	27a	Imam Ali Splits Jabala in Half	•			Islamic Traditions
27b	28a	Kneeling Man Beseeches Standing Woman		•		?
28b	29a	Saturn		•		The Zodiac
29b	30a	Imam Riza Saves the Sea People	•			Islamic Traditions
30b	31a	Mars		•		The Zodiac
31b	32a	Cain and Abel [Habil and Kabil]	•	•		Abrahamic Traditions
32b	33a	Mary and the Infant Jesus	•			Abrahamic Traditions
33b	34a	Ali and Muhammad at the Gates of Khaybar	•			Islamic Traditions
34b	35a	Moses and the Giant Uj	•			Abrahamic Traditions
35b	36a	Jonah and the Whale	•			Abrahamic Traditions
36b	37a	Joseph in the Pit	•			Abrahamic Traditions
37b	38a	Alexander and the Talking Tree		•		Sages, Heroes, and Villains
38b	39a	Hippocrates (Bukrat)	•			Sages, Heroes, and Villains
39b	40a	Sun in Leo	•			The Zodiac
40b	41a	The Pit of Misfortune		•		Literary Traditions

The Topkapı Persian Falnama (TSM H.1702)

Illus	Text	Title	Good	Bad	Middling	Category
1b	2a	Dabbat al-arz (Beast of the Earth)				The Hereafter
2b	3a	Moon	•			The Zodiac
3b	4a	Mercury	•			The Zodiac
4b	5a	Venus	•			The Zodiac
5b	6a	Sun	•			The Zodiac
6b	7a	Mars		•		The Zodiac
7b	8a	Jupiter	•			The Zodiac
8b	9a	Saturn	•	•		The Zodiac
9b	10a	The Zodiac	•			The Zodiac
10b	11a	Draco (Dragon) in the Sky		•		The Zodiac
11b	12a	Infant Ali Slays a Dragon	•			Islamic Traditions
12b	13a	People of the Cave	•			Abrahamic Traditions
13b	14a	Imam Riza Saves the Sea People	•			Islamic Traditions
14b	15a	Mary and Jesus	•			Abrahamic Traditions
15b	16a	Imam Ali kills Amr bin Abdud and Antar	•			Islamic Traditions
16b	17a	Day of Judgment		•		The Hereafter
17b	18a	Dragon in the Pit		•		The Hereafter
18b	19a	Moses and the Giant Uj			•	Abrahamic Traditions
19b	20a	Abraham's (Ibrahim's) Sacrifice	•			Abrahamic Traditions
20b	21a	Alexander Builds a Wall against Gog and Magog		•		Sages, Heroes, and Villains
21b	22a	Imam Ali Slays Murra bin Qays	•			Islamic Traditions
22b	23a	Prophet Muhammad Splits the Moon	•			Islamic Traditions
23b	24a	Khizr and Ilyas Discover the Water of Life	•			Abrahamic Traditions
24b	25a	The Throne and the Crown	•			Morality tales
25b	26a	Salih and the She-Camel	•			Abrahamic Traditions
26b	27a	Muhammad at the River Kausar	•			Islamic Traditions
27b	28a	Jonah and the Whale	•			Abrahamic Traditions
28b	29a	Tomb of Muhammad	•			The Hereafter
29b	30a	Layla and Majnun		•		Literary Traditions
30b	31a	The Angel of Death Descends on Shaddad ibn Ad		•		Sages, Heroes, and Villains
31b	32a	Zulfiqar	•			Islamic Traditions
32b	33a	Zakariya in a Tree			•	Abrahamic Traditions
33b	34a	Imam Ali Splits Jabbala in Half	•			Islamic Traditions
34b	35a	Job Scratching Himself with Stones and Wood			•	Abrahamic Traditions
35b	36a	The Ka'ba	•			Islamic Traditions
36b	37a	Joseph in the Pit			•	Abrahamic Traditions
37b	38a	Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey (<i>miraj</i>)	•			The Hereafter
38b	39a	Dragon and Treasure			•	Morality tales
39b	40a	Moses Challenged by the Pharaoh's Sorcerers	•			Abrahamic Traditions
40b	41a	Imam Husayn and the Miracle of Water	•	•		Islamic Traditions
41b	42a	Abraham's (Ibrahim's) Trial by Fire		•		Abrahamic Traditions
42b	43a	Solomon and Bilqis	•			Abrahamic Traditions
43b	44a	Worshippers at the Tomb of Imam Riza	•			Islamic Traditions
44b	45a	Ali and Muhammad at Khaybar	•			Islamic Traditions
45b	46a	Noah's Ark		•		Abrahamic Traditions
46b	47a	Kay Kavus and the Flying Machine		•		Sages, Heroes, and Villains
47b	48a	Dabbat al-arz (Beast of the Earth)	•			The Hereafter
48b	49a	Entrance of the Antichrist (Dajjal)		•		The Hereafter
49b	50a	Imam Mahdi's Abode	•			The Hereafter
50b	51a	Gabriel Sent to Lot		•		Abrahamic Traditions
51b	52a	Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise			•	Abrahamic Traditions
52b	53a	Moses and Qarun		•		Abrahamic Traditions
53b	54a	Harut and Marut		•		Abrahamic Traditions
54b	55a	Tomb of Imam Husayn	•			Abrahamic Traditions
55b	56a	Paradise	•			The Hereafter
56b	57a	Hell		•		The Hereafter
57b	58a	Ishab Killed Trying to Destroy the Ka'ba		•		Sages, Heroes, and Villains
58b	59a	Imam Hasan Raises the Daughter of King of Yemen	•			Islamic Traditions
59b	60a	Imam Mahdi Enthroned	•			The Hereafter

Endnotes

The Art of Bibliomancy

Serpil Bağcı and Masumeh Farhad

- 1 Abu-l-Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, transl. from Persian by H. Beveridge, Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1907), Vol. 1, p. 605; also quoted in Vincent C. Scott O'Connor, *An Eastern Library: With Two Catalogues of Its Persian and Arabic Manuscripts* (Glasgow, 1920) (see <http://kblibrary.bih.nic.in/>) Persian Catalogue: vol. 1, no. 151, p. 240.
- 2 Patna, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, *Divan* of Hafiz, no. 151, f. 67b. We are deeply grateful to John Seyller for bringing this manuscript to our attention and for providing photographs of the folios that include annotations by the Mughal rulers Humayun and his grandson Jahangir (r. 1605–27). See also O'Connor, *Eastern Library*, pp. 239–40. In the attached note to the manuscript, which is dated 18 Zuhijja 962 AH (11 November 1555), Humayun gives not only the reason for seeking the augury but also states he has received so many favorable ones that if he were to explain each of them, they would turn into a book (*chandin bar abyat-i munasib amada ka agar shahr unha shavad kitabi*.)
- 3 Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, H.1365, f. 36b. The episode is illustrated in a copy dated 1584, showing Lala Mustafa Pasha and the author of the book, Gelibolulu Ali, together with the shaykh of the complex, watching whirling dervishes. The pasha holds a book, probably the very copy of the *Mathnawi* he consulted for his augury. For the poem see *The Mathnawi of Jalalu'ddin Rumi*, edited from the oldest manuscripts available with critical notes, translation, and commentary by R. A. Nicholson (Leiden-London, 1929), vol. 3, pp. 498–99. The *mathnavi* is a form of Persian poetry, comprising rhythmic distiches or couplets frequently used for narrative themes. For another augury with reference to Mount Qaf, see cat. 43.
- 4 For an overview, see Mahmoud Omidasalar, "Divination," in Ehsan Yarshater, ed., *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 7 (1996), pp. 440–43; T. Fahd, "Divination," *Encyclopedia of the Qur'an*, vol. 1, Jane Dammen McAuliffe, general ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 542–45; Christiane Gruber, "Divination," in Josef W. Meri, ed., *Medieval Islamic Civilization*, vol. 1 (2006), pp. 209–11.
- 5 The Torah and the Bible also were used for divination in Jewish and Christian contexts, respectively; see Pieter W. van der Horst, "Sortes: sacred books as instant oracles in Late Antiquity," in L. V. Rutgers, P. W. van der Horst, H. W. Havelaar, and L. Teugels, eds., *The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), pp. 143–59.
- 6 See G. Flügel, "Der Loosbücher der Muhammadaner," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, vols. 12–13 (1860–61), pp. 32–33, 43–44.
- 7 Flügel, "Loosbücher der Muhammadaner," pp. 29, 35.
- 8 Omidasalar, "Divination," p. 441; Iradj Afshar, "Fāl-nāma," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 9 (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1999), p. 173. al
- 9 According to a research team headed by Dr. Eliose Brac de la Perrière of the CNRS, the impressive Sultanate "Gwalior" Koran, dated 1398–99 and now in the Aga Khan Trust for Culture Collection, concludes with an unpublished *fālnama*. This important finding implies that this volume, probably copied in Shiraz, would be the earliest extant copy of the Koran with a *fālnama*. We are most grateful to Dr. Brac de la Perrière for sharing this information with us, to Elaine Wright for bringing the "Gwalior" Koran to our attention, and to Frantz Chaigne for his assistance. For reference see Anthony Welch and Stuart Cary Welch, *Arts of the Islamic Book. The Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), no. 47.
- 10 For other examples, see Lâle Uluç, *Turkoman Governors, Shiraz Artisans, and Ottoman Patrons: Sixteenth-Century Shiraz Manuscripts* (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006), TSM K. 103, TIEM 504, TIEM 503, illus. 276–81.
- 11 The rules are included in the instructions as discussed in cats. 7–9.
- 12 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Suppl. persan, no. 77, is discussed by Henri Massé in "Fa'l-nāma," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (London: Luzac and Co., 1965), p. 761. For another copy in the British Library (Add 6591), dated 1480 (884 AH), see Afshar, "Fāl-nāma," pp. 175–76. The text of this *Fālnama* begins by stating that Ja'far al-Sadiq spent fifty years compiling the text, which was consulted by caliphs and also presented to as a gift (*tuhfa*) to Sultan Mahmud (reigned 998–1030), who made it his constant companion (*munis*).
- 13 Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Or. 133. For the images, see Oxford Digital Library, <http://www2.odl.ox.ac.uk>. The text and illustrations of the manuscript was published in a monographic study by Stefano Carboni, *Il Kitab al-Bulhan di Oxford* (Torino: Editrice Tirrenia Stampatori, 1988). See also *Venice and the Islamic World 828–1797*, ed. Stefano Carboni (New York, New Haven, and London: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2006), cat. 2.
- 14 Carboni, *Il-Kitab al-Bulhan*, pp. 64–69, ill. 57–69.
- 15 A fifteenth-century geomantic diagram (*raml*), which includes the names of sixteen prophets in roundels as part of an astral map (TSM H.2152, f. 40b) attests to the association of prophets and astrological concepts.
- 16 Browne, pp. 312–20; Omidasalar, "Divination," p. 441. The *Divan* of Hafiz is used for prognostication to this day. As illustrated by the anecdote in the *Nusretname*, mentioned above, works such as the *Mathnawi* of Jalal al-Din Rumi also were commonly used.
- 17 A *ghazal* is a monorhyme lyrical poem, usually no longer than fourteen verses.
- 18 Omidasalar, "Divination," p. 441.
- 19 Obayd Zakani, *Collected Works*, ed. Mohamamd-Ja'far Mahjoub, Persian Text Series, general editor, Ehsan Yarshater, n.s., no. 2 (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1999), pp. xxxii–xxxiv, 347–73. For depiction of birds in the context of prognostication, see the discussion of the *Munis al-ahrar* (The free man's companion).
- 20 A sixteenth-century copy of the *Raznama* in the British Library (Or. 1114) includes three paintings of Ottoman literati holding books at open-air gatherings. Unfortunately, the illustrations have been defaced. See Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1888), p. 133, and Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts* (London: British Library, 1981), p. 47, no. 37. Kefevi was a native of Kefe (Kaffa) in the Crimea and moved to Istanbul in the 1560s. After finishing his education, he taught at distinguished *madrasas* of Istanbul and Edirne and also was appointed to important cities, such as Medina, Makka, and Jerusalem. Kefevi's commentaries on Sa'di's *Gulistan* and Hafiz's *Divan* suggest his interest in these two poets whose verses were frequently used for prognostication. His first book on the art of divination was written in 1577 during his one-year stay in his hometown of Kefe. Kefevi's *Razname* has been recently published: *Kefeli Hüseyin. Râznâme (Süleymaniye, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa No. 539)*, transcription and facsimile prepared by I. H. Solak (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 2004).
- 21 In one of his *fatwas*, he disapproves of consulting the Koran if it is done in a haphazardly and excessive manner. M. Erğül Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuûd Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1972), pp. 199; see also Flügel, "Loosbücher der Muhammadaner," pp. 43–44.
- 22 *Bisan-i falguyan-and murqan bar dirakhtan bar/ nahada pish-i khish andar pur az tasvir doftarha. Divan-i Manuchihr-i Damghani*, ed. Muhammad Dabir Siyāqi (Tehran: n.p., 1347/1968–69), p. 3. Also cited in Iradj Afshar, "Fālnama," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 9 (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1999), p. 175. For eyewitness accounts, see essay 2 ("The *Fālnama* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries").
- 23 *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Islamic World*, intro. Stuart Cary Welch (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), cat. 58. In the entry, it has been suggested that the image may have been used as a prop in public storytelling. For another example, see fig. 6.7.
- 24 See Oya Pancaroğlu, "A World Unto Himself: The Rise of a New Human Image in the Late Seljuk Period (1150–1250)," PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000, pp. 57–65; Oya Pancaroğlu, "Signs in the Horizon: Concepts of image and boundary in a medieval Persian cosmography," *RES* 43 (spring 2003), pp. 31–32.
- 25 See Karin Rührdanz, "Illustrated Persian: 'Ajaib al-makhlūqat' manuscripts and their function in early modern time," in Andrew J. Newman, ed., *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 33–51; Karin Rührdanz, "Ein Illustrierter latromagischer Text als Bestandteil von 'Aja'ib al-makhlūqat'-Handschriften: vom Staunen über der Schöpfung zur magischen Praxis," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 26, no. 2 (2002), pp. 183–93.
- 26 The manuscript was acquired in Izmir in the seventeenth century and is now housed in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (Mss. or. Pers. 174). Its title is derived from the section on geomancy and talismans. Francis Richard, *Catalogue des*

- manuscripts persans, Ancien fonds, vol. 1 (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1989), pp. 193-95; Marianne Barrucand, "The miniatures of the *Daqa'iq al-Haqa'iq* (Bibliothèque Nationale Pers. 174): A Testimony to the Cultural Diversity of Medieval Anatolia," *Islamic Art* 4 (1991), pp. 113-42; Francis Richard, *Splendeurs persanes. Manuscrits du Xlle au XVIIle siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), p. 38.
- 27 Marie Lukens Swietochowski and Stefano Carboni with essays by A. H. Morton and Tomoko Masuya, *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images: Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994).
- 28 Swietochowski and Carboni, *Illustrated Poetry*, pp. 56-57.
- 29 For examples, see ff. 33b-43b, 45b-46b; see also Carboni, *Venice and the Islamic World*, cat. 2, p. 295, for the use of these illustrations for storytelling.
- 30 For example, an image of the *Monastery of the Idols* (f. 37b) and the *Waq-waq* tree (f. 41b) are also included in Ahmed ı's *Falnama*; *Gog and Magog* (f. 38a) appear both in the dispersed *Falnama* and in the Persian bound copy in the Topkapı (H.1702).
- 31 The beginning and end of the unpublished manuscript are missing. It existed as a series of separate folios until 2008, when it was conserved but unfortunately bound out of sequence.
- 32 This copy is housed in the İnebey İ Kütüphanesi, Bursa; see I. Hakkı Ertaylan, *Falname* (İstanbul: Sucuoğlu Matbaası, 1951), pp. 32-35. The texts of two manuscripts are not identical, suggesting the *Hürsidname*, like other divination texts, did not depend on a single source.
- The Falnama in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries**
Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı
- 1 Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Muhammed Zilli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu- Dizini. I. Kitap: İstanbul*, ed. O. Şaik Gökyay (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996), p. 292. We are deeply grateful to Yorgos Dedes for his translation of this passage.
- 2 The term monumental is used in this study to distinguish these folios not only from later and smaller copies, see below, but also from most other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings.
- 3 Folios from the dispersed *Falnama* measure about 59 × 44.5 cm. For discussion, see essay 3 in this volume.
- 4 TSM H.1702. The illustrations are framed by two lines of text and measure 41.5 × 26.5 cm each. They are set in wide tinted or marbled margins. Altogether, each folio measures 58 × 43 cm. This copy will be referred to as the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* and is discussed in detail in essay 4 in this volume.
- 5 E445. This volume is housed in the Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden. The illustrations range in size from 48 × 36.5 cm to 66.5 × 48 cm and include some of the largest extant images. For discussion, see essay 5 in this volume.
- 6 TSM H.1703. The illustrations in the Ahmed ı *Falnama* measure about 49 × 35 cm and the full page about 68 × 47 cm. They are discussed in essay 6 and in the catalogue section of this volume.
- 7 mss. 979; see Linda York Leach, *Paintings from India*, vol. viii, in Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, ed. Julian Raby (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1998), no. 65; Linda York Leach, "Das Falnama-Ein islamisches Omenbuch," in *Orakel: Der Blick in die Zukunft*, ed. Axel Langer and Albert Lutz (Zurich: Museum Rietberg, 1999), pp. 208-15; J. M. Rogers, *The Arts of Islam. Treasures from the Nasser D. Khalili Collection* (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2007), pp. 219-22.
- 8 Museum of Ethnography, Rotterdam, 071803, f. 10; Oliver Kahl, "Ein anonymes persisches Orakelbuch (fal-namah) aus dem späten 10./16. Jahrhundert," *Welt des Orients*, vol. 19 (1988), pp. 118-41; Fred Ross, "Dreaming of the Future," in *Dreaming of Paradise: Islamic Art from the Collection of the Museum of Ethnography, Rotterdam* (Rotterdam: Martial and Snoeck, 1993). For the Ottoman origin of the illustrations, see Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of the Qisas al-anbiya* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1998), p. 69; John Seyller, in a private exchange, also proposed an Ottoman provenance for these images.
- 9 Toby Falk and Simon Digby, with introduction by Michael Goedhuis, *Paintings from Mughal India* (London: Colnaghi, 1979), cats. 1-8.
- 10 Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, p. 262.
- 11 For the practice of storytelling, see Mahmoud Omidsalar, "Storytellers in Classical Persian Texts," *Journal of American Folklore* 97, no. 384 (April-June 1984), pp. 204-12.
- 12 Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü 1577-1578*, ed. K. Beydilli, trans. T. Noyan (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), vol. 1, p. 653. It is unclear, however, if these books were illustrated.
- 13 Adam Olearius, *Moskowitzische und Persische Reise*, ed. Eberhard Meissner (Darmstadt: Progress-Verlag Johann Fladung, 1959), p. 441.
- 14 The French jeweler refers to the book as a *livre in-folio*, literally meaning "books in pages"; *Voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, vol. 4 (Paris: L. Langlès, 1811), pp. 478-79.
- 15 TSM H.1703, f. 4b.
- 16 At least one folio (*Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise*) in the dispersed copy lacks a text; see Appendix A.
- 17 For a recent discussion of text-image relationship, see David Roxburgh, "Micrographia: Toward a Visual Logic of Persianate Painting," *RES* 43 (spring 2003), pp. 12-31.
- 18 For example, *Joseph Sold in the Market* (f. 34a): *va agar bara-yi qayib-i dida bashad, darin zudi [sic] khabar-i khushi az u shanida bishnavad* (and if he [the seeker] has seen it [the augury] for someone absent, he will soon hear good news about him); see also Appendix A for translations of the auguries in the dispersed *Falnama*, H.1702, and H.1703.
- 19 With the exception of the dispersed copy, all the monumental *Falnamas* are bound.
- 20 David Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400-1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 32; also see pp. 32-35 for an insightful discussion of books.
- 21 Stuart Cary Welch, "The Falnama (Book of Divination) of Shah Tahmasp," in *Treasures of Islam*, ed. Toby Falk (London: Sotheby's/Philip Wilson Publishers, 1985), pp. 94-95. Glenn D. Lowry and Milo C. Beach, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection* (Washington, D.C., and Seattle: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and University of Washington Press, 1988), nos. 169-72; Glenn D. Lowry and Susan Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection* (Washington, D.C., and Seattle: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and University of Washington Press, 1988), nos. 29-33; Sheila Canby, "Safavid Painting," in *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501-1576*, ed. Jon Thompson and Sheila R. Canby (New York: Skira, 2003), p. 122. In 1962, Ernst Grube suggested that the text is based on al-Nishaburi's *Qisas al-anbiya* (Stories of the prophets); see Ernst Grube, *Muslim Miniature Painting from the XIII to XIX Century from the Collections in the United States and Canada* (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1962), no. 61.
- 22 Kumiko Yamamoto, *The Oral Background of Persian Epics: Storytelling and Poetry* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), p. 139. See also Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Methuen, 1982; rpt. London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2002), chap. 3.
- 23 This type of repetition also is considered a characteristic of oral traditions; see Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, pp. 38-39.
- 24 Among the more detailed discussions of the subject are TSM H.1702, f. 51a, TSM H.1703, f. 30a, and the dispersed *Falnama*, *People of the Cave*; see Appendix A.
- 25 See also John C. Lamoreaux, *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), pp. 42, 63; for the conditional element in dream interpretation, see p. 85. The structure of the written auguries in the Dresden *Falnama*, however, are more haphazard and do not always follow the pattern outlined here.
- 26 In his description of Isfahani fortunetellers, Olearius maintains that he often observed women asking whether their husbands or sons would return home with another wife. See Olearius, *Moskowitzische und Persische Reise*, p. 442.
- 27 For the full text, see Appendix A.
- 28 The analogy between image and text in the pictorial *Falnamas*, however, is not always clear. For instance, *Garden of Eden* and *Ali at the Battle of Khaybar* in the Topkapı Persian copy are both associated with advantageous travel and relocation. Other than illustrating an auspicious subject, the two have little in common, and the semantic relationship of the visual and the verbal defies easy explanation.
- 29 The other example is *Abraham's Fire Ordeal* (f. 13b) in the Ahmed ı *Falnama*, which is auspicious, and in the Topkapı Persian copy (f. 41b), which is unfavorable. In both versions, a haloed Abraham is shown seated in a flowering patch of garden that miraculously protects him against the flickering flames into which he has been thrown. A catapult stands near by. In the Ottoman *Falnama*, depicted in a miniscule scale below the catapult, a dark-skinned couple is shown having intercourse. According to some versions of the *Qisas al-anbiya*, Satan taught the sinful people of Nimrod to build a catapult to throw Abraham into the fire from a distance, but angels prevented it from functioning. In the guise of a clean man, Satan then reappears and advises them to have two siblings copulate. As a result, the angels were dispersed and the catapult worked. See Kara Davud, *Delail-i Hayrat Şerhi*, ed. A. Cicek (İstanbul: Çelik Yayınevi, 1975), pp. 858-59.

- 30 It is easy to imagine how such shifts in meaning and significance of an image could occur without a text as a guide.
- 31 At times, these directives are quite specific; for example, the prognostication relating to the image of hell in the dispersed *Falnama* maintains, "And on the eves of Thursday and Friday, put wild rue and salt in the fire and carry it around the house, and hand it to a young girl to throw it at the juncture of the road until the stricture on your affairs goes away"; see Appendix A.
- 32 For a table showing the correspondence of imagery in the extant *Falnamas*, see Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, chart I, pp. 83–84.
- 33 This term is borrowed from Lamoreaux, *Early Muslim Tradition*, p. 85.
- 34 A well-known example is the depiction of Ali at the battle of Khaybar (cat. 23), which is already included in the 1415–16 *Kulliyat-i tarikhi* (Anthology of history) by Hafiz Abru in Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library (8.282). For the illustration (f. 169a), see T. W. Lentz and G. D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles and Washington, D.C.: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1989), p. 132; Serpil Bağcı, "From Texts to Pictures: 'Ali in Manuscript Painting,'" in *Ali in Islamic Belief*, ed. Ahmet Yasar Ocak (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005), fig. 5.
- 35 According to Jean Calmard, the term *zulfıqar* literally means "provided with two notches or grooves." Allegedly, Muhammad captured the miraculous sword at the battle of Badr (624) and gave it to Ali at the battle of Uhud (625); see "Du'l-Faqar," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. VII (1996), p. 566; E. Mittwoch, "Dhu'l Fakar," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. II (1965), p. 233. For a discussion of Imam Ali's portrayal in Persian and Ottoman painting, see Bağcı, "Ali," pp. 229–65. The *zulfıqar* is also the subject of an augury in TSM H.1702 (f. 31b); see Appendix A.
- 36 For instance, the sixteenth-century Ottoman-Alevi poet Yemini (d. 1533) gives elaborate accounts of several episodes from Ali's life; see *Hazreti Ali'nin Fazilet-namesi*, ed. Adil Ali Atalay Vaktidolu (Istanbul: Can Yayınları, 2003). See also the entries for the *Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey* (cat. 22) and *Coffin of Imam Ali* (cat. 26). Interestingly, these scenes appear neither in the sixteenth-century copies of the *Qisas al-anbiya* nor in the extant illustrated copies of the *Khavarnama* (Book of Khavar) completed in 1427 by Ibn Hisam Khusifi Birjandi, which describes the fantastic adventures of Ali and his companions. See Yahya Zoka, "Khavarnama: Noskha-yi khatti va musavvar-i muza-yi hunarha-yi taz'ini," *Honar va Mardom* 20 (1343), pp. 17–29; Basil Gray, *Persian Painting* (New York: Skira, 1961), pp. 105–108. Recently, a facsimile edition of all the *Khavarnama* paintings in the Golestan Palace, Tehran, has been published; see *Khavaran-nama-yi Ibn Hisâm Khusifi Birjandi* (Tehran: Sazman-i chap va intisharat, 2002). For a recent discussion of the text, see Charles Melville, "Ibn Husam's Hâvarân-nâma and the Šâh-nâma of Firdawsî," *Eurasian Studies* 5, nos. 1–2 (2006), pp. 219–34.
- 37 Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), p. 67.
- 38 The illustration is inspired by sura 54:1, which states, "The Hour (of Judgment) is nigh, and the moon is cleft asunder." The miracle was intended to convince the doubting Quraysh of the truth in the Prophet's message and the power of his revelations. For a discussion of the story, see Schimmel, *Muhammad Is His Messenger*, pp. 69–71.
- 39 The sites include the Aqsa Mosque, TSM H.1703, f. 16b; Ali's tomb at Najaf, TSM H.1702, f. 21b, Dresden E445, f. 50b, the dispersed *Falnama*; Husayn's sanctuary at Karbala, TSM H.1702, f. 43b and Dresden E445, f. 32b; and the Prophet's tomb at Medina, TSM H.1702, f. 27b. Mecca and the Ka'ba is included in the dispersed copy, TSM H.1702, f. 35b, Dresden E445, f. 21b; a shrine commemorating the footprints of Imam Riza in the dispersed *Falnama* (cat. 30) and probably his tomb in Dresden E445, f. 26b.
- 40 Joseph W. Meri, "The Etiquette of Devotion in the Islamic Cult of Saints," in *The Cult of Saints in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Essays on Contribution of Peter Brown*, ed. James Howard-Johnston and Paul Anthony Hayward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 273.
- 41 Kishwar Rizvi points out that while the Safavid Shi'i supported shrine worship, the Sunnis emphasized the role and function of Friday mosques. Royal women, in particular, played an active role in supporting and maintaining shrines and their activities; see Kishwar Rizvi "Gendered Patronage: Women and Benevolence during the Early Safavid Period," in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), p. 129.
- 42 Orthodox Islam considers the practice of *ziyara* contrary to monotheistic principles. Nevertheless, according to Meri, "Tombs and shrines were integrated into every aspect of daily life. Pilgrimage to them cut across the boundaries between public and private, between the city and the countryside, between rich and poor, and between the learned and illiterate"; see Meri, "Islamic Cult of Saints," p. 286. For refurbishment of major Shi'i shrines in the sixteenth century, see also Sussan Babai, "Building on the Past: The Shaping of Safavid Architecture, 1501–76," in Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, passim.
- 43 See "Abrahamic Traditions" in the catalogue section; for a discussion of the "earliest" series of portraits of the prophets in the so-called chest of witnesses, see David Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 170–74.
- 44 One of the earliest such histories is Balami's *Tarikhnama* (Book of history) in the Freer Gallery of Art (F1947.19 and F1957.16); see Teresa Fitzherbert, "Religious Diversity under Ilkhanid rule c. 1300 as reflected in the Freer Bal'ami," in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff, Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts, eds W. Kadi and R. Wielandt, vol. 64 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 390–406. Another is also Rashid al-Din's *Jami al-tawarikh* (Compendium of chronicles); see Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's History of the World. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art* (Oxford: Nour Foundation and Oxford University Press in association with Azimuth Editions, 1995).
- 45 Angelika Newirth, "Myths and Legends," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, vol. 3 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), pp. 480, 484.
- 46 For general discussion, see Haim Schwarzbaum, *Biblical and Extra-Biblical Legends in Islamic Folk-Literature* (Waldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde, 1982); Franz Rosenthal, "The Influence of the Biblical Tradition on Muslim Historiography," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 35–45.
- 47 For three illustrated versions, see cats. 59, 64, and 65.
- 48 Muhammad ibn Abd Allah al-Kisa'i, *Tales of the Prophet (Qisas al-anbiya)*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., series ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Chicago: Kazi Publications, 1997), pp. xix–xxii, for a list of other copies of the *Qisas*, see *ibid.*, n. 25; see also Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, pp. 7–10.
- 49 See Omidsalar, "Storytellers," pp. 204–12; al-Kisa'i, *Tales of the Prophet*, pp. xviii–xix. For the influential role and persecution of these figures in the Safavid period, see Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscape of Early Modern Iran*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs xxxv (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), passim.
- 50 Al-Kisa'i, *Tales of the Prophet*, p. xvi, n. 1.
- 51 Loyalty is exemplified by Abraham's readiness to sacrifice his son (TSM H.1702, f. 19b; TSM H.1703, f. 11b), the inevitability of the fate by Khizr and Ilyas at the fountain of life (TSM H.1702, ff. 23b; TSM H.1703, f. 9b), and Zachariah's martyrdom (in the dispersed *Falnama* and TSM H.1702, f. 32b); patience (Job suffering affliction, TSM H.1702, fol. 34b; Dresden E445, f. 23b); Joseph suffering, either in the pit into which his brothers threw him (TSM H.1702, f. 36b) or imprisoned in Egypt (TSM H.1702, f. 36b); punishments (the expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise, TSM H.1702, f. 51b; TSM H.1703, f. 7b); Lot, his daughters, and Sodom (TSM H.1702, f. 50b; Dresden E445, f. 30b); salvation by divine help (Jonah emerges from the mouth of the fish, TSM H.1702, f. 27b; TSM H.1703, f. 35b); and Abraham finds himself in a green garden instead of the burning flames into which he was thrown by Nimrud (TSM H.1702, f. 41b; TSM H.1703, f. 13b).
- Interestingly, an unillustrated Ottoman *Falnama* (London, British Library, Harley 5453), attributable to the seventeenth century, also uses verbal descriptions of key scenes in the lives of Abrahamic prophets as the basis for its prognostications; see Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1888), p. 134.
- 52 TSM H.1703, f. 4b.
- 53 The association of prophets with the art of prognostication is also evident in the Islamic tradition of dream interpretation, which uses another type of image (oneiro-mantic) as omens. According to John Lamoreaux, several early authors, such as Ibn Sirin and Ibn al-Musayyib, traced their knowledge and authority to Abraham, Joseph, and Daniel, prophets long associated with the art of divination. Many dream manuals also include sections on interpreting dreams of prophets and their companions; see Lamoreaux, *Early Muslim Tradition*, pp. 42, 63.
- 54 For illustrations, see Marie-Rose Seguy, *Mirajmameh ou le voyage du prophète* (Paris: Draeger Éditeur, 1977).
- 55 Jane I. Smith, "Eschatology," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, vol. 2 (Brill: Leiden, 2002), p. 44.
- 56 Zulfarnayn literally means the "two-horned one" or the Lord of the two epochs.
- 57 Dresden E445, f. 16b; TSM H.1703, f. 24b. In the *Darabnama* (Book of Darab), Luqman accompanied Alexander in search of the water of life.
- 58 In TSM H.1702, f. 47b, for instance, Kay-Kavus is compared to Nimrud. The verbal auguries related to Dara in the dispersed *Falnama* and the haunting image of Majnun's desert in TSM H.1702, f. 29b, focus more on the troubled psychological state of the seeker and advise caution and better choice in friends and companions.

- 59 For other sixteenth-century illustrations of Dara's death, see Lâle Uluç, *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans, and Ottoman Collectors. Sixteenth-Century Shirazi Manuscripts* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2006), nos. 53–55; for an illustration of the two murderers hanging from the gallows, see *ibid.*, no. 95.
- 60 The evocative scene portrays a young woman, presumably Layli, with a female companion and a male servant, seated in a barren landscape with an emaciated, thirsty dog. There is no sign of Majnun, but his presence seems to be implied by the setting. The later Rotterdam *Falnama* includes the figure of Majnun (EMR no. 071803 335).
- 61 The literature on the iconographic depiction of planets and the signs of the zodiac is vast. For a general evaluation, see Stefano Carboni, *Following the Stars: Images of the Zodiac in Islamic Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997); Anna Caiozzo, *Images du ciel d'Orient au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003). Eva Baer, *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), pp. 245–74.
- 62 Among the notable inventions of the Mughal emperor Humayun (reigned 1530–56) was the so-called carpet of mirth, which was circular in shape and decorated with "orbits of the spheres." His courtiers would occupy different spheres (*ulema* and *soyysids* in Jupiter; Indians in Saturn) and imitate the position of one of the planets by rolling a dice. The emperor himself dressed according to the color of the planet of the day; see Abu-l-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, vol. 1, Bibliotheca Indica; translated from the Persian by H. Beveridge I.C.S. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1907), pp. 649–50. I am grateful to Debra Diamond for bringing this reference to my attention.
- 63 See Anna Caiozzo, "La huitième planète: al-Jawzahar, le dragon des éclipses de Lune," in *Images du ciel d'Orient*, chap. 4.
- 64 The style of each *Falnama* is examined in greater detail in essays 3–6 in this volume.
- 65 The exceptions are the illustrations (cat. 33; fig. 5.2) attributed to Siyavush, the Georgian (discussed in essay 5). For the attribution of the dispersed *Falnama* paintings to Aqa Mirak and Abdul Aziz, see essay 3.
- 66 For an in-depth discussion of the *Qisas* manuscripts, see Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, especially chap. 5. For Tusi's illustrated texts, see Karin Rührdanz, "Eine Illustrierter Iatromagischer Text als Bestandteil von *Agâ'ib al-Mahlûqât*-Handschriften: Vom Staunen über die Wunder der Schöpfung zur Magischen Praxis," *Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 26, no. 2 (2002), pp. 183–93.
- 67 Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, p. 102.
- 68 Rührdanz, *Agâ'ib*, p. 184. The unpublished manuscript is in a private collection in Kuwait.
- 69 See Rachel Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1990); Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*; Güner İnal, "The Influence of the Kazvin Style on Ottoman Miniature Painting," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), pp. 457–75; vln.
- 70 See Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, especially chap. 9.
- 71 Following the Peace of Amasya in 1555 between Sultan Süleyman and Shah Tahmasb, the Ottomans gained control of Tabriz from 1585 until 1603, when it was recaptured by the Safavids under Shah Abbas. Although by 1555–56 Qazvin had replaced Tabriz as the new Safavid capital, it seems unlikely that all artistic production would have immediately ceased in this important northwestern city. In her discussion of Safavid bookbinding, Zeren Tanındı refers to a number of calligraphers, active between the 1560s and 1580s, whose names suggest they were from the city of Tabriz. See Zeren Tanındı, "Safavid Bookbinding," in Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, p. 178.
- 72 Another manuscript that raises similar questions regarding its provenance is the 1586 *Secâdnâme* (Book of courage), an illustrated autobiography of Asifi Pasha, who had been imprisoned by the Safavids. Its paintings draw upon both Safavid and Ottoman pictorial norms, but it remains unclear where it was executed. For illustrations, see Bağcı et al., *Osmanlı Resim*, nos. 136–39.
- 73 Although far more refined, it can be argued that the *Falnama* illustrations anticipate the late nineteenth-century popular paintings (*parda*) used in Iran for retelling stories from the *Shahnama* or the heroic deeds of the imams. For examples, see Layla S. Diba and Maryam Ekhtiar, eds., *Royal Persian Paintings. The Qajar Epoch 1785–1925* (New York: Brooklyn Museum in association with I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1998), cat. nos. 94 and 95.
- 74 The illustrations of the dispersed *Falnama* measure about 59 × 45 cm. In its present state, the Dresden *Falnama* (E445) includes fifty-one illustrations that vary in size from 48 × 36.5 cm to 66.5 × 48 cm; the latter group represents the largest known *Falnama* images. The illustrations in TSM H.1702 measure about 39 × 24.5 cm and are set in wide margins, which brings the total size of the folios to 58 × 42 cm. Finally, in TSM H.1703, the Ahmed I *Falnama* illustrations are approximately 50 × 40 cm in size.

- 75 Abolala Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals: Art and Artists in Transition," *Iran*, vol. xxxvii (1999), pp. 51–52. Sheila R. Canby, "Safavid Painting," in Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, p. 122.
- 76 The *Hamza* illustrations measure 68.5 × 53.5 cm; for an in-depth study of this manuscript, see John Seyller, *The Adventures of Hamza: Painting and Storytelling in Mughal India* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, in association with Azimuth Editions, 2002).
- 77 The first copy (TIEM 1973), with illustrations that measure up to 64.7 × 41.3 cm, is in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Museum, Istanbul, and was completed by the official court historian Seyyid Loqman for Murad III. A second copy in the Topkapı Palace Museum (TSM H.1321), measuring 61 × 39.5 cm, was made for the grand vizier Siyavuş Pasha in 1586. A third, smaller copy (39.5 × 25 cm) with no colophon (CBL 414) was prepared for Mehmet Aga, the chief black eunuch of the harem; see V. Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1958), no. 414.
- 78 For discussion of the physical structure, see Seyller, *Adventures of Hamza*, p. 37. Although at times sequential paintings illustrate the same story and certain characters reappear in later stories, the *Hamzanama* also lacks a continuous narrative.
- 79 For an album of calligraphy, now in the Chester Beatty Library, that was presented to the Deccani ruler Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (r. 1580–1611) to celebrate the new millennium, see David James, "The 'Millennial' Album of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah," in *Islamic Art II* (Genoa: Bruschettini Foundation for Islamic Art; New York: Islamic Art Foundation, 1978), pp. 243–56.

The Manuscripts

The Dispersed *Falnama*
Masumeh Farhad

- I am most grateful to Julia Bailey for her comments on this essay.
- The whereabouts of at least two of the folios are unknown. In 1966, *Ali Saving Salman al-Farsi*, formerly in the collection of Edward Binney 3rd, disappeared from the Corning Museum, New York, while in a Smithsonian Institution traveling exhibition; for illustration, see *Islamic Art from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1966), no. 42. Another unpublished folio, *Imam Ali and Duldul*, was formerly in the Anna Tulin collection, New York. It was photographed by Julia Bailey in the early 1990s; for illustrations, see "Other Folios from the Dispersed *Falnama*" in the catalogue section. References to a still-unidentified image, representing *Jesus Killing the Antichrist*, appears on the back of *Four Lions Devour Zaynab*, suggesting that there was at least one other illustration (see n. 2). Most folios consist of an illustration on one side and a page of text on the other, which have been pasted together. Most of the sheets are made up of several fragments that have been carefully glued together to create the desired size.
- This was the two halves of *Four Lions Devour Zaynab*; see George Marteau and Henri Vever, *Miniatures persanes* (Paris: Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie, 1913), pls. LXIII and LXIV. The upper section originally belonged to Victor Goloubew and is now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the lower section, owned by Charles Vignier, was acquired by Abolala Soudavar; see Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), no. 72.
- In 1927 in New York, Demotte exhibited four folios (*Zakariya in a Tree*, *Imam Ali Slays Murra ibn Qays*, *People of the Cave*, and *Imam Ali and Duldul*); see E. Blochet, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Persian Paintings from the XIth to the XVIIth Centuries from the Collections of the Shahs of Persia and the Great Moguls* (New York, 1928), nos. 68–72. The five folios acquired by Henri Vever and now in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery collection also may have been acquired from Demotte. Tokatlian has linked fourteen additional folios to Demotte but argues that other dealers also may have owned and sold *Falnama* paintings. He postulates that Jean Pozzi, who was part of the French diplomatic mission in Istanbul from 1907 to 1911, acquired his four folios, now in the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, in 1908 from the Russian émigré Kafanoff in Istanbul; see Armen Tokatlian, *Falnamah: Livre royale des sorts* (Montreuil: Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2007), nos. 4, 11, 16. Madame Claude Ritschard, former curator at the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, however, was unable to verify the statement based on extant museum documents. We thank Madame Ritschard for her information on the Pozzi collection.
- The two halves have been cropped differently. The upper section in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, measures 30.2 × 21.9 cm; the Soudavar fragment is 34.5 × 23.5 cm.

- 6 A black line is visible along the edges of the folios and presumably marks where image and border joined. Traces of an adhesive substance are still apparent in these areas.
- 7 Julia Bailey, "Religious Imagery in a Dispersed Safavid *Falnama*," paper presented at the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Middle Eastern Studies Association in Portland, Oregon, in 1992.
- 8 See "The Dresden *Falnama*" and "The Ahmed I *Falnama*" in this section.
- 9 Armen Tokatlian has suggested that the dispersed *Falnama* survived a fire in 1578 at the palace in Qazvin and may have been unbound as a result of some damage. While some of the folios show wear and tear to the surface, there is no evidence of exposure to fire. I also have been unable to verify the incident in the historical sources; see Tokatlian, *Falnamah*, p. 10.
- 10 A series of Arabic numerals, which must have been added to the top of the text sides at a later date, further corroborates this proposed sequence. Among the extant folios, two lack text components on the reverse, and several have been unavailable for examination. In his publication, Tokatlian has reproduced the illustrations according to his proposed sequence, which corresponds in most part to the one suggested here but in reverse order. As Tokatlian does not discuss the order, his reasoning remains unclear. He also refers to the Arabic numerals on the text side but dismisses them as later and inconsequential additions (*Falnamah*, p. 8). His publication does not include *Qambar and Duldul*, formerly in the Tulin collection, but suggests that *Worshippers at the Tomb of Imam Husayn*, now in the David collection, belongs to the dispersed copy (*Falnamah*, no. 24). The illustration, which has no text on the back, differs in scale and style from the others in the dispersed *Falnama*, and it remains uncertain if it belongs to this compilation. Interestingly, it is almost identical in composition and palette to an illustration in the Khalili *Falnama* (f. 24b).
- 11 This order was originally proposed by Julia Bailey. Arabic numerals appear along the top margin of many of the text pages and their sequence corresponds to the order of folios proposed here; the numbers begin with "6" on *Solomon and Bilqis Enthroned* and must have been added by a later hand. A second series of Roman numerals in pencil, perhaps an inventory number, also appears on many of the text pages; the first is "H 102" and has been added to *Solomon and Bilqis Enthroned*. The dashes mark breaks in the text.
- 12 *Jesus Kills the Antichrist* is referred to in the fragmentary text that appears on the reverse of *Four Lions Devour Zaynab* (cat. 46) and must have preceded this illustration.
- 13 This painting is typical of a popular sixteenth-century composition; for another example, see Glenn D. Lowry with Susan Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection* (Washington, D.C., and Seattle and London: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and University of Washington Press, 1988), no. 60 (S1986.186); Glenn D. Lowry et al., *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection* (Washington, D.C., and Seattle and London: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and University of Washington Press, 1988), no. 413. The image of Solomon and Bilqis in the dispersed *Falnama* must have also been based on a similar work.
- 14 For examples in Tahmasb's *Shahnama*, see Sheila R. Canby, "Safavid Painting," in *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501-1576*, ed. Jon Thompson and Sheila R. Canby (New York: Skira, 2003), pls. 4.17, 4.21, and 4.30. The concept of witness (*shahid*) also is integral to prognostication with the *Divan* of Hafiz, where it refers to verses that summarize the meaning of the augury; see essay 2.
- 15 Three folios from the collection of Henri Vever and now in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (*Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise*, *The Angel of Death Descends on Shaddad ibn Ad*, and *The Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey*) were published in The Hague in 1927 as "Indian"; see *Catalogus Tentoonstelling van Islamische Kunst* (The Hague: Gemeente Museum, 1927), no. 17. In 1928 Edgar Blochet published four paintings from the Demotte collection (*Zachariah in a Tree*, *Ali Slays Murra ibn Qays*, *People of the Cave*, and *Qambar and Duldul*) and suggested that they belonged to a "Book of Divination" completed in Tabriz in the middle of the sixteenth century for Shah Tahmasb; *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Persian Paintings*, nos. 68-72. When the two paintings in the Chester Betty Library (*Alexander Builds a Wall against Gog and Magog* and *Ali and Muhammad at the Gates of Khaybar*) were published in 1962, they were attributed to Shiraz circa 1550-60; A. J. Arberry et al., *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures*, vol. 3 (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1962), no. 395. In his discussion of *Ali Saves Salman al-Farsi*, Ettinghausen suggested that the painting might be Turkish rather than Persian; *Islamic Arts from Binney Collection*, no. 42. Binney refers to the *Arrival of the Antichrist*, now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, as a "leaf from an unidentified manuscript of the Lives of the Saints or a Book of Divination. Provenance and dating in doubt"; Edwin Binney 3rd, *Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd* (Portland: Portland Art Museum, 1979), pp. 153-54. In 1974 Robinson associated the four *Falnama* paintings from the Pozzi collection in the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva (*Death of Dara in Alexander's Arms*, *Footprints of Imam Riza*, *Uways-i Qaran* and *the Camel*, and *Circuit of the Ka'ba*) to Qazvin and dated them to circa 1550-60. Stuart Cary Welch attributed the illustrations of the dispersed *Falnama* to Tabriz circa 1550; Stuart Cary Welch, "The *Falnama* (Book of Divination) of Shah Tahmasp," in *Treasures of Islam* (London: Sotheby's/Philip Wilson Publishers, 1985), pp. 94-99. In a recent study, Sheila Canby has maintained that the manuscript may have been started in the late 1540s and completed in the early 1550s. She attributes the paintings to Tabriz or Qazvin circa 1550; see Canby, "Safavid Painting," nos. 4.22-4.37. Tokatlian, *Falnamah*, p. 8, attributes the dispersed *Falnama* to Qazvin circa 1560. Most recently, A. S. Melikian-Chirvani has linked one of the paintings (*Imam Riza Saves the Sea People*) to eastern Iran; see *Le Chant du monde: L'Art de l'Iran safavide 1501-1736* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2007), no. 137. For a bibliographic overview, see M. Yves Porter's entry in the auction catalogue *Druout-Richelieu, Extrême-Orient, Archéologie orientale et islamique antiquités préhispanique*, 20 February 1992, lot 117.
- 16 Welch, *Treasures of Islam*, p. 95; Welch's attributions, based on stylistic considerations, have been accepted by subsequent scholars, who have linked other folios to the two painters; see Soudavar, *Persian Courts*, no. 72; Canby, "Safavid Painting," p. 122, nos. 4.22-4.37. Tokatlian also suggests the illustrations were done by Aqa Mirak and Abdul Aziz and adds some of his own attributions; Tokatlian, *Falnamah*, p. 8. In 1993, Welch discussed the paintings with Julia Bailey and offered attributions for the known folios. He suggested that *Uways-i Qaran* and *the Camel*, *People of the Cave*, and *Moses Challenges Pharaoh's Sorcerers* (cats. 44, 42, and 15) were completed by Aqa Mirak and Abdul Aziz, while the rest of the illustrations represented the work of Aqa Mirak. I am grateful to Julia Bailey for sharing this information.
- 17 Martin Bernard Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), vol. 1, p. 95.
- 18 For a detailed overview of the artist's career, see Dickson, *Houghton Shahnameh*, vol. 1, chap. 3, "Aqa-Mirak."
- 19 For an overview of Abdul Aziz's career, see Dickson, *Houghton Shahnameh*, pp. 224-28.
- 20 Welch, "Falnama," cats. 63-65.
- 21 Tokatlian, *Falnamah*, pp. 8, 37.
- 22 Marianna Shreve Simpson, with contributions by Massumeh Farhad, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, and Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1997), pp. 86-116 and 284-94 passim.
- 23 Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, H.2151; for discussion, see David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400-1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 212-23 and passim.
- 24 For examples, see Simpson, *Haft Awrang*, figs. 188 and 189. Malik al-Daylami's ability to compose large-scale *nasta'liq* must have been one of the principal reasons Tahmasb ordered him to carry out the architectural inscriptions in Qazvin.
- 25 Qazi Ahmad, *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, son of Mir Munshi*, trans. V. Minorsky, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, vol. 3, no. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1959), p. 144.
- 26 See Sheila R. Canby, *Princes, Poets and Paladins: Islamic and Indian Painting from the Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), nos. 35 and 37.
- 27 For examples, see Soudavar, *Persian Courts*, no. 101; Anthony Welch, *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), figs. 67 and 68.
- 28 Sussan Babaie points out that the decision to move the capital had originated a decade earlier with the purchase of land and the delineation of the royal precinct; see Sussan Babaie, "Building on the Past: The Shaping of Safavid Architecture, 1501-76," in Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, p. 41; Abdi Bayg Shirazi, *Takmilat al-akhbar*, ed. A. Nava'i (Tehran: Nashr-i nay, 1990), p. 94; Abolala Soudavar, "Between the Safavid and the Mughals: Art and Artists in Transition," *Iran*, vol. 37 (1999), p. 52. For a discussion of plans for the new capital, see Maria Szuppe, "Palais et jardin: Le complexe royal des premiers safavides à Qazvin, milieu xvi^e-début xii^e siècles," *Res Orientales*, vol. 8 (1996), pp. 143-77; Babaie, "Building on the Past," pp. 41-44.
- 29 The dream is described in Manuchihr Parsadust, *Shah Tahmasb-i avval* (Tehran: Shirkat-i sahmi intisharat, 1377/1998), p. 716.
- 30 This palace was also the site where Tahmasb received Sultan Süleyman's ill-fated son Bayezid, who in 1559 sought refuge at the Safavid court after unsuccessfully fighting his father and his brother Selim (the future Selim II, reigned 1566-74).

- The reception is described in great detail in Abdi Bayg Shirazi's *Janat al-Adn* (Garden of Eden), a five-part poem in celebration of the new palace, which details Bayezid's procession across town and mentions in particular the stalls of booksellers, confirming Qazvin's importance as a center of manuscript production. Paul E. Losensky, "The Palace of Praise and the Melons of Time: Descriptive Patterns in Abdi Bayk Shirazi's 'Garden of Eden,'" *Eurasian Studies* 2, no. 1 (2003), pp. 23-24; another passage (pp. 24-25) describes the manuscripts that were given as gifts to Tahmasb. In an effort to maintain the newly signed Treaty of Amasya with the Ottomans, Tahmasb, however, reneged on his promise to provide immunity to Bayezid, who was handed over to the Ottomans in 1562 and executed.
- 31 Qazi Ahmad, *Calligraphers and Painters*, p. 182; Qazi Ahmad mentions that there were several paintings by the shah; see also Ehsan Eshraqi, "Description contemporaine des peintures murales disparues des palais de Şah Tahmasp à Qazvin," in *Art et société dans le monde iranien*, ed. C. Adle (Paris: Institut français d'iranologie de Téhéran, Bibliothèque Iranienne, 1982), no. 26, pp. 124-25. As mentioned earlier, the inscriptions were executed by Malik al-Daylami.
 - 32 See *Shah Tahmasb Safavi. Majmu'-'i asnad va mukatibat-i tarikhī hamvara ba yaddashtha-yi tafsili*, ed. Abdul Hossayn Nava'i (Tehran: Intisharat-i arqavan, 1989), pp. 513-14. The author maintains that the text was inscribed above a shop connected to the mosque of Mir Imad in Kashan.
 - 33 The second edict also makes no reference to calligraphers and painters; see Soudavar, "Between Safavids and Mughals," p. 51. For a discussion of Tahmasb's edict and its impact on the arts, see Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnama*, p. 45A; A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 4-15; Tokatlian, *Fahnamah*, p. 8. For a critical re-evaluation, see Soudavar, "Between Safavids and Mughals," pp. 51-52, and Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, p. 243.
 - 34 Istanbul, University Library, F1422; for the most recent and in-depth discussion of this album within its artistic, cultural, and historical context, see Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, pp. 196-212 and passim. Shah Quli Khalifa maintained in his preface that many of the works in the album were provided by Tahmasb, including three of his own calligraphies (Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, pp. 196, 211). This remarkable work comprises paintings, drawings, and calligraphies representing the most important techniques, styles, media, and subjects from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.
 - 35 Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, p. 184; for the preface of this and other albums, see Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., "Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters," supplements to *Muqarnas*, vol. 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2001).
 - 36 In a dream, recorded in 1565 (972 AH), the shah offers a detailed physical description of the Mahdi; see Parsadust, *Shah Tahmasb-i avval*, pp. 698-99. For a discussion of Isma'il and Tahmasb, see also essay 9.
 - 37 National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg, Dorn 312. The complex history of this manuscript is discussed in Olga V. Vasilyeva's recent publication, *A String of Pearls. Iranian Fine Books from the 14th to the 17th century in the National Library of Russia Collections* (St. Petersburg, 2008), pp. 72-73, 122-23 (translation). She supports the reattribution of the manuscript from the Timurid period to the reign of Shah Isma'il and suggests the paintings may have been done in Shiraz. I am deeply grateful to Dr. Vasilyeva for sharing the translation of her entry with me. In an English summary of an article on the *Ahsan al-kibar*, Oleg Akimushkin suggests it was probably copied in 1521 by the "scribe of the royal domain" (*katib khassa-i sharifa*) Khizr-Shah; see <http://www.orientalstudies.ru/eng/index>. For earlier discussions of the manuscript, see Ivan Stchoukine, "Qasim Ali et les peintures dans les Ahsan al-kibar," *Arts Asiatique*, vol. xxviii (1973), pp. 45-54, with references to earlier publications; Vladimir Loukonine and Anatol Ivanov, *Lost Treasures of Persia: Persian Art in the Hermitage Museum* (Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 1996), no. 171; Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, fig. 4.22; Melikian-Chirvani, *Le Chant du monde*, no. 29. Two other illustrated Safavid copies of this text, attributable to Shiraz, are known. One is in Tehran's Gulistan Palace Library (2252); see Hasan Semsar, *Golestan Palace Library. Portfolio of Miniature Paintings and Calligraphy*, ed. Karim Emami (Tehran: Zarrin and Simin Books, 2000), nos. 58-67. A second is in the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg. I am once again grateful to Olga Vasilyeva for bringing this copy to my attention.
 - 38 Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs 35 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 182-86; see also Mahmoud Omidasalar, "Storytelling in Classical Persian Texts," *Journal of American Folklore* 97, no. 384 (April-June 1984), pp. 204-12.
 - 39 Michèle Membre, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)*, trans. with introduction and notes by A. H. Morton (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1993), p. 52.
 - 40 Ibid., p. 43. Such images of Ali may have circulated during Ashura, the tenth day of the month of Muharram. The ceremony commemorated the martyrdom of Imam Husayn, Ali's younger son, and has played a central role in shaping a Shi'i religious culture. For an introduction, see Peter Chelkowski, ed., *Ritual and Drama in Iran* (New York: New York University Press, 1979); Yitzhak Nakash, in "An Attempt to Trace the Origins of the Rituals of Ashura," *Die Welt des Islams*, n.s. 33, no. 2 (November 1993), pp. 161-81, discusses the ritual's possible origins.
 - 41 *Tazkira-yi Shah Tahmasb*, ed. D. C. Phillott (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1912). For a discussion of Tahmasb's memoirs, see essay 9.
 - 42 "Narrative of the Most Noble Vincentio d'Alessandri," in *A Narrative of Italian Travelers in Persia*, ed. C. Grey, trans. W. Thomas and S. A. Roy (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873; repr. New York: B. Franklin, 1960), p. 217. Manuchir Parsadust, quoting a number of contemporary Safavid historical sources, maintains the shah did not leave Qazvin for some nineteen years, except for a fishing trip in 969 AH (1561), an event also mentioned by d'Alessandri. Parsadust, *Shah Tahmasb-i avval*, pp. 675, n. 23 and n. 24.
 - 43 I am grateful to Cornell H. Fleischer for this reference, which is omitted from the Hakluyt edition of Alessandri's work. According to Fleischer, in the printed Italian text he consulted (Eugenio Alberi, ed., *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Sanato, Seri III, Cilt II* [Florence, 1844], s. 109-13), the phrase is "buttando figures di chironmanzia sopra le cosa del mondo" (casting chiromantic figures on worldly affairs), which makes little sense. More logically, however, in a seventeenth-century manuscript version of Alessandri's account (Spencer Special Collections Library, University of Kansas, ms. 87, s. 124), the form of prognostication is referred to as "figure di geomancia." See also Cornell H. Fleischer, "Shadows of Shadows: Prophecy in Politics in 1530s Istanbul," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13, nos. 1-2 (2007), p. 62, n. 32 and essay 8. The same observation is also repeated in Guglielmo Berchet's nineteenth-century *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia* (Torino, 1865), p. 173. I am grateful to Gülrü Necipoğlu for bringing this source to my attention.
 - 44 See Maria Szuppe, "La participation des femmes de la famille royale à l'exercice du pouvoir en Iran Safavide au XVI^e siècle," *Studia Iranica* 24 (1995), pp. 76-77. For a detailed biography of Sultanim, see Qazi Ahmad bin Sharaf al-Din al-Husayni al-Qumi, *Khulasat al-tawarikh*, vol. 1, ed. Ihsan Ishraqi (Tehran: Intisharat-i danishgah-i Tehran, 1980), pp. 430-31. Sultanim was also an accomplished calligrapher, and two of her works are included in the Bahram Mirza Album (TSM H.2154); see Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, p. 257. As her correspondence with Hürrem Sultan refers to the Treaty of Amasya, it must have taken place after circa 1555. In her letters, Sultanim also inquires about the color and size of carpets that Tahmasb wished to send Süleyman for his new mosque, the Süleymaniya; see Parsadust, *Shah Tahmasb-i avval*, pp. 243-44.
 - 45 Shohreh Golsorkhi, "Pari Khan Khanum: A Masterful Safavid Princess," *Iranian Studies* 28, nos. 3-4 (summer/fall 1995), pp. 145-47; Kishwar Rizvi, "Gendered Patronage: Women and Benevolence during the Early Safavid Period," in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), p. 129; Eskandar Monshi, *History of Shah Abbas*, trans. Roger Savory (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978), vol. 1, p. 218. According to Eskandar Monshi, although she was married to Badi' al-Zaman bin Bahram Mirza, the marriage was not "solemnized," and she was constantly at court (p. 219); another of Tahmasb's daughters, Zaynab Begum, who was married to Shah Ali Beg Shamlu, also remained at court, while Fatima Sultan Begum, a third daughter, rejoined her father's household after her husband, the ruler of eastern Gilan, fled to Anatolia.
 - 46 Cornell H. Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Sülayman," in *Sülayman the Magnificent and His Time*, *Acts of Parisian Conference Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais* (7-10 March 1990), p. 170; Fleischer, "Shadows of Shadows," pp. 52-62; Fleischer, "Seer to the Sultan: Haydar-i Rammal and Sultan Süleyman," in *Cultural Horizons: A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman*, 2 vols., ed. Jayne Warner (Syracuse and Istanbul: Syracuse University Press and Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), pp. 290-99.
 - 47 As quoted in Edward Granville Browne, *Literary History of Persia* (1906; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), vol. 3, pp. 316-17 and quoted in cat. 10.
 - 48 Sergei Tourkin, "The Horoscope of Shah Tahmasb," in Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, pp. 327-31.
 - 49 Ibid., n. 18; H. J. J. Winter, "Persian Science in Safavid Times," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, *The Timurid and the Safavid Periods*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 588.
 - 50 The size of the images suggests that opening and closing the volume probably needed more than one person, which must have also added an element of performance to the process.

- 51 For an account of female seer, see essay 2 in this volume. Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü 1577-1578*, trans. T. Noyan, ed. K. Beydilli (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2007).
- 52 Fleischer, "Shadow of Shadows," p. 60, where the term *rammal* is transcribed according to Turkish transliteration system as *remmal*.
- 53 MSS 979, f. 22b. Based on the type of headgear worn by janissaries, the Safavids appear to be battling the Ottomans; see also Linda Leach, *Paintings from India*, vol. 8, in *D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art*, gen. ed. Julian Raby (Oxford: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1998), no. 65. Each of the thirty-nine text folios consists of nine lines of prose and a poetic couplet that has been split and placed at the top and bottom of the folio. The compiler of the Deccani *Falnama* was probably aware of the dispersed copy, for the overall style and format of the written auguries recall those of the earlier Safavid copy. Several of the paintings also relate closely to the dispersed copy and iconography, and the figures are portrayed in typical Safavid costumes. The Khalili illustrations, however, are painted in a more deliberate, static manner and feature brilliant surfaces with extensive use of gold, perhaps partially added later. For additional illustrations, see J. M. Rogers, *The Arts of Islam. Treasures from the Nasser D. Khalili Collection* (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2007), figs. 243-53.
- 54 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997), p. 747; Fleischer, "Lawgiver as Messiah," pp. 161-62.
- 55 Fleischer, "Lawgiver as Messiah," p. 162.
- 56 Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories," p. 751.
- 57 See also essays 8 and 9 in this volume.
- 58 Membre, *Mission*, pp. 24-25.
- 59 Fleischer, "Shadows of Shadows," pp. 55-57, and essay 8.

The Topkapı Persian *Falnama* (TSM H.1702)
Serpil Bağcı and Masumeh Farhad

- 1 Karatay identifies the manuscript as "Fal-i Koran"; see Fehmi Edem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), no. 283. The manuscript has received scant scholarly attention; it is mentioned in Karin Rührdanz, "Die Miniaturen des Dresdener 'Falnameh,'" *Persica* 12 (1987), pp. 1-56, *passim*; a list of its illustrations is also included in Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas al-anbiya* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1999), pp. 68-69. In his publication on Ottoman-Islamic mythology, Metin And includes a number of illustrations but does not discuss the manuscript as a whole; see *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslâm Mitolojyası* (Istanbul: Akbank Kültür ve Sanat Yayınları, 1998). The illustrations of TSM H.1702 measure about 29 × 25 cm each and are set in relatively wide, tinted, or marbled margins. Altogether, each folio measures about 58.3 × 42.5 cm.
- 2 It is unclear whether all the folios were re-margined in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Zeren Tanındı has suggested the finely marbled margins of some of the folios may date from the sixteenth century (personal communication). We are grateful to Dr. Tanındı for this suggestion. Except for f. 45b, all the folios with marbled borders are verbal auguries; see appendix A.
- 3 See appendix A.
- 4 Because the Koran represents the unadulterated word of God, it was never meant to be illustrated. Nevertheless, to date two Ottoman copies of the Koran with images are known. One is dated 1752 and includes images in the sura of Maryam (Mary); the other, completed in 1816, incorporates illustrations of the prophets and a *miraj* scene. See Richard Gottheil, "An Illustrated Copy of the Kor'an," *Revue des Etudes islamiques* v (1931), pp. 21-24; Sotheby's, London, 4 April 1978, lot 131; Zeren Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebi: An Illustrated Cycle of the Life of Muhammad and its Place in Islamic Art*, trans. Maggie Quigley-Pinar (Istanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984), p. 8.
- 5 The first two words appear right side up, the next two are upside down, and the letter *alif*, which belongs to the word *bedan* (know), cuts horizontally across the page.
- 6 T. Fahd, "Huruf ('Ilm Al-)," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. III (1971), p. 595; see also essay 8.
- 7 The format of the folios becomes more consistent toward the end of the manuscript, with *muhaqqaq* for the top, middle, and bottom lines; *naskh* for the text blocks in between; and *nasta'liq* along the right and left edges (fig. 4.3); see also appendix A.
- 8 On the whole, the quality of the *nasta'liq* seems somewhat weaker than the other scripts.

- 9 These tend to be toward the end; for examples, see ff. 48a, 54a, 58a, and 59a.
- 10 For examples, see ff. 10a, 27a, and 35a in Appendix A.
- 11 For Ibn Abbas's biography, see L. Veccia Vaglierie, "Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. I (1960), pp. 40-41. Abd-Allah ibn Abbas is also the alleged authority of many of the prognostications in the Dresden *Falnama*.
- 12 Ja'far al-Sadiq is mentioned in the augury relating to the Ka'ba (f. 35a) but appears more frequently, along with Abd Allah ibn Abbas, in the Dresden *Falnama*.
- 13 See below.
- 14 Folios 2b-10b.
- 15 The only exception is the scene of the Day of Judgment, which occurs earlier in the manuscript, on f. 16b.
- 16 These include *Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise* (f. 51b), the two fallen angels who sinned and were sentenced until the Day of Judgment (f. 53b) and stories related to divine retribution (ff. 50b, 52b, 75b), raising the dead (f. 58b), and the tomb of Husayn, which saved the people who prayed there from the fire of hell (f. 54b).
- 17 According to Lâle Uluç, after the 1520s figures with Janissary hats also appear in Safavid paintings from Shiraz, which may have been intended for export to the Ottoman world; for examples, see Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, figs. 67-68. Another figure with a Janissary hat occurs in *Death of Dara in Alexander's Arms* in the dispersed *Falnama* (cat. 39).
- 18 The paintings attributed to this artist are ff. 51b, 52b, 55b, 56b, and 57b. They relate stylistically to ff. 6b, 7b, and 9b in the Dresden copy.
- 19 For a recent study on the *miraj*, see Christine J. Gruber, "The Prophet Muhammed's Ascension (Mi'raj) in Islamic Art and Literature, ca. 1300-1600," PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2005.
- 20 Except for the *zulfıqar*, the meaning of these images is not entirely clear.
- 21 The demonic creature is referred to in the Koran (27:82): "And when the World is fulfilled against them [the unjust], we shall produce from the earth a beast to face them. He will mark the faces of the unbelievers with black and those of the believers with white, which will spread to distinguish the two. With the seal of Solomon, he will stamp the face of unbelievers with the word 'non-believer' [*kafir*] and will use Moses's cane to strike the believers and mark them with the word 'believer' [*mumin*]." A. S. Fulton, "Dabba," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., vol. I (Leyden and London: Brill and Luzac, 1913), p. 884.
- 22 The dispersed *Falnama* includes an illustration of the better-known "Antichrist" (*Dajjal*), who also appears in TSM H.1702 (f. 48b). Kathryn Babayan points out that in Iran, apocalyptic literature, which was especially concerned with the arrival of the Mahdi, was popular in the fifteenth century; see Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 469.
- 23 Another *Miftah-i cifr al-jami* is in the Istanbul University Library, T.6624, f.121b. Only one copy of several extant *Ahval-i kiyamet* manuscripts includes a depiction of *Dabbat al-arz* (Istanbul Süleymaniye Library, Hafid Efendi 139, f. 20a). For reproductions of all three Ottoman representations, see And, *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslâm*, pp. 285-86.
- 24 Numerous Ottoman treatises on the *Kiyama* (Apocalypse) are extant, but almost none includes the author's name or a date, suggesting these works, like the *Falnama*, did not have an identifiable author and were based largely on oral tradition. For a list of *Ahval-i kiyamet* manuscripts, see Osman Yıldız, *Orta Osmanlıca Dönemine ait bir Dil Yedigârı Ahvâl-i Kiyâmet* (Istanbul: Şûle Yayınları, 2002), pp. 2-8. See also essay 9 in this volume.
- 25 For discussion, see essay 2 in this volume.
- 26 TSM 8.373: f. 210b, portrait of the Mahdi; f. 215, Mahdi with his retinue; f. 217, Mahdi and his soldiers meet the Tatar army; f. 222b, Mahdi with his army in front of Istanbul; f. 241b, Mahdi's army fighting with the infidels in Aleppo; f. 385b, Mahdi's army fighting with infidels (figs. 8.1, 8.5, 8.6).
- 27 See also Muhammad ibn Abd Allah al-Kisa'i, *Tales of the Prophets (Qisas al-anbiya)*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. (Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, 1997), pp. 87-91.
- 28 This interpretation differs from canonical descriptions of the arrival of the Mahdi, which claim he will be aided by Jesus. See Jane Idleman Smith and Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 67-70. On the other hand, there is a striking similarity between Idris and Jesus for, according to Muslim belief, Jesus ascended to the heavens by divine power. It can be argued, therefore, that this composition alludes to the time following the Apocalypse, which is ruled by the Mahdi and when justice prevails.
- 29 No. 71803/1-35. Except for the two framing couplets, which identify the subject of the image and offer a prognostication, the Rotterdam and the dispersed provincial

- Mughal *Falnama* copies have no other text. For the Rotterdam *Falnama*, see Fred Ross, "Dreaming of the Future," in *Dreaming of Paradise: Islamic Art from the Collection of the Ethnographic Museum, Rotterdam* (Rotterdam: Martial and Snoeck, 1993), pp. 100–105. Oliver Kahl, "Ein anonymes persisches Orakelbuch (fal-namah) aus dem späten 10./16. Jahrhundert," *Welt des Orients* 19 (1989), pp. 118–41. Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets* (p. 69) maintain that the illustrations, which are identical in size to those of TSM H.1702, may have been Ottoman in origin and repainted in Mughal India. In a private exchange, John Seyller has also proposed an Ottoman provenance for these images.
- 30 Toby Falk and Simon Digby, *Paintings from Mughal India* (London: Colnaghi, 1979), nos. 1–8. The first four examples are painted on cloth and appear cruder in execution than the four from a second copy, which are painted on paper and also include autonomous text folios. The whereabouts of these folios are unknown, and we have not been able to examine them firsthand.
 - 31 It is unclear whether these copies were directly based on TSM H.1702 or, more likely, on other intermediary copies, which must have been in circulation in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
 - 32 In the late sixteenth century, Baghdad ateliers, working in a distinct hybrid style, produced less costly copies of royal Ottoman manuscripts as well as other illustrated religious and literary texts; for discussion see Rachel Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1990). Among their best clients were Ottoman provincial officials, who commissioned manuscripts either for their own libraries or as gifts to the court in Istanbul. For Ottoman dynastic genealogies based on royal models that were produced in Baghdad ateliers, see Serpil Bağcı, "From Adam to Mehmed III: Ottoman Genealogy," in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. S. Kängal (Istanbul: İS Bankası Yayınları, 2000), pp. 188–202.
 - 33 Beginning in the early fifteenth century, Tabrizi artists were employed by Ottoman patrons. For the tile makers transporting eastern fifteenth-century taste to Ottoman domain and their legacy, see Gülrü Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990), pp. 136–70. After the capture of Tabriz by Selim I (r. 1512–20) in 1514, artists and artworks brought to Istanbul caused a radical change in the Ottoman visual language. This shift in artistic taste gathered momentum throughout the sixteenth century with the constant migration of artists from or via Tabriz to Istanbul. See Filiz Çağman, "The Miniatures of the Divan-ı Hüseyini and the Influence of Their Style," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Féher (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), pp. 231–59; Esin Atıl, *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington and New York: National Gallery of Art and Harry N. Abrams, 1986), esp. pp. 40–43, 73.
 - 34 As mentioned in an article by the Russian scholar Anatol Akimushkin and quoted in Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, pp. 44–45. We have been unable to locate the original article.
 - 35 Zeren Tanındı, "Safavid Bookbinding," in *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501–1576*, ed. Jon Thompson and Sheila R. Canby (New York: Skira, 2003), pp. 178–79.
- The Dresden *Falnama* (E445)
Massumeh Farhad
- 1 H. O. Fleischer, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium Bibliothecae Reginae Dresdensis* (Leipzig, 1831), p. 74; K. Falkenstein, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1839), pp. 267–70; *Orientalische illustrierte Handschriften aus Museen und Bibliotheken der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* (Berlin: Islamisches Museum, 1984), nos. 28, 29, 44; Karin Rührdanz, "Die Miniaturen des Dresdener 'Falnameh,'" in *Persica* 12 (1987), pp. 1–56; this article offers the only in-depth study of this manuscript and its relationship to other *Falnamas*; Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of the Qisas al-anbiya* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1999), pp. 67–68; Armen Tokatlian, *Falnama: Livre royal des sorts* (Montreuil: Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2007), p. 59 and passim; the author has published four illustrations and makes passing references to others in relation to those of the dispersed *Falnama*.
 - 2 Rührdanz, "Falnameh," p. 1 and n. 2. The author suggests the manuscript may have arrived in Vienna following the Ottoman military campaigns in Europe in 1683.
 - 3 See also Rührdanz, "Falnameh," p. 26. Some of the folios are made up of two equal sheets of paper (ff. 6b, 7b, 12b, 30b); others have been enlarged by adding strips along the top or bottom edge (f. 2b, 3b, 16b, 23b) or on the left- and right-hand margins (f. 19b). In one instance, the image has been enlarged on all sides (f. 14b).
 - 4 One youth is seated and plays the lute, while the other stands with a book in his hands. Both the top and the left edge have been cropped, suggesting the original must have been much larger in scale. The composition recalls the figure drawings found in the Bahram Mirza Album (TSM 2154); see David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), figs. 133 and 151.
 - 5 According to Rührdanz, "Falnameh," p. 2, the manuscript suffered considerably during World War II, and her 1987 article addresses its codicological history and discrepancies in detail. The author also discusses the Roman numerals (1 to 103) and the Arabic ones from 1 to 52. When I examined the manuscript in the summer of 2006, the Roman numerals ran from 1 to 107 and the Arabic ones from 2 to 51, while the sequence of the images differed from the one in Rührdanz's article.
 - 6 For instance, *Majnun at Layli's Camp* (f. 11b) faces a prognostication related to Imam Riza (f. 12a), and *Job* (f. 23b) is paired with the augury for *Imam Ali Slays Murra ibn Qays* (f. 24a). Several text pages show traces of color transferred from unrelated illustrations, perhaps as a result of water damage or excess humidity, which suggests yet a different order. Some pigments from *Tomb of Husayn* (f. 32b) appear on f. 39a, an identifiable text folio that expounds on the role of Imam Ali, while f. 25a, inscribed with the prognostication for the *People of the Cave*, carries the faint outlines of the illustration on f. 26b, representing Imam Riza.
- At present, some of the misbound text and illustrated folios can be matched, but three text pages—one relating to Imam Riza (f. 12a), a second to Ali (f. 39a), and a third without any indication of subject (f. 48a)—and seven illustrations—*Murder of Iradj* (f. 5b), *Jesus Raising the Dead* (f. 8b), *Sodom* (f. 30b; fig. 2.3), *Lot* (f. 37b), an unidentifiable murder scene in a palace (f. 42b), *Ali Cleaving Jabala with the Zulfikar* (f. 44b), and another unidentifiable murder scene (f. 47b)—have no related verbal augury.
- 7 It is uncertain where and when the illustrations were repainted.
 - 8 For other illustrations of this scene but without the incident of the snake bite, see Zeren Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebi: An Illustrated Cycle of the Life of Muhammed and Its Place in Islamic Art* (Istanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984), pl. 43.
 - 9 Abdulaziz Sachedina, "The wali of God and the wasi of the Prophet: Ali b. Abi Talib in Twelver Shi'ite Belief," in *From History to Theology: Ali in Islamic Beliefs*, ed. Ahmet Yasar Ocak (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005), pp. 4–6. The pilgrimage is called the "farewell" one because the Prophet reportedly told his companions, "O, Muslims! Harken to my words! I do not know if it will be possible for me to join you here after this year," thus bidding farewell to his companions. E. Ruhi Fiğlali, "Ali in the Sunni Tradition," in *From History to Theology: Ali in Islamic Beliefs*, ed. Ahmet Yasar Ocak (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005), p. 161.
 - 10 The Buyruk (commandment) narrates the event in the chapter on "companionship" (*musahib*). The text maintains that Muhammad not only wrapped Ali in his cloak, but in response to a request from an envious companion, he took off his cloak and displayed how he and Ali were united in one body. Fuat Bozkurt, *Buyruk: Imam Cafer-i Sadik Buyruğu*, 3rd ed. (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2004), pp. 20–22.
 - 11 A more traditional illustration of the event at Ghadir Khumm occurs in a 1588 copy of the *Ahsan al-Kibar* (Lives of the holy prophets) in the Gulistan Palace Library (no. 2252); see Mohammad Hasan Semsar, *Golestan Palace Library: A Portfolio of Paintings and Calligraphy*, ed. and trans. Karim Emami (Tehran: Zarrin and Simin Books, 2000), figs. 30 and 31.
 - 12 The literary scenes include *Murder of Iradj* (f. 5b), *Khusraw Feasting* (f. 7b), *Majnun at Layli's Camp* (f. 11b), *Zahak Kills Jamshid* (f. 12b), *Joseph Comes to Zulaykha* (f. 28b), *Bahram Gur Hunting* (f. 35b), *Death of Alexander* (f. 36b), *Jamshid Enthroned* (f. 40b), an unidentifiable murder scene (fol. 42b), *Murder of Siyavush* (f. 46b), and a second unidentifiable murder scene (f. 47b).
 - 13 Some of the auguries commence with two couplets introducing the related omen, followed by a varying number of lines of prose (ff. 13a, 14a, 15a, 22a, 36a); others devote a third or half of the text block to poetry (ff. 4a, 8a, 12a, 15a, 23a, 26a), while still others exclude the beginning verses altogether and start directly with general prognostications (ff. 9a, 11a, 34a, 35a, 40a). Some folios are completely plain, while others are ruled with single or double lines in blue or red.
 - 14 F. J. Rageb, "al-Tūsī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. x (2000), pp. 745–46.
 - 15 The attribution of prognostications to religious authorities recalls the same convention used for autonomous Koranic *falnamas*; see discussion in essay 1, "The Art of Bibliomancy." Examples of text folios with several authorities include f. 14a (*Adam and Eve Enthroned*), which refers to both Daniel and al-Tusi; f. 17a (*Luqman*) evokes the authority of the prophet Daniel and Ja'far al-Sadiq.
 - 16 In several instances (ff. 34b–35a, 46b–47a), only the headings connect image to text. See also Rührdanz, "Falnameh," p. 27.

- 17 Several of these paintings, which also include illustrations of *Ali at the Battle of Khaybar* (f. 3b) and *Sodom* (f. 30b), are probably the work of one artist, recognizable by his unusual donut-shaped rocks.
 - 18 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientsabteilung, Diez A f. 3; see Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, ms. B; pls. 1–11, figs. 1–9; New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, Persian ms. 1, see *ibid.*, ms. N-1, pls. viii–xi, figs. 20–21. The authors point out the stylistic similarity of some of the *Qisas al-anbiya* and *Falnama* paintings; see pp. 51–52. They propose that these illustrated texts may have been produced in Baghdad but admit their arguments “do not give enough ground for positive attribution or localization of the manuscripts” (p. 102).
 - 19 I am grateful to Abolala Soudavar for sharing his views on these paintings with me.
 - 20 Illustrations of Cain and Abel in the *Qisas al-anbiya* usually show a slightly later moment in the narrative, when a crow teaches Cain how to bury his slain brother. The scene in the *Falnama* is the only extant one of the two brothers fighting. For examples from the *Qisas al-anbiya*, see Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, pls. vi and xi. A third painting depicting the murder of Siyavush (f. 46b) in this volume is also attributable to Siyavush.
 - 21 See B. W. Robinson, “Ismail II’s copy of the *Shahnama*,” *Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 14 (1976), pp. 1–8; Anthony Welch, *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 17–40; figs. 1, 2, 4–10; pls. 1 and 2.
 - 22 Glenn D. Lowry and Milo C. Beach, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection* (Washington, D.C., and Seattle: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and University of Washington Press, 1988), no. 209; Glenn D. Lowry and Susan Nemazee, *A Jeweler’s Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection* (Washington, D.C., and Seattle: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and University of Washington Press, 1988), pl. 39.
 - 23 For an overview of Siyavush’s career and his oeuvre, see Qadi Ahmad, *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, son of Mir Munshi*, trans. V. Minorsky (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Occasional Papers, 1959), p. 191; Eskandar Monshi, *History of Shah Abbas I*, trans. Roger M. Savory, vol. 1 (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978), pp. 272–73; A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 17–19; see also Massumeh Farhad, “Military Slaves in the Provinces: Collecting and Shaping the Arts,” in Sussan Babaie et al., *Slaves of the Shah: New Elites of Safavid Iran* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), pp. 118–19.
 - 24 See also Rührdanz, “*Falnameh*,” pp. 20–21. A stylistically related royal enthronement scene (f. 40b) with a male dancer in the foreground is identified in the related augury as the court of Jamshid, the legendary Persian ruler who figures prominently in the *Shahnama*. The fine drawing, elegantly stylized figures, and intricate surface design recall illustrations associated with the Tabriz court style.
 - 25 The manuscript was probably in Ottoman hands prior to its acquisition. Rührdanz maintains that it was compiled in Ottoman Turkey in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, about the same time that TSM H.1703 was created for Ahmed I; see Rührdanz, “*Falnameh*,” p. 38.
- The *Falnama* of Ahmed I (TSM H.1703)
Serpil Bağcı
- 1 The manuscript was rebound with a deep maroon binding during the reign of Abdulhamid II (1876–1909) when it was taken to the Yıldız Palace, the new residence of the sultan. Although TSM H.1703 is mentioned in various publications on Ottoman arts of the book, it has never been fully studied or published. The only article devoted to this manuscript is Nureddin Sevin, “A Sixteenth-Century Turkish Artist Whose Miniatures Were Attributed to Kalender Paşa,” *IVème Congrès international d’art turc*, Aix-en-Provence, 10–15 September 1971 (Aix-en-Provence: Éditions de l’Université de Provence, 1976), pp. 209–16. Sevin identifies the painter of the *Falnama* as Hoca Mehmed Çelebi, the image reader of auguries (*falçı*–*musavvir*) mentioned by Evliya Çelebi. This suggestion seems unlikely, however, since the paintings are by different artists. See also Ivan Stchoukine, *La Peinture turque d’après les manuscrits illustrés, Ire Partie de Sulaymân I. er à Osmân II. 1520–1622* (Paris: Librairie orientale Paul Geuthner, 1966), pp. 100–101, pls. cvi–cvii; Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul: R.C.D. Cultural Institute, 1974), pp. 64–65, pl. 41; Serpil Bağcı et al., *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı* (Istanbul: TC Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006), pp. 192–95, figs. 155–57. Three paintings from H.1703 were exhibited at Versailles in 1999; see F. Aubaile and Anne Sefrioui, *Topkapı à Versailles: Trésors de la cour ottomane* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999), pp. 190–91, no. 147.
 - 2 TSM H.1703, ff. 3b and 5b.
 - 3 Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selânikî (1003–1008/1595–1600)*, vol. 2, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayını, 1989), pp. 741, 847.
 - 4 *Tarih-i Al-i Osman* (History of the Ottoman dynasty), Süleymaniye Library, Lala Ismail Efendi, 300, f. 64b. The adjective *perhizkar* also can be translated as celibate, which may indicate Kalender Sufi leanings, though it is not possible to determine the order to which he belonged. In one of the verses of the eulogy in *Menâkib-i hünerveran* (see n. 7), his contemporary, Mustafa Ali, likens the moon to Kalender’s slave with a circular earring. This vague and subtle metaphor recalls the Balım Sultan branch of Bektashi dervishes, who took a vow to stay celibate during a ceremony in which they put on big circular earrings to witness their oath. See J. Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, 2nd ed. (London: Luzac Oriental, 1994), pp. 164–65. For an abbreviated biography of Kalender, see Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 3, ed. N. Akbayan and S.A. Kahraman (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı-Tarih Vakfı, 1996), p. 858.
 - 5 İbrahim H. Çuhadar, *Mustafa Sâfinin Zübde-i tevârihi*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), p. 53.
 - 6 In two documents on the expenditures of the mosques construction, Kalender is mentioned twice in the records for the year 1616. The one dated 10 May identifies him as supervisor of the building, while a second one, dated 15 December, refers to him as the late (*merhum*) Kalender Paşa. Ömer L. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaatı [1550–57]*, II. Cilt: İnşaatı ait Emir ve Fermanlar (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1979), p. 287.
 - 7 Mustafa Ali, *Menâkib-i hünerverân*, ed. İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1926), pp. 76–77. I am grateful to Yorgos Dedes for this translation.
 - 8 See Filiz Çağman, On the Contents of the Four Istanbul Albums H. 2152, 2153, 2154, and 2160,” in *Between China and Iran. Paintings from Four Istanbul Albums. A Colloquy Held 23–26 June 1980*, eds. E. J. Grube and E. Sims (New York: Islamic Art Foundation, 1985), p. 34, fig. 16.
 - 9 Istanbul, TSM H.2171. In the preface (ff. 17b–24a), the author refers to himself as the chief military judge of Rumelia (*kazasker-irumeli*), a post that was then held by the poet and writer Zekeriyyazade Yahya Efendi (died 1644). For other reproductions, see *Topkapı à Versailles*, pp. 188–89, no. 146.
 - 10 Istanbul, TSM B.408, f. 5b, which remains unpublished, includes *hadiths* attributed to the Prophet Muhammad that were copied by Ahmed I in a rather awkward hand. For a French translation of the preface, see A. Süheyl Ünver, “L’album d’Ahmed Ier,” *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, n.s. xiii (1963), pp. 127–62.
 - 11 For Safavid albums, see David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), *passim*.
 - 12 It is impossible to determine if Kalender depended on the dispersed *Falnama* or any other model for the text of his copy. Based on his signature on the *tuğra* page, the text appears to be the work of another calligrapher. As will be discussed below, however, Kalender must have been intimately involved in supervising the content.
 - 13 The only painting to include Muhammad is perhaps *Ali and Muhammad at the Aqasa Mosque* (H.1703, f. 15b). Here, in the upper section, two almond-shaped medallions set within flaming nimbi may represent Muhammad and Ali.
 - 14 Bağcı et al., *Osmanlı Resim*, p. 193.
 - 15 For Hasan Paşa’s career as a painter and statesman, see Zeren Akalay, “xvi. Yüzyıl Nakkaşlarından Hasan Paşa ve Eserleri,” *I. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi. 3: Türk Sanatı Tarihi* (Istanbul: Tercüman Yayınları, 1979), pp. 607–25; Bağcı et al., *Osmanlı Resim*, pp. 177–83. The other artist is known only by his soubriquet, Nakşi (painter), and for his distinctive artistic style, which often draws on both Safavid paintings and European engravings. See Esin Atıl, “Ahmed Nakşi, An Eclectic Painter of the Early 17th Century,” in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1978), pp. 103–21. The Chinese figure in his *Falnama* painting is copied from the albums TSM H.2153 and TSM H.2154 in the Topkapı collection, confirming that the painter had access to the royal library and was a member of, or was related to, prominent courtiers without being a member of the royal workshop. For Nakşi and his work, see also A. Süheyl Ünver, *Ressam Nakşi: Hayatı ve Eserleri/The Painter Nakshi, His Life and His Paintings* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1949). Ünver and Atıl, however, have erroneously identified him with the earlier poet-painter Ahmed Nakşi, who was also an astrologer and timekeeper of the Süleymaniye Mosque.
 - 16 For a similar case of stylistic hybridity in the later sixteenth century, see Michael Rogers, “Safavids versus Ottomans: The Origins of the Decorative Repertoire of the Aleppo Zimmer,” in *Angels, Peonies, and Fabulous Creatures: The Aleppo Room in Berlin*, ed. Julia Gonella and Jens Kröger, International Symposium of the Museum für Islamische Kunst–Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 12–14 April 2002 (Berlin: Rhema-Münster, 2008), pp. 128–31.
 - 17 H.1703, ff. 8b, 9b, 11b, 12b, 26b, 29b, 38b. All other illustrations fall within the first style.
 - 18 The Dresden *Falnama* also consists of pictorial auguries that were gathered at a later date into a volume and new text was added (see essay 5, The Dresden

- Falnama*). It is interesting to note that Kalender did not receive the images from the sultan, as was the case with the content of the earlier album. Instead, he states that he gathered the works himself, implying that they were not originally part of the royal library. He probably obtained them on the open market, from someone such as Hoca Mehmed Çelebi, the only member of the guild of image fortune-tellers (*falcıyan-ı musavvir*) mentioned by Evliya Çelebi in 1637; see essay 2, *The Falnama in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*.
- 19 Selâniki Mustafa, *Tarih-i Selâniki*, vol. 2, p. 692.
- 20 Banu Mahir, A group of 17th-century paintings used for picture recitation, in *Art turc/Turkish Art. 10th International Congress of Turkish Art/10e Congrès international d'art turc*, Geneva, 17–23 September 1995, ed. F. Déroche and C. Genequand (Geneva: Fondation Max van Berchem, 1999), pp. 443–55; see also fig. 1.5. Several paintings in an unpublished Ottoman album (TSM H.2148, ff. 7b, 9b, 10a) include “heroes [*pehlivanlar*] . . . the kings of old . . . wars and combats” and also may have served as pictorial omens.
- 21 The translator, Seyyid Mehmed ibn Emir Hasan al-Suudi, states that he was commissioned by the sultan himself to translate the text into Turkish: “Therefore an enlightened imperial decree was drafted and issued to this worthless slave full of shortcomings for its translation into the Turkish language.” Yorgos Dedes, “The Ascensions of Felicity and the Fountains of Nobility: Translation of the Ottoman Text,” in *The Book of Felicity*, ed. Mónica Miró (Barcelona: Moleiro Editor, 2007), p. 210. For more on *Kitab al-bulhan*, see essay 1 in this volume.
- 22 Fatma Sultans copy, which is now in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. turc 242), recently was published as a facsimile and with an accompanying book, *The Book of Felicity* (see note above).
- 23 For the observatory of Taki al-Din, see J. H. Mordtmann, “Das Observatorium des Taqi ed-din zu Pera,” *Der Islam*, vol. 13 (1923), pp. 82–96; Aydın Sayılı, *The Observatory in Islam and Its Place in the General History of the Observatory* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), pp. 289–305.
- 24 The work done and instruments used in the observatory were recorded and illustrated in detail in the account of the reign of Murad III by the court historiographer Seyyid Lokman Asuri completed in 1581 (Istanbul University Library, F.1404). See Aydın Sayılı, *Alâ al-Din Mansûrs Poem on the Istanbul Observatory. Belleten* 20 (1956), pp. 429–47, 470–84.
- 25 Aydın Sayılı, *Observatory in Islam*, pp. 303–304. In his diary of his sojourn in Istanbul from 1573 to 1578, Stephan Gerlach, the chaplain of the Hapsburg embassy, explained that the mission of Taki al-Din’s observatory was to determine the sultans’ friends, foes, fortune, future, and destiny based on the astrological conditions. Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü 1577–1578*, trans. T. Noyan, ed. K. Beydilli (Frankfurt, 1674; repr. Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), vol. 2, pp. 677–78.
- 26 Based on Italian and Spanish sources, the text was written by the same Suudi who translated the *Mata’la al-sa’ada wa manabi al-siyada* (Ascensions of felicity and sources of ascendancy). For an illustrated copy attributed to Murad III and dated 1583, see Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Americana* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990), and Bağcı et al., *Osmanlı Resim*, pp. 198–201.
- 27 See cat. 66.
- 28 For example, the story of the *Forty Viziers* (*Kırk vezir*) was translated in the fifteenth century from an Arabic original, now lost. Two illustrated copies from the 1580s (Istanbul University Library, T.7415, and Uppsala University Library, no. 111) have survived; see Bağcı et al., *Osmanlı Resim*, p. 204, figs. 166, 167.
- 29 The text was written by Mustafa Darir (died after 1400) and dedicated to Mamluk Sultan Barquq (r. 1382–98). The sole illustrated copy was started during the reign of Murad III and completed in 1595, during the first year of the reign of Mehmed III (1595–1603). See Zeren Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebi: An Illustrated Cycle of the Life of Muhammad and Its Place in Islamic Art*, trans. Maggie Quigley Pinar (Istanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984).
- 30 During the reign of Murad III, the powerful group of courtiers, consisting of the white and black eunuchs of the Ottoman court, were active patrons of illustrated manuscripts and acted as the intermediaries between the sultan and the poets they promoted. For patronage of the arts of the book by Ottoman court eunuchs, see “Zeren Tanındı, Bibliophile Aghas (Eunuchs) at Topkapı Saray,” in *Muqarnas*, vol. 21, *Essays in Honor of J. M. Rogers*, (2004), pp. 333–44.
- 31 Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 72, 294–95.
- 32 Raziye Hatun, an important woman in the harem of Murad III at the princely court in Manisa, for instance, was the patroness of Shaykh Süca, who interpreted the dream of Prince Murad and assured him of the Ottoman throne. See Cemal Kafadar, *Mütereddid bir Mustasavvir: Üsküplü Asiye Hatunun Rüya Defteri 1641–43, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Yıllık*, vol. 5 (1992), p. 185; for the relationship of the Helveti shaykhs and the royal family, see Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Redaktion Books, 2005), pp. 283, 293–96, and Zeynep Yürekli, *A Building between the Public and Private Realms of the Ottoman Elite: The Sufi Convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Istanbul, Muqarnas*, vol. 20 (2003), pp. 159–86.
- 33 The story is recounted in the history of Peçevi İbrahim Efendi (d. ca. 1650). See Peçevi İbrahim, *Tarih-i Peçevi* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1866), vol. II, pp. 4–5; Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 94.
- 34 Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, 13/1135. The shirt is identified and dated to 1582 (990 AH) on an attached paper label, which may be a later addition. See Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayındaki Şifalı Gömlekler* (Istanbul, n.d.), pp. 68–71.
- 35 A second, contemporaneous illustrated copy of the *Tercüme-i miiftah-i jifr al-jami* is in the Istanbul University Library (T.6624). For illustrations, see Bahattin Yaman, *Osmanlı Resim Sanatında Kıyamet Alametleri: Tercüme-i Miiftah-i Cifr el-Cami ve Tasvirli Nüshaları*, PhD diss., Hacettepe University, Ankara, 2002. For the original Arabic *Miiftah* and its specific meaning at the sixteenth-century Ottoman court, see essay 8 in this volume, and Cornell H. Fleischer, “Seer to the Sultan: Haydar-ı Remmal and Sultan Süleyman,” in *Cultural Horizons: A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman*, ed. Jane Warner, 2 vols. (Syracuse and Istanbul: Syracuse University Press and Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), vol. 1, pp. 292–95.
- 36 B.373, f. 471a.
- 37 For the text and paintings of the *Ahval-i kıyamet* in Istanbul (Süleymaniye Library, M. Hafid Efendi 139), see Osman Yıldız, *Orta Osmanlıca Dönemine ait bir Dil Yادığıarı. Ahvâl-i Kıyamet* (Istanbul: Süle Yayınları, 2002); for the Berlin copy (Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, ms. Or. Oct. 1596), see I. Stchoukine, B. Flemming, et al., *Illuminierte Islamische Handschriften* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1971), pp. 229–37, no. 85, pls. 12, 53–54. For four detached paintings in the Free Library of Philadelphia (Rare Book Department, Lewis ms. o. T4-T17), see Rachel Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1990), pp. 95–96, pls. 1, 2. Thirteen folios, now in London (Keir Collection, IV, 9–21), may have been part of a royal copy prepared for Mehmed III or Ahmed I. They have been identified as part of a *Siyer-i nebi* (Biography of the Prophet) manuscript but must be part of an *Ahval-i kıyamet*; see G. M. Meredith-Owens, “Ottoman Turkish Painting,” in *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book: The Keir Collection*, ed. B. W. Robinson, part IV (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), pp. 286–87, 305.
- 38 Cengiz Gündoğdu, *Pâdişah-Tarikat Şeyhi Münasebetleri Açısından Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi ve Çağdaşı Abdülmecid-i Sivâsi, Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi. Uluslar arası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, ed. H. Kamil Yılmaz (Istanbul: İstanbul Belediyesi, 2005), pp. 15–38.
- 39 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. xx, transcribed by S. A. Kahraman, Y. Dağlı, and R. Dankoff (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayıncılık, 2007), pp. 161–63. Ahmed I clearly revered the sacred footprints, for several contemporary authors mention that his aigrette was made as a replica of the relic; see Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Sultanları: 36 Osmanlı Padişahı* (Istanbul: Oğlak Yayıncılık, 1999), p. 230.
- 40 Curiously, Safi compares Ahmed I to Abraham, who is known for the destruction of the idols in the Kaba. See İbrahim H. Çuhadar, *Mustafa Sâfinin Zübdetü-t-tevârih*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), p. 36.
- 41 See cats. 36 and 37.
- 42 TSM H.1703, f. 4b.
- 43 TSM H.1703, ff. 4b, 5a.

Catalogue

Word as Protection

- 1 Sadiq Naqvi, *Qutb Shahi Ashur Khanas of Hyderabad City* (Hyderabad: Bab-ul-ilm Society, 1982), p. 7.
- 2 See TSM H.1702, f. 43b.
- 3 Naqvi, *Qutb Shahi Ashur Khanas*, p. 277.
- 4 James Allan and Brian Gilmour, *Persian Steel: The Tanavoli Collection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford and the British Institute of Persian Studies, 2000), p. 264.
- 5 Sura 59, “al-Hashr” (Gathering), reminds believers of spiritual humility and avoidance of arrogance.
- 6 Allan and Gilmour, *Persian Steel*, pp. 274–78.
- 7 As quoted in *ibid.*, p. 259; see also London, Christie’s, 8 April 2008, lot 201.
- 8 For two late seventeenth-century examples, see Sheila R. Canby, *The Golden Age of Persian Art 1501–1722* (London: British Museum, 1999), fig. 160.

- 9 Murat Sülün, "Bazı Tılsımlı Gömleklerin Açılımı," in Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki Şifalı Gömlekler* (İstanbul: Bika Kültür Kitaplığı, 2006), p. 181.
- 10 The designs on the front and the back are not the same.
- 11 Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an*, repr. (Beltsville, Md.: Amana Publications, 2003), p. 1116.
- 12 Mahmut Kaya, *Kaside-i Bürde'yi Türkçe Söylemek* (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2001), pp. 11–12. For *Burda's* healing-talismanic qualities in West Africa, see John Hunwick, "The Arabic Qasida in West Africa: Forms, Themes and Context," in *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, ed. S. Sperl and C. Shackle (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: Brill, 1996), pp. 85–86.
- 13 It was believed the Koranic verses, coupled with magic symbols, numbers, and letters, could give therapeutic qualities to liquids and other concoctions.
- 14 For an introduction, see Emilie Savage-Smith, "Safavid Magic Bowls," in *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1505–1576*, ed. Jon Thompson and Sheila R. Canby (New York: Skira, 2003).
- 15 See *ibid.*, p. 245.
- 16 The graphic treatment of Ali's name here recalls f. 33b in the Ahmed I *Falnama*, where his name is also used to create a highly stylized decorative design; see cat. 24. The same design with Ali's name occurs on at least two other examples: British Museum no. 1902.8-12.1, see Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, pl. 9.6; and Victoria and Albert Museum, V&A 780-1889, see *ibid.*, pl. 9.5.
- 17 Savage-Smith, "Safavid Magic Bowls," p. 246.
- 18 Translation by Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr.
- 19 This idea was first proposed by Toby Falk in *Treasures of Islam* (Geneva and London: Musée Rath, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Sotheby's/Philip Wilson Publishers, 1985), cat. 66, and most recently repeated by Sheila R. Canby, "Safavid Painting," in Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, p. 174 (6.15, 6.16, 6.17).
- 20 The text does not specify whether the seeker should count the lines of the right-hand or the left-hand page. In the Ottoman Koran, it is the right-hand page; see cat. 9.
- 21 Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style*, ed. Tim Stanley (London: Azimuth Editions on behalf of L'association internationale de bibliophile, 1993), no. 40.
- 22 *Ibid.*
- 23 Zeren Tanındı, catalogue entries 253 and 254, in *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years*, ed. David Roxburgh (London: Thames and Hudson, 2005). The other copy with a *falnama* in the Topkapı Palace Library collection is E.H. 71. See also Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah, Hayatı, Talebeleri, Eserleri* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve San'at Vakfı, 1992).
- 24 Filiz Çağman, "The Art of Ottoman Calligraphy," in *Lines in Gold: Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakıp Sabancı Museum* (İstanbul: Mas Printing House, 2007), pp. 20–35.
- 25 Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, no. 40.
- 26 İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, E.H. 71; *ibid.*, no. 41.
- 27 Edward G. Browne, *Literary History of Iran*, vol. III, pp. 316–17. According to Browne (p. 315), the anecdote appears in Muhammad Darabi's *Latifa-i ghaybiyya* (Story of the occult). As Browne points out, the reference to the goblet of Jamshid is the *jam-i jahan-nama*, the "world revealing cup," which revealed the work to its user.
- 28 See essay 1, "The Art of Bibliomancy," in this volume; Browne, *Literary History*, vol. III, pp. 311–12.
- 29 Patna, Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, no. 151. See essay 1, "The Art of Bibliomancy," in this volume.
- 30 For a discussion of the manuscript and its illustrations, see Stefano Carboni, "The Illustrations in the Mu'nis al-ahrâr, in *Illustrated Poems and Epic Imagery: Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s*, ed. Marie Lukens Swietochowski and Stefano Carboni (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994).
- 31 A. H. Morton, "The Mu'nis al-ahrâr and Its Twenty-ninth Chapter," in *ibid.*, p. 56.
- 32 According to Morton (*ibid.*), "Elections is the name of one of the standard techniques of astrological predictions."
- 33 For examples, see *ibid.*, figs. 13–18, 22.
- 34 See Obayd Zākāni, *Collected Works*, ed. Muhammad-Ja'far Mahjoub, Persian Text Series, gen. ed. Ehsan Yarshater, n.s., no. 2 (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1999), pp. 347–51.
- 3 For example, see Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 51986.186; Glenn D. Lowry and Milo C. Beach, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection* (Seattle: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, in association with the University of Washington Press, 1988), no. 413; Glenn D. Lowry and Susan Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection* (Seattle: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and University of Washington Press, 1988), pl. 60.
- 4 Abu Ishaq Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Tha'labi, *Ara'is al-majalis fi qisas al-anbiya* or "Lives of the Prophets," trans. and annotated by William M. Brinner (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 50–51, 37–39.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 40–47.
- 6 See cat. 65 and Rachel Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1990), pp. 10, 77; see pl. 10 for such an illustration in a late sixteenth-century copy of Fuzuli's *Hadiqat al-Su'ada*.
- 7 Zeren Akalay, "XVI. Yüzyıl Nakkaşlarından Hasan Paşa ve Eserleri," *I. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi. 3. Türk Sanatı Tarihi* (İstanbul: Tercüman Yayınları, 1979), pp. 607–25; Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, and Zeren Tanındı, *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı* (İstanbul: TC Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006), pp. 177–83.
- 8 Zeren Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebi. İslam Tasvir Sanatında Hz. Muhammed'in Hayatı* (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984), pp. 41–43.
- 9 For the portraits of Mehmed III by Nakkaş Hasan, see Serpil Bağcı, "The Spread and Liberation of the Royal Image: Mehmed III," in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (İstanbul: İsbank Yayını, 2000), pp. 216–19, 288–91.
- 10 Al-Kisa'i, p. 41; Seyyid Lokman Aşuri, *Zübdetü'l-tevarih*, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS. T 414, f. 46a.
- 11 An elaborated account of the story is in the translation of Mulla Miskin's (d. 1501–1502) *Ma'aridj al-Nubuwwa* by the Ottoman scholar Altıparmak Mehmed bin Mehmed (d. 1623–24); Altıparmak, *Mearicu'n-Nubuwwa. Peygamberler Tarihi*, ed. A. F. Meyan (İstanbul: Berekat Yayınevi, n.d.), p. 127.
- 12 Al-Kisa'i, pp. 227–29.
- 13 The episode is also included in the later Rotterdam *Falnama* (ms. 71803, f. 22).
- 14 See cat. 59.
- 15 Lowry and Nemazee, *Jeweler's Eye*, no. 29.
- 16 Al-Tha'labi, pp. 623–32; Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas al-anbiya* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1999), pp. 154–55; figs. 17 and 21.
- 17 Al-Tha'labi, p. 636.
- 18 The trait may have had another yet unidentified meaning; for other illustrations, see Milstein et al. *Stories of the Prophets*, fig. 21.
- 19 TSM H.1702, f. 33a.
- 20 Barbara Freyer Stowasser, "Mary," *Encyclopedia of the Qu'ran* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 288.
- 21 An earlier depiction of Mary and Jesus is included in *Allegory of the Three Monotheistic Religions* in the Khalili Collection (MSS 620). For an illustration, see *Heaven on Earth. Art from Islamic Lands: Works from the State Hermitage Museum and the Khalili Collection*, ed. M. B. Piotrovsky and J. M. Rogers (Munich: Prestel, 2004), p. 111.
- 22 In contrast, the image of Mary and Jesus in the Topkapı Persian copy (TSM H.1702, f. 14b) is the embodiment of serenity and restraint. The protagonists are seated on a plain terrace; Mary, shown without a halo, holds the pomegranate at the level of her breast. The pose of the figures as well as Mary's blue wrap suggest a Western pictorial source was appropriated for the *Falnama* composition. In both illustrations, pomegranate and breast appear to be conceptually linked. Depictions of the infant Jesus holding a pomegranate also appear in European painting, such as Gentile Bellini's *The Madonna and Child with Donors* (circa 1460), housed in the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Alan Chong, "Gentile Bellini in Istanbul: Myths and Misunderstandings," in *Bellini and the East* (London: National Gallery, 2005), fig. 41. The *Falnama* illustration probably was inspired by a Koranic verse (55:68) that associates pomegranates with paradise.
- 23 See Sir Thomas W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1965), p. 7.
- 24 Shams al-Din Ahmad-e Aflākī, *The feasts of the knowers of God: Manāqeb al-ārefin*, trans. from Persian by John O'Kane (Boston: Brill, 2002).
- 25 Stowasser, "Mary," p. 291.
- 26 In addition to the Topkapı Persian *Falnama*, the image also occurs in the Rotterdam *Falnama*, ms. 71803, f. 29, and in the Khalili *Falnama*, f. 25b, which differs from the others and depicts the protagonists in the company of Zakariya (Zachariah) and Yahya (John the Baptist). A painting of Mary and Jesus, after a Christian model, is included in the Tahmasb Album now in the Istanbul University Library; see David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), fig. 107. A European example is included in the

Abrahamic Traditions

- 1 Al-Kisa'i, *Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisa'i*, trans. W. M. Thackston, Jr. (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), pp. 35–36.
- 2 Laurence Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Miniatures Exhibited at Burlington House, January–March 1931* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933).

- so-called Bellini Album in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (66.266.7, f. 5a), most likely compiled by Kalender Pasha (unpublished).
- 27 For different accounts, see *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. II, *Prophets and Patriarchs*, Bibliotheca Persica (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), pp. 82–97.
 - 28 Al-Tha'labi, p. 159.
 - 29 The scene is also repeated in other sixteenth-century illustrated texts; see Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, pls. IV, XV, XXII, figs. 24 and 43, and cat. 61.
 - 30 Al-Tha'labi, p. 160.
 - 31 Today, the ritual of stoning the devil at Mina during the annual hajj pilgrimage is a reenactment of Abraham and his family throwing stones at Satan.
 - 32 In the Topkapı Persian copy (H.1702, f. 19b), Isma'il is not blindfolded and has turned to look directly at his father.
 - 33 The others were Alexander of Macedonia and the two infidel rulers, Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar.
 - 34 Koran 21:78–82, 27:15–44, 34:12–15, 38:30–40.
 - 35 The composition appears in manuscripts as a narrative illustration or frontispiece. For fifteenth- and sixteenth-century frontispiece paintings, most of which were made as double pages, see Serpil Bağcı, "A New Theme of the Shirazi Frontispiece Miniatures: The Divān of Solomon," *Muqarnas*, vol. 12 (1995), pp. 101–22; Lâle Uluç, *Turkoman Governors, Shiraz Artisans, and Ottoman Patrons: Sixteenth-Century Shiraz Manuscripts* (Istanbul: İS Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006), figs. 136–37, 175, 227–29, 240.
 - 36 Solomon and Bilqis enthroned is the most popular scene in the monumental *Falnames* and appears in all four copies (dispersed *Falnama*, H.1702, f. 42b; Dresden, f. 34b). The composition also relates to *Angels Bow before Adam and Eve in Paradise* (cat. 12).
 - 37 Bilqis was believed to be half-jinn on her mother's side and is identified with the sun-worshipping queen of Sheba mentioned in the Koran, who travels to the court of Solomon and later submits to God through him (27:22–44). For more on her jinn progeny and her relationship with Solomon, see al-Kisa'i, pp. 310–17.
 - 38 Firdevsi-i Tavil, *Süleymanname* (Book of Solomon), Topkapı Palace Museum, H.1231, f. 124a. For a detailed depiction of Solomon's throne by Firdevsi, see Bağcı, "New Theme," pp. 102–105.
 - 39 See Koran 27:40.
- Islamic Traditions
- 1 The accompanying text has not yet been located. Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, in *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas al-Anbiya* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1999), p. 67, have also identified the protagonist as the Prophet Muhammad, but they do not mention the particular scene. Apart from the figure of the elderly woman, the fact that the protagonist's face is veiled suggests he must represent an Islamic rather than an Abrahamic prophet. A closely related composition is included in the Khalili *Falnama* (MSS 979, f. 11b), but the accompanying text (f. 12a) and marginal inscription (f. 11b) identify the protagonist as Isa (Jesus) who cures the son of an old woman. This seems to conflate the story of Umma Mabid and Lazarus. For the Dresden illustrations, see below.
 - 2 Mustafa Darir, *Kitab-i siyer-i nebi. Paygamber efendimizin hayatı*, ed. M. Faruk Gürtunca (Istanbul: Ülkü Matbaası, 1962), vol. 2, pp. 450–55. The *Siyer-i nebi* illustration, which is part of volume 3, is now in the New York Library, Spencer Collection, Turk, MS. 3, f. 320b; see Barbara Schmitz with contributions by Latif Khayyat, Svat Soucek, and Massoud Pourfarrokhi, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library* (New York: Oxford University Press and New York Public Library, 1992), p. 250; Zeren Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebi: An Illustrated Cycle of the Life of Muhammad and Its Place in Islamic Art* (Istanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984), pl. 44. According to Gottfried Hagen, the story is also included with some variation in Qadi Iyad's *Al-Shifa*. Reportedly, during the *hijra*, an old woman's son dies, and as she was blind and helpless and complained bitterly about her fate, the Prophet brought her son back to life. I am most grateful to Professor Hagen for sharing his views on this topic.
 - 3 See cat. 22; TSM H.1702, f. 37b; Dresden E445, f. 22b.
 - 4 TSM H.1702, f. 22b; Dresden E445, f. 14b.
 - 5 Curiously, the Dresden *Falnama* includes two scenes of miraculous healings (ff. 8b and 17b). The composition of folio 17b relates closely to the one in the dispersed copy, and the accompanying text identifies the veiled figure as Muhammad. The second example, which has no related augury, omits the figure of the crouching woman, and the youth is lifted out of the ground.
 - 6 Muhammad's vision of his ascent to heaven (*miraj*), referred to in the Koran (81:19–25 and 53:1–18), frequently is conflated with his night journey (*isra*), as suggested in the first verse of sura 17, when the Prophet was taken from Mecca to the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, where he is believed to have ascended to heaven.
 - 7 The veneration of Imam Ali is central to the belief and rituals of the Bektashis, a mystical order that originated in Turkey in the thirteenth century.
 - 8 Raya Shani, "The Lion Image in Safavid Miraj Paintings," in *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, vol. XVIII, ed. Abbas Daneshvari (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2005), pp. 265–67. According to the author (pp. 319–24), Bektashi narratives about Ali played a decisive role in the *Divan* (Collected works) of Shah Isma'il (reigned 1502–24), the founder of the Safavid dynasty, who used the pseudonym (*takhalus*) Khata'i. The story about the exchange of the ring also is recounted in Frederick de Jong, "The Iconography of Bektashism: A Survey of Themes and Symbolism in Clerical Costume, Liturgical Objects, and Pictorial Art," in *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, vol. 4 (1989), pp. 270–71. See also in this volume, Kathryn Babayan, "The Cosmological Order," essay 9, n. 19.
 - 9 Other *Falnama* illustrations inspired by Bektashi popular narratives are *Coffin of Ali* and *Imam Ali Saves Salman al-Farsi*, who was considered a Bektashi spiritual leader. These stories served as an important popular hagiographic source in formulating Safavid-Shi'i identity for Imam Ali and underscored his miraculous attributes.
 - 10 Christiane Gruber, "When Nubuvvat Encounters Valāyat: Safavid Paintings of the Prophet Muhammad's *Miraj*, ca. 1500–1550," forthcoming. I am grateful to Professor Gruber for sharing a draft of this article with me; Shani, "Lion Image," pp. 297–98.
 - 11 For a discussion, see "The Topkapı Persian *Falnama*," essay 4 in this volume.
 - 12 L. Vecchia Vaglieri, "Khaybar," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 4 (1978), pp. 1137–43.
 - 13 Ibid., p. 1140; Al-Rabghūzī, *The Stories of the Prophets. Qisas al-Anbiya', An Eastern Turkish Version*, trans. in English by H. E. Botschoten, J. O'Kane, and M. Vandamme (Leiden: Brill, 1995), vol. 2, p. 646.
 - 14 The exact names (not the sobriquets) of the imams are: Ali ibn Abu Talib, Hasan bin Ali, Husayn bin Ali, Ali bin Husayn, Muhammad bin Ali, Ja'far bin Muhammad, Musa bin Ja'far, Ali bin Musa, Muhammad bin Ali, Ali bin Muhammad, Hasan bin Ali, and Muhammad bin Hasan.
 - 15 See Cornell H. Fleischer, "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences," essay 8 in this volume for a discussion of *ilm al-huruf* (science of letters).
 - 16 The illustration also is included in the Topkapı Persian copy (TSM H.1702, f. 44b); Dresden E445, f. 3b; Khalili MSS 979, f. 34b; Rotterdam 71803, f. 20.
 - 17 James Allan and Brian Gilmour, *Persian Steel: The Tanavoli Collection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 261. One of the finest depictions of a standard in the shape of a hand is "Dervish Receiving a Visitor" from the 1610–20 Bijapur, India, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; see Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1983), pl. VII; for extant Deccani standards, see pls. 494 and 542.
 - 18 The inscriptions were first read by Annemarie Schimmel.
 - 19 The records of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Armen Tokatlian, *Falnama: Livre Royal des Sorts* (Montreuil: Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2007), no. 3, identify the image as the funeral of Fatima, Muhammad's daughter and Ali's wife.
 - 20 Frederick de Jong, "Iconography of Bektashism," in *From History to Theology: Ali in Islamic Beliefs*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005), p. 272. See also n. 9.
 - 21 I am grateful to Oya Pancaroglu for first pointing out the Bektashi connection.
 - 22 A fourth example is in the Khalili *Falnama* (MSS 979, f. 29b). The two verses and the beginning of the augury on the facing page are identical to the text of the dispersed copy.
 - 23 TSM H.1702, ff. 21b–22a; while Murra is only cut in the dispersed *Falnama*, in TSM H.1702, f. 21b, he has been cleaved in half.
 - 24 Armen Tokatlian has maintained that he is the same person as Abdullah bin Qays, one of the arbitrators of the succession of Ali and Muawiyah, whom the Shi'i call Murra and also hold responsible for Ali's death, but Tokatlian does not provide his source. Tokatlian, *Falnama*, p. 24. In private correspondence, Professor Rasoul Jafariyan has questioned the validity of this hypothesis; based on a later poem, he identifies Murra as someone who was disrespectful while in the sanctuary in Najaf and was subsequently cut in two. I am grateful to Rasoul Jafariyan for sharing his opinions on this subject.
 - 25 See John Seyller, *The Adventures of Hamza: Painting and Storytelling in Mughal India* (Washington, D.C., and London: Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, and Azimuth, 2002), nos. 19 and 25.
 - 26 His pose is identical to that of Imam Ali in the now-lost Binney illustration, which depicts him saving Salman al-Farsi.
 - 27 See cat. 29.

- 28 Jamshid Malikpur, *The Islamic Drama* (London: Frank Cass, 2004), p. 132.
- 29 TSM H.1702, f. 30a.
- 30 The other shows Imam Husayn at Karbala (f. 14b).
- 31 While Welch originally identified the scene as possibly being a "scene in a mosque," Tokatlian recently has referred to it as "Astan-e Quds," the sacred shrine at Mashhad.
- 32 May Farhat, "Islamic Piety and Dynastic Legitimacy: The Case of the Shrine of Ali al-Rida in Mashhad (10th-17th Century)," PhD diss., Harvard University, 2002, pp. 217-18.
- 33 The Topkapı Persian copy includes an image of Imam Riza's burial place at Mashhad (f. 44b).
- 34 For a representation of a pair of sandals, see Elaine Wright, *Islam: Faith, Art, and Culture* (London: Scala Publishers, 2009), fig. 122, from a *Dala'il al-khayrat* (Guide to happiness), CBL AR 4223. The angel in the lower left of *The Prophet's Night Journey* in the dispersed *Falnama* also carries a pair of sandals, and another pair are included on the blue-and white dish (see cat. 35).
- 35 Topkapı Palace Museum, 1/1969, dated 1567 (975 AH); see Hülya Tezcan and Turgay Tezcan, *Türk Sancak Alemleri* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1992), figs. 37-49.
- 36 Koran 7:73-79, 11:61-66, 26:142-58, 27:45-53, 54:27, 91:13.
- 37 Al-Tha'labi, p. 115.
- 38 See also Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, pp. 116-17. For earlier pictorial models for this scene, see *ibid.*, p. 173, n. 39.
- 39 Edinburgh University Library, Arab 20, f. 3b; see David Talbot Rice and Basil Gray, *The Illustrations to the "World History" of Rashid al-Din* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), pl. 2.
- 40 See also "The Dresden *Falnama*," essay 5 in this volume.
- 41 The flaming hump recalls the camel in *Uways al-Qaran* in the dispersed *Falnama*.
- 42 Qazi Ahmad claims Siyavush excelled in portraiture; see Ahmad ibn Mir Munshi, *Calligraphers and Painters*, trans. and ed. V. Minorsky (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, 1959), p. 191. For an overview of the artist's career, see Anthony Welch, *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), chap. 2.
- 43 The illustration of Cane and Abel (f. 45b) and the *Murder of Siyavush* (f. 46b) in the Dresden *Falnama* may also be the work of Siyavush.
- 44 In Persian manuscript painting, Majnun often wears a similar blue skirt. For an example from the mid-sixteenth century, see B. W. Robinson, *Persian Painting in the John Rylands Library* (London: Sotheby's Park Bernet, 1980), fig. 641.
- 45 For a similar compositional device in the dispersed *Falnama*, see *Ali and Muhammad at the Gates of Khaybar*, cat. 23, and *Arrival of the Antichrist (Dajjal)*, cat. 53.
- 46 See Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, arabe 2583, *Kitab al-mawalid* (Book of nativity), reproduced in Marie-Geneviève Guesdon and Annie Vernay-Nouri, *L'Art du livre arabe. Du manuscrit au livre d'artiste* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2001), no. 85. See also cat. 67. Armen Tokatlian, in *Falnamah* (p. 32), also has remarked on the similarity of the figures in the arcade to designs in astrological manuscripts.
- 47 In the Topkapı Persian copy, the Ka'ba appears as a traditional black cube (f. 35b).
- 48 TSM H.1225, f. 228b (unpublished) and TSM H.1226, f. 47a.
- 49 İsmet Çetin, "Ali in Turkish Folk Literature," in *Ali in Islamic Belief*, p. 223.
- 50 In a recent paper, Michael Cook has suggested that in *Al-Kafi* (That which is sufficient), a collection of traditions by al-Kulayani (d. 940), the author claims the Ka'ba has "six boundaries, four of them on your left and two on your right," a concept that was discussed in theological circles during the Safavid period. I am grateful to Michael Cook for generously sharing a copy of his paper with me and to Oleg Grabar, who first mentioned Professor Cook's research.
- 51 For examples, see Yolande Crowe, *Persia and China. Safavid Blue and White Ceramics in the Victoria and Albert Museum 1501-1738* (London: Thames and Hudson on behalf of La Borie, 2002), "Kraak I." Lisa Golombek and Yolande Crowe generously shared their thoughts about this plate with me.
- 52 This idea was first suggested by Charlotte Maury; see *Chefs-d'oeuvre islamique de l'Aga Khan Museum* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2007), n. 86. For examples, see Wright, *Islam*, figs. 131, 133; for a representation of the Prophet's sandals, see *ibid.*, fig. 122.
- The TSM H.2154 album of 1544 was dedicated to Bahram Mirza, brother of Shah Tahmasb. The painting of the grooms in this album was attributed to the Chinese (Khitay) masters by Dust Muhammad, famous Safavid painter and compiler of the album. See Filiz Çağman, "On the Contents of the Four Istanbul Albums H.2152, 2153, 2154, and 2160," in *Between China and Iran. Paintings from Four Istanbul Albums. A Colloquy held 23-26 June 1980*, ed. E. J. Grube and E. Sims (New York: Islamic Art Foundation, 1985), figs. 83A-B, 84-85; David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400-1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), fig. 163. It is interesting to note that the original fifteenth-century figures are grooms, but in the Ahmed i *Falnama*, the costume has been identified as that of a monk to fit the narrative.
- 3 Tabari mentions several versions of the story, which also inspired the *Qisas al-anbiya* texts: *The History of al-Tabari: Vol. III: The Children of Israel*, trans. W. M. Brinner (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp. 69-80. For an illustrated *Qisas al-anbiya* copy with a painting depicting the worshiping of the golden calf, see Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas al-anbiya* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1999), p. 136.
- 4 Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.2163, ff. 258b-260b. For Nakşi, see A. Süheyl Ünver, *Ressam Nakşi: Hayatı ve Eserleri / The Painter Nakshi, His Life and His Paintings* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1949), and Esin Atıl, "Ahmed Nakşi, An Eclectic Painter of the Early 17th Century," in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), pp. 103-21.
- 5 In her article (see preceding note), Esin Atıl argues that Nakşi used European engravings, some of which are still housed in the Topkapı albums.
- 6 For the full story and references, see "The *Falnama* of Ahmed I" in this volume.
- 7 For a detailed discussion of the term *dayr-i mina*, see Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, "The Iranian Painter, the Metaphorical Hermitage, and the Christian Princess," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n.s. 16 (2002), pp. 38-41.
- 8 Two other illustrations that incorporated "idols" appear in the Dresden *Falnama* E445, f. 30b, and the Topkapı Persian copy, H.1702m f. 50b; see fig. 2.2.
- 9 For illustrations from the *Jami' al-tawarikh*, see Sheila S. Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. 27 (Oxford: Nour Foundation, 1995), figs. 36, 47, and 50. For examples from the fifteenth century, see *Islamic Art I* (New York: Islamic Art Foundation, 1981), figs. 280, 297, and 298. It is unclear why the artist referred to fourteenth- and fifteenth-century paintings, but perhaps those periods were thought to lack the religious unity and cohesion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
- 10 H.2153 and H.2160; for illustrations, see *Islamic Art I*, nos. 276, 279-317.
- 11 *Ibid.*, figs. 200, 288, and 409.
- 12 *Ibid.*, fig. 409; for a color reproduction and recent discussion of the monastic scene, see Melikian-Chirvani, "Iranian Painter," pp. 38-52.
- 13 See cat. 36.
- 14 Unlike many *Falnama* illustrations that served as models for subsequent manuscript paintings, *Azure Monastery* was never repeated.
- Sages, Heroes, and Villains
- 1 Al-Nishaburi, Ishaq b. Ibrahim, *Qisas al-anbiya. Dastanha-yi payghambaran* (Tehran: Bungah-yi tarjuma-va nashr kitab, 1961), p. 322.
- 2 See the Appendix for the illustration in H.1702; Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas al-anbiya* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1999), p. 150, n. 149, for earlier examples of this scene.
- 3 See Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), pl. 150. The whimsical demons recall the wild creatures frequently shown with Solomon, another ruler-sage-prophet. They may have been appropriated from the Solomon legend.
- 4 The only other image is Bahram Gur Hunting; see "Other Folios from the Dispersed *Falnama*" section. More are in the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* (H.1702) and in the Dresden version (E445).
- 5 A. J. Wensinck, "Al-khadir (Al-khidr)," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. IV (1978), p. 902.
- 6 Wensinck, "Ilyās," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. III, (1960-), p. 1156; Roberto Tottoli, "Elijah," *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2007), vol. 2, p. 12.
- 7 See also the entry on *Alexander Builds a Wall against Gog and Magog* in the dispersed *Falnama*, cat. 38.

Idolatry

- 1 *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned: The Bustan of Sa'di*, trans. G. M. Wickens (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1978), tale 140.
- 2 TSM H.2153, ff. 123b and 150a; H.2154, f. 34a. The compilation of TSM H.2153 is attributed to Tabriz under the Akkoyunlu ruler Sultan Yakub (reigned 1478-90).

- 8 J. Christoph Bürgel, *Nizami: Das Alexanderbuch: Iskandarnama, Übertragung aus dem Persischen, Nachwort und Anmerkungen* (Zürich: Manesse Verlag, 1991), pp. 378–79.
- 9 According to al-Nishaburi's *Qisas al-anbiya* (p. 333), he was Ethiopian (*habashi*) by descent, which explains his dark complexion, and he lived during the reign of King David. Luqman's gold-embroidered robe recalls the intricate design of the poet Sa'di (f. 6b).
- 10 For related examples, see TSM H.1703, ff. 28b, 30b, 32b, 34b, 38b, and 39b.
- 11 Seyyid Lokman Aşuri, *Zübdat al-tawarikh*, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, ms. T.414, f. 76a.
- 12 *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. II, *Prophets and Patriarchs*, trans. William M. Brinner (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), p. 36; 'Ara'is al-majalis fi Qisas al-Anbiya' or "Lives of the Prophets" as Recounted by Abu Ishaq Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Tha'labi, trans. and ann. by William M. Brinner (Leiden, Boston, Cologne: Brill, 2002), pp. 586–88.
- 13 Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican, *Dürr-i Meknun: Saklı İnciler*, trans. and ann. by Necdet Sakaoglu (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay, 1999), p. 97.
- 14 Ali Haydar Bayat, *Türk Kültüründe Lokman Hekim* (Istanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2000), p. 50.
- 15 Al-Tha'labi, p. 697.
- 16 The story relates that one of youths went into town, which had become Christian, to buy provisions, but when he tried to pay with obsolete coins, it aroused suspicion and curiosity. Before the new king could reach the cave, the youth returned and informed his companions of what had happened, and the seven decided that it was time to relinquish their souls to God again and died. According to al-Tha'labi (p. 700), by divine intervention, the entrance to the cave was blocked and commemorated by a mosque.
- 17 Barbara Schmitz has identified the figure as Alexander; see Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, p. 72.
- 18 Edinburgh University Library, ms. OR 20, f. 23r.
- 19 TSM H.2160, f. 83r; for illustration, see *Islamic Art I* (New York: Islamic Art Foundation, 1978), fig. 180. The circular composition relates to at least two other illustrations in the same album (ff. 48r, 55r); figs. 178 and 179.
- 20 For reproduction of the *Qisas* paintings, see Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, pl. xx, figs. 31, 39, and 46. The figures do not appear in the same tightly structured composition as in the *Falnama* versions.
- 21 The *simurgh* also appears in another illustration (H.2134, fig. 64a), which may have been intended for prognostication.
- 22 In part, his method was based on observation and the study of the human body and some fifty works on the subject have been spuriously ascribed to him; see David C. Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science: The European Scientific Tradition in Philosophical, Religious, and Institutional Context, 600 B.C. to A.D. 1450* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 113–19.
- 23 A. Dietrich, "Bukrāt," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Suppl., fascicules 3–4 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), p. 155.
- 24 According to Islamic cosmology, Mount Qaf was made of green emerald and encircled the world; see *The Mathnawi of Jalaluddin Rumi*, book vi, ed. Reynold S. Nicholson, rpt. (Warminster, U.K.: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1990), p. 476.
- 25 For instance, the illustrations of the planets and the signs of the zodiac (H.1702, ff. 2b–9b) incorporate similar multicolored knotted clouds, while f. 22b, depicting *Muhammad Splitting the Moon*, includes witnesses who share the same shaped jaw and well-groomed beard as the figure of Hippocrates.
- 26 For a full discussion, see Katia Zakharia, "Visages d'une légende," *Arabica* 46, no. 2 (1999), 230–58; J. Baldick, "Uways al-Karani," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. x (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 958.
- 27 Armen Tokatlian, *Falnama: Livre Royal des Sorts* (Montreuil: Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2007), no. 16; Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, p. 117. For the story of Salih, see Brinner, *Ara'is al-majalis fi Qisas al-anbiya*, pp. 116–23; Al-Kisa'i, Muhammad ibn 'Abullah, *Tales of the Prophets (Qisas al-anbiya)*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. (Chicago: Kazi Publications, 1997), pp. 125–28.
- 28 The Ahmed i *Falnama* is the only other copy to include an illustration of the camel herder (f. 19b). Different in style and composition, here Uways rides the agitated camel and wields a prod in his raised hand.
- 29 Muhammad bin Khavendshah bin Mahmud, commonly called Mirkhond. *Rausat-us-Safa or Garden of Purity*, part 1, vol. 1, trans. E. Behtsek and ed. F. F. Arbuthnot (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1891), pp. 107–109; *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instructions*, vol. 26 (1835), p. 5. These two sources offer the greatest details of the story. Al-Tha'labi, pp. 239–46.
- 30 The story is also illustrated in the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* (H.1702) and the Khalili copy (f. 19b). An illustration of *Iskandar Visiting Shaddad's Tomb*, signed by the Shirazi painter and illuminator Husayn al-Muzahib and dated 1540, is included in a copy of the *Khamisa* by Nizami in the Topkapı Palace Library (H.758); for illustration, see Lâle Uluç, *Turkoman Governors, Shiraz Artisans, and Ottoman Patrons: Sixteenth-Century Shiraz Manuscripts* (Istanbul: Is Bankasi Kültür Yayınları, 2006), nos. 100–102.
- 31 Ultra violet light on the lower window in the tower reveals the face of a second woman, above those of the three figures, has been painted out.
- 32 Oxford, ms. Bodl. OR 133, f. 28a; see Oxford Digital Library, *Kitab al-bulhan*; www2.odl.ox.ac.uk. For the illustration in the Metali manuscript, see Barbara Schmitz et al., *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997), fig. 115.
- 33 TSM H.1702, f. 30b.
- 34 The top section was originally in the collection of Georges Marteau, and the lower one belonged to Charles Vignier.
- 35 For examples, see David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), figs. 108, 131, and 134.
- 36 According to Soudavar (*Persian Courts*, no. 72, n. 149), this hypothesis was first conveyed by Nora Titley to Jean Soustiel at the time the painting was sold at Hôtel Drouot in Paris, but Soudavar questions its validity. As the scene takes place in the presence of a veiled figure who must represent one of the Shi'i imams, it probably represents a different event.
- 37 Khalili ms. 979, f. 6a. The text reads, "zeynab-i kaza be fal to bar amada ke chahar shir be amr hazrat-i imam al-jan va al-nas an ma'luna ra daranideand . . ." (The vile Zeynab has come to your omen, who was devoured by four lions on the order of the imam . . .).
- 38 Tokatlian has suggested that this line represents the beginning of the colophon, but he does not offer any reasoning other than the change in the type of script; see *Falnama*, p. 68. The first and last line of the auguries in the Khalili *Falnama*, which emulate those of the dispersed copy in both style and content, are also written in the *tawqih* script.

The Zodiac

- 1 Representations of the Sun on Islamic works of art are frequently personified and date to at least the twelfth century. The Sun is included on metalwork and ceramics not simply as one of the seven planets but as a symbol of power, strength, authority, and kingship. See Stefano Carboni, *Following the Stars: Images of the Zodiac in Islamic Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), nos. 1, 3, 4, 7, and 17. The Sun is also the Planetary Lord of Leo and often was represented on the back of a lion; see cat. 68; *ibid.*, nos. 12 and 14.
- 2 Based on the Greek model, planets, like the Sun, are associated with a specific color, day of the week, and series of occupations, which in turn define their character; see *ibid.*, p. 6.
- 3 The illustration relates closely to the depiction of the Moon (*al-qamar*), which is supported by two angels (f. 2b). Although Moon must have been originally the first illustration in the manuscript, it is superseded by the image of the *Dabbat al-arz* (Beast of the earth), which has been pasted to the verso of the first folio.
- 4 For a more detailed discussion of the style, see "The Topkapı Persian *Falnama*" in this volume.
- 5 The sleeves are in the collection of the Topkapı Palace Museum (TSM 13/930); see Jon Thompson and Sheila R. Canby, eds., *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501–1576* (New York: Skira, 2003), no. 12.2.
- 6 As is discussed in the essay on the Topkapı Persian *Falnama*, that copy includes the work of several painters, whose hybrid style differs from that of the "Sun," and incorporate Safavid and Ottoman elements in different ways.
- 7 See folio 6a in the Appendix.
- 8 For comparison, see the two talismanic bowls (cats. 5, 6) and folio 9b in the Topkapı Persian *Falnama*.
- 9 See Lisa Golombek, Robert Mason, and Gauvin A. Bailey, *Tamerlane's Tableware. A New Approach to the Chinoiserie Ceramics of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1996). Yolande Crowe, "Sixteenth-Century Persian Ceramics," in Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, p. 249.
- 10 Moving in a counterclockwise direction and relative to their distance from the Earth, the planets are Mercury (*utarid*) the "scribe"; Venus (*al-zuhara*) the "lute player"; the Sun (*al-shams*); Mars (*al-mirikh*) the "warrior"; and Jupiter (*al-mushtari*), often depicted as an elderly, wise man.
- 11 Carboni, *Following the Stars*, p. 21.
- 12 TSM H.1703, f. 18a.
- 13 M. Hofelich, "Takwim" *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (1998), vol. 9, pp. 145–46.

- 14 For an overview of Selim's reign, see Halil İncalcık, "Selim I," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (1997), vol. 4, pp. 127–31.
 - 15 For example, Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, E.H.1695, *Za'îje-i tali'-i sene-i 925* (Ascendant horoscope for the year 925/1519), prepared in the last year of Selim's life; A. 3497, *Ahkam-i tali'-i sal* (Judgments for the year by [its] ascendant), dated 937 AH (1530–31); Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), vol. 1, p. 537, no. 1641.
 - 16 Also known as the Zoroastrian calendar, this lunar system is based on a twelve-month cycle of thirty days. The cumulative lag was corrected by an additional month every 116 or 120 years; see Antonio Panaino, "Calendars," I. Pre-Islamic period, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. IV (1990), p. 662.
 - 17 The Jalali calendar, introduced during the rule of the Saljuq ruler Malikshah (reigned 1072–92), is based on solar calculations and marks the beginning of each year with the vernal equinox (Nowruz); see Reza Abdollahy, "Calendars," II. Islamic period, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. IV (1990), p. 670.
 - 18 This system combines the Jalali and lunar systems with one based on the Chinese-Uighur original, in which the years are named after twelve animals; *ibid.*, pp. 667, 671.
 - 19 Curiously, relatively few astrolabes have survived from sixteenth-century Iran.
 - 20 Francis Maddison and Emily Savage-Smith, eds., *Science, Tools, and Magic: Part 1: Body and Spirit, Mapping the Universe* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005), no. 144. *The Nasser Khalili Collection of Islamic Art*, vol. 12 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
 - 21 Interestingly, according to the *Iskandarnama* of the Timurid statesman and poet Ali Shir Navai (d. 1501), when the wise men in his entourage produced a magical mirror that reflected the world, they crafted an astrolabe to read the stars' movements as well. See Ağâ S. Levend, *Ali Şir Nevaî*, vol. 3 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1967), pp. 498–99.
 - 22 It also was defined as an astrolabe, mirror, or map by a fourteenth-century author. See A. Pagliaro and A. Bausani, *La Letteratura persiana* (Milan: Sansoni-Accademia, 1968), p. 147.
- The Hereafter
- 1 The other signs include smoke; *Dabbat al-arz* (Beast of the earth); the rising of the sun from the west; the descent of Jesus; the arrival of Gog and Magog; a landslide in the east, one in the west, and one in Arabia; and fire from Yemen. See Neal Robinson, "Antichrist," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, vol. 1 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001), p. 110.
 - 2 Robinson, "Antichrist," pp. 107, 110. See also Appendix, H.1702, f. 48b.
 - 3 Their comical appearance recalls depictions of itinerant entertainers found in other sixteenth-century paintings; see Esin Atil, *The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1978), no. 18.
 - 4 B. Carra de Vaux, "Al-Dajjal," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (1913), p. 886. The city may therefore also represent Damascus.
 - 5 See also cat. 46. The text was discovered and identified by Julia Bailey in the 1990s. Other images in the Khalili *Falnama* that relate to those in the dispersed copy include *Iskandar's Death* (f. 3b), based on *Dara Dies in the Arms of Iskandar*; *Four Lions Devour Zaynab* (f. 5b); *Jesus Revives a Child in Front of the King* (f. 11b), which relates to *Muhammad Heals the Sick Boy*; and *Ali and Salman Farsi* (f. 14b).
 - 6 For a list of the attributes, see Zeki Sarıtoprak, "Däbbetü'l-Arz," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 8 (1993), p. 394.
 - 7 The Koranic verse implies the beast will speak to people; therefore in some narratives, he is portrayed as a human.
 - 8 For the discussion of these images in H.1702, see "The Topkapı Persian *Falnama*."
 - 9 In view of the more carefully executed version in H.1702, it probably served as a model for the Dresden illustration.
 - 10 The celebrated fifteenth-century *Mirajnama* (Book of ascension) includes a series of paintings with the Prophet on his steed Buraq, visiting different parts of hell and heaven. The manuscript does not depict the Day of Judgment; see Marie-Rose Seguy, *Mirajnameh ou le voyage du prophète* (Paris: Draeger Éditeur, 1977), pls. 45–58. For a list of all the Koranic references to different aspects of Judgment Day, see Isaac Hasson, "Last Judgment," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, vol. III (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), pp. 136–37.
 - 11 There is considerable discussion about the number of times the trumpet is blown; see Jane Idleman Smith and Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 70–71.
 - 12 Smith and Haddad, *Islamic Understanding*, p. 77.
 - 13 As the Koran (69:19–37) states that only those destined for paradise carry a scroll in the right hand, these men must be sinners. In addition, they and their fellow offenders are partially dressed, which contradicts the statement that on Judgment Day, men will appear barefoot, naked, and uncircumcised, the way they were born; see Smith and Haddad, *Islamic Understanding*, p. 74.
 - 14 John MacDonald, "The Day of Judgment," *Islamic Studies* 5 (1966), pp. 159–62; Smith and Haddad, *Islamic Understanding*, p. 74. This is the only known painting to include all these groups of sinners.
 - 15 The image also has been cropped.
 - 16 Technical examination of the painting eliminated the possibility that the faces were repainted at some later date. I am grateful to Craigen Bowen and Mary McWilliams for their help. A later hand has identified the figures, which can be deciphered as follows, from right to left: Musa al-Kazim, . . . al-Husayni, Muhammad Taqi, Ali Naqi, Hasan Askari, Imam sahib-i zaman, Jinab-i hazrat-i Fatima Zahra, . . . , Imam Husayn, Sayyid . . . , Riza Sadiq. The flaming almond-shaped form is inscribed with the name of Fatima Zahra, the prophet's daughter and Ali's wife.
 - 17 The artists of these two compositions must have either worked closely together or were aware of each others' work.
 - 18 For examples, see Metin And, *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslâm Mitologyası* (Istanbul: Akbank Kültür ve Sanat Yayınları, 1998), pp. 240–43.
 - 19 Smith and Haddad, *Islamic Understanding*, p. 85. In the fifteenth-century *Mirajnama*, the Prophet views all seven layers of hell, with each one reserved for a different type of sinner. See Seguy, *Mirajnameh*, pls. 44–58.
 - 20 As quoted in Smith and Haddad, *Islamic Understanding*, p. 86. For another depiction of a *zabaniya*, see "The *Falnama* of Ahmed I" (H.1703) in the Appendix.
 - 21 For a discussion of the terrors of hell, see Rosalind W. Gwynne, "Hell and Hellfire," in *Encyclopedia of the Qur'an*, vol. II (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002), pp. 414–20.
 - 22 For an image of hell in the dispersed copy, see section on "Other *Falnama* Folios."
 - 23 John Donaldson, "Paradise," *Islamic Studies* 5 (1966), p. 344; Smith and Haddad, *Islamic Understanding*, pp. 87–88.
 - 24 Drawn from the Koran (55:70–76). For a discussion of the *hur*, which has generated considerable debate, see Smith and Haddad, *Islamic Understanding*, pp. 164–68.
 - 25 For other reception scenes with heavenly creatures, see a drawing in the Freer Gallery of Art (F1950.2). See also Atil, *Brush of the Masters*, no. 13, and an illustration in the *Nafahat al-uns* (Breaths of fellowship) in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, CBL 474, reproduced in And, *Minyatürlerle*, p. 272.
 - 26 These now-yellowed but originally white-ground fragments are also in the Brooklyn Museum (36. 213, a and d). For provenance, see Jon Thompson, "Textiles and Carpets," in Jon Thompson and Sheila Canby, eds., *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501–1576* (New York: Skira, 2003), p. 290. A related fragment, formerly in the collection of Baron Franz von Hatvany of Budapest but apparently lost during World War II, included part of a large central medallion depicting an outdoor enthronement in which courtiers all wore *taj* turbans; see, for instance, Arthur Upham Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art from Ancient Times to the Present*, 6 vols. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938–39), vol. 6, pl. 1141, or Edmund de Unger, "Budapest's Belle Époque," *Hali* 30 (April–June 1986), p. 37. If not from the same Safavid carpet, the Hatvany fragment belonged to another carpet closely related in design and likely of similar date.
 - 27 As noted by Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, pp. 285, 287.

Beyond the *Falnama*

- 1 See also essay 1, "The Art of Bibliomancy," in this volume, and Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, in *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas al-anbiya* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1999), chap. 1.
- 2 This topic is discussed at length in Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*; see especially chapter 4 by Barbara Schmitz.
- 3 See Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, pp. 72, 133–34, pls. x and xxxi and figs. 44 and 50.
- 4 For an illustration of the first illustration on f. 91a, see Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, fig. 44.
- 5 See *Islamic Art* I (1981), TSM H.2153, ff. 29b and 52a (figs. 200 and 59). I am grateful to Julian Raby for this observation.
- 6 For examples, see *Islamic Art* I (1981), TSM H.2153, f. 40b (fig. 208); TSM H.2153, ff. 130b, 18b (figs. 460 and 464).
- 7 See Cornell H. Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleyman," Gilles Veinstein, ed., *Süleyman the Magnificent*

- and his Time, Acts of the Parisian Conference, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 7-10 March 1990 (Paris: Documentation française, 1992), p. 170; Cornell H. Fleischer, "Seer to the Sultan: Haydar-ı Remmal and Sultan Süleyman," in *Cultural Horizons: A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman* (Syracuse and Istanbul: Syracuse University Press and Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), vol. 1, pp. 292-95; also see "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences," Fleischer's essay in this volume. For *Jafr*, see T. Fahd, "Djafr," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. II, p. 375.
- 8 A later copy of *Tercüme-i miftah ceft-i cami* (Istanbul University Library, T6624), attributable to the reign of Ahmed I (1603-17) and a copy of *Ahval-i kıyamet* (The circumstances of the Apocalypse) (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, H.139) also include illustrations of the Beast of the earth that show similar iconography yet differ in their details. For reproductions, see Metin And, *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslâm Mitolojyası* (Istanbul: Akbank Kültür ve Sanat Yayınları, 1998), pp. 285-86.
 - 9 *Tomar-ı Hümayun* (Imperial Roll), Topkapı Palace Library, A3599.
 - 10 The royal copy is in Istanbul in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum (no. 1973); the other one is in the Topkapı Palace Library (H.1321). Both the sultan's and the grand vizier's copies, like the *Falnames*, are of unusually large size; the sultan's copy measures 64.5 x 41 cm, and the copy made for the grand vizier is 61 x 40 cm. For illustrations, see And, *Minyatürlerle*, passim.
 - 11 For Mehmed Agha's copy, see Vladimir Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1958), pp. 21-25; Günsel Renda, "New Light on the Painters of the Zubdat al-Tawarikh in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul," *IVème Congrès d'Art Turc, Aix en Provence, 10-15 Septembre 1971* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence. Etudes historiques 3, 1976), p. 184; Günsel Renda, "Chester Beatty Kitaplığındaki Zübde'tü Tevarih ve Minyatürleri," *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1991), pp. 485-503; Emine Fetvacı, "Viziers to Eunuchs: Transitions in Ottoman Manuscript Patronage, 1566-1617," PhD diss., Harvard University, 2005, pp. 231-50.
 - 12 For illustrations, see Renda, "New Light," pp. 26-35, 183-200; Bağcı et al., *Osmanlı Rasim Sanatı* (Istanbul: TC Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006), nos. 98, 100, 101.
 - 13 Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T.414, ff. 66b-67b.
 - 14 Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T.414, ff. 67b-68a.
 - 15 The angel carrying the ram is included in the scene in the other copies (Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, 1973, f. 26b; Topkapı Palace Library, H.1321, f. 29b). For another scene of Abraham's sacrifice, see cat. 19.
 - 16 Noah sent out a dove, which came back with an olive leaf in its bill and mud on its feet. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, T.414, ff. 58b-60a.
 - 17 Al-Kisa'i, p. 103.
 - 18 Al-Kisa'i, p. 101; Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, T.414, f. 59a.
 - 19 Noah's ark is also included in the Topkapı Persian *Falnama* (H.1702, f. 45b).
 - 20 See John Seyller, *The Adventures of Hamza. Paintings and Storytelling in Mughal India* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in association with Azimuth Ltd., London, 2002), p. 37.
 - 21 Istanbul, TSM H.1226, f. 46b; for alternative versions of the story, see Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, p. 122.
 - 22 Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, maintains al-Nishaburi must have relied on an early and not very orthodox source instead of the Koran.
 - 23 *Dispersed Falnama* (cat. 34), TSM H.1702, f. 35b, f. 445, f. 21b.
 - 24 For two other examples, see Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, pl. VIII and fig. 5.
 - 25 Satan's face has been smudged.
 - 26 Ömer F. Akün, "Sürûri," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1992), pp. 249-50; Günay Kut, "Türk Edebiyatında Acaibü'l-Mahlûkât Tercümelere Üzerine," *Beşinci Milletler Arası Türkoloji Kongresi, İstanbul, 23-28 Eylül 1985. Tebliğler II. Türk Edebiyatı*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1985), pp. 183-93.
 - 27 The round face and frontal pose of the figure also allude to the full phase of the moon.
 - 28 D. Pingree, "al-Kamar, Astronomy" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. IV, p. 517.
 - 29 See "The *Falnama* of Ahmed I" in the Appendix.
 - 30 Stefano Carboni, *Il Kitab al-Bulhan di Oxford* (Torino: Editrice tirrenia Stampatori, 1988). J. M. Millás, "Abu Ma'shar Dja'far b. Muhammad b. 'Umar al-Balkhi," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. I, p. 139.
 - 31 M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padışahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, 3rd ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), p. 45; Leslie P. Pierce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 202. For her fountains, see İbrahim H. Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri: İstanbul Ciheti* (Istanbul: Maarif Vekillliği, 1943), pp. 54-56, 261-62. Arguing that the portrait of Murad II in the beginning has been altered from that of a middle-aged bearded man to a clean youthful face, Barbara Schmitz suggests a second patron for the manuscript, another Ayşe Sultan, daughter of Ahmed I and sister of Ahmed's son Osman II (reigned 1618-22). According to Schmitz's convincing argument, both Ahmed and Osman were very young sultans, and the reigning monarch's portrait was altered to update the patronage from Murad to either Ahmed or Osman, and from Ayşe, daughter of Murad, to Ayşe, daughter of Ahmed. Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997), pp. 77-78.
 - 32 A facsimile copy of *Fatma Sultan's Metali'* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. turc 242) has recently been published along with an accompanying book: Mónica Miró, ed., *The Book of Felicity* (Barcelona: Moleiro Editor, s.a., 2007). See also Ivan Stchoukine, *La Peinture turque d'après les Manuscrits illustrés: Ire Partie de Sulayman Ier a Osman II 1520-1622* (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1966), pp. 70-71, pls. XLII-XLVI.
 - 33 He provides brief information on his career in the colophon at the end of the Paris manuscript, which is missing in Ayşe Sultan's copy. See Yorgos Dedes, "The Ascensions of Felicity and the Fountains of Nobility: Translation of the Ottoman Text," in Miró, *Book of Felicity*, pp. 430-31.
 - 34 Oxford, Bodleian Library (OR. 133, f. 6a). Barbara Schmitz's excellent entry in the catalogue of the Pierpont Morgan Library provides a concordance comparing the Oxford, New York, and Paris manuscripts. She also identifies the omissions and additions, and argues for the probability of another manuscript from which all three were copied. Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts*, pp. 73-74. See also Stefano Carboni, "Ricostruzione del Ciclo pittorico del Kitab al-Bulhan di Oxford: Le Miniature delle Copie ottomane mancanti nell'Originale," *Annali di Ca' Foscari: Rivista della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere dell'Università di Venezia* (1988), pp. 97-125. For the Oxford *Kitab al-bulhan* and another fragmentary copy, see Carboni, *Il Kitab*, and Stefano Carboni, "Two Fragments of a Jalayirid Astrological Treatise in the Keir Collection and in the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo," *Islamic Art*, vol. 2 (1987), pp. 149-86.
 - 35 The faces, like most others in the manuscripts, were retouched at a later date.
 - 36 Another manuscript unquestionably illustrated by him is a prose Turkish translation of the celebrated *Shahnama* of Firdawsî, dated 1584, the paintings of which are unpublished (TSM B 284).

Islamic Divination in the Context of Its "Eastern" and "Western" Counterparts

Maria Mavroudi

- 1 See David N. Keightley, *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978; 2nd ed., 1985). After deliberately causing cracks on the surface of animal or human bones, what the cracks indicated regarding the future was interpreted by a priest on behalf of royal figures or by royal persons themselves.
- 2 See D. Pingree, *From Astral Omens to Astrology: From Babylon to Bikaner*, Serie Orientale Roma 78 (Rome: Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 1997), pp. 11-13.
- 3 On the origins of astrology, see Pingree, *Astral Omens*, p. 21 ff. On celestial divination and the development of horoscopy and astronomy, see Francesca Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy, and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). The earliest surviving evidence for the casting of nativities and horoscopes is from the fifth century BCE; see Rochberg, *Heavenly Writing*, p. 78.
- 4 See R. A. Parker, *A Vienna Demotic Papyrus on Eclipse- and Lunar-Omina* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1959).
- 5 See D. Pingree, "Petosiris," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 18 vols., ed. C. Gillispie (New York: Scribner, 1981-90).
- 6 On the development and transmission of the ideas and methods contained in Near Eastern celestial omen literature, see Pingree, *Astral Omens*, pp. 11-20. For other kinds of omens, see Rochberg, *Heavenly Writing*.
- 7 For a brief introduction to each of these forms of divination in the ancient Near East, see Rochberg, *Heavenly Writing*, pp. 45-97.
- 8 This, of course, generates the problem of whether and to which degree early Israelite divinatory practices reflect their contemporary Canaanite and Near Eastern practices. For a discussion on the example of necromancy, see Brian B. Schmidt, "The 'Witch' of En-Dor, 1 Samuel 28, and Ancient Near Eastern Necromancy" in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, ed. Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki (Boston: Brill, 2001), pp. 111-29.
- 9 On dream interpretation in the ancient Near East, see Rochberg, *Heavenly Writing*, pp. 81-86.

- 10 See A. L. Oppenheim, "The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, with a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. 46, no. 3 (1956), pp. 179-354.
- 11 On dream interpretation in the Koran and the understanding of the relevant Koranic passages expounded in later commentators, see John C. Lamoreaux, *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), p. 108 ff.
- 12 On this episode in the development of Arabic dream interpretation, see Maria Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and Its Arabic Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 132-33.
- 13 See Mavroudi, *Byzantine Book*, esp. pp. 128-35 for a brief outline.
- 14 Maria Mavroudi, "Dream Interpretation," in *The Classical Tradition*, ed. Anthony Grafton, Glenn Most, and Salvatore Settis (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, forthcoming).
- 15 Known by this time in the Old Babylonian period (early second millennium BCE) as well as in the seventh-century BCE collection called the *Šumma alu* (or, somewhat inaccurately, "Terrestrial omens"); see Rochberg, *Heavenly Writing*, pp. 78-79. See also the texts extensively quoted in T. Fahd, "Les présages par le corbeau," *Arabica* 8 (1961), pp. 30-58, esp. pp. 38-41.
- 16 See J. W. Roberts, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), s.vv. "augurs," "birds, sacred," "auspicious," "portents"; for a more extensive discussion, see Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1879-82), vol. 4, p. 180 ff. For a recent and exhaustive treatment of Roman augury, see David Engels, *Das römische Vorzeichenwesen (753-27 v. Chr.)*, Quellen, Terminologie, Kommentar, historische Entwicklung (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006).
- 17 The passage is cited in Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire*, vol. 1, p. 139.
- 18 See Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire*, vol. 1, p. 132, n. 28.
- 19 On the Latin treatises, see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire*, vol. 4, p. 182. As for Greek, in the eleventh century the Byzantine polymath Michael Psellos refers to an ornithomantic treatise by Apollonios of Lacaedemon (on whom I have been unable to find information from any other source) containing a detailed exposition on the meaning of every aspect in the behavior of all kinds of birds. The number and variety of technical terms pertinent to ornithomancy that Psellos enumerates in this context suggest he had actually consulted the treatise or at least glanced at its table of contents. For the Greek text, see J. M. Duffy, ed. *Michaelis Pselli philosophica minora* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1992), no. 33, lines 50-55.
- 20 See Phaidon Koukoulos, *Byzantinon bios kai politismos* [The Life and Culture of the Byzantines] 1, no. 2 (Athens: Institut Français, 1948), pp. 203-13.
- 21 For a detailed exposition of various ornithomantic procedures in the Islamic period (*iyafa, ira, zajr*), see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe* (Leiden, 1967; rpt. Paris: Sindbad, 1987), pp. 432-50; see also T. Fahd, "Iyafa," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 4, pp. 290-92; T. Fahd, "Présages par le corbeau," *Arabica* 8 (1961), pp. 30-58, where Graeco-Roman (on the basis of Cicero's *De divinatione*), Arabic, Assyro-Babylonian, and Iranian divination are compared.
- 22 The text was studied and translated by Fahd, "Présages par le corbeau," pp. 30-58.
- 23 Al-Jahiz quoted by Fahd, "Présages par le corbeau," p. 34, no. 1: if you are leaving your house to pursue some kind of business or to get engaged and a raven crows from your right and your left or flies from your right to your left or from your left to your right, you will attain your goal. This is broadly comparable with Psellos's statement that if a raven crows from both sides it indicates you should have confidence in the success of your affairs. For the Greek text, see Duffy, *Michaelis Pselli*, no. 33.
- 24 For the Islamic tradition, see Fahd, "Présages par le corbeau"; for the Byzantine tradition on the raven, see Koukoulos, *Byzantinon bios* 1, no. 2, pp. 206-208.
- 25 For the owl as a bad omen in the Arabic tradition, see Fahd, *Divination arabe*, p. 513; for the owl as a bad omen in the Roman tradition, see Fahd, *Divination arabe*, p. 433; for the owl as a bad omen in the ancient Greek, Byzantine, and modern Greek tradition, see Koukoulos, *Byzantinon bios* 1, no. 2, pp. 209-10.
- 26 C. S. F. Burnett, "Arabic Divinatory Texts and Celtic Folklore: A Comment on the Theory and Practice of Scapulimancy in Western Europe," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 6 (1983), pp. 35-42, esp. p. 39 ff.
- 27 It is not mentioned in Rochberg, *Heavenly Writing*; I would also like to thank Professor Rochberg for confirming in the course of a private communication that, indeed, scapulimancy is not recorded in the Ancient Near East. Fahd, *Divination arabe*, p. 397, suggests that it was a well-known practice in ancient Mesopotamia, yet the only explicit mention for its practice in the pre-Islamic period he cites is in a text falsely attributed to al-Jahiz, the *Kitab al-'irafa*, where the divinatory practices of the ancient Persians are enumerated. See Fahd, *Divination arabe*, p. 31. Scapulimancy should be separated from extispicy (the reading of the entrails of sacrificed animals).
- 28 On the manuscript tradition of the *Risala fi ilm al-katîf* attributed to al-Kindi, see Burnett, "Arabic Divinatory Texts," p. 39; for a discussion on the reliability of the attribution to al-Kindi and the text's purported Greek source, see Charles Burnett, "Divination from Sheep's Shoulder Blades: A Reflection on Andalusian Society," *Cultures in Contact in Medieval Spain: Historical and Literary Essays Presented to L. P. Harvey*, eds. D. Hook and B. Taylor (London: King's College, 1990), pp. 29-45, esp. p. 35. See also Fahd, *Divination arabe*, pp. 395-97. Fahd cites a report by Father Anastase al-Karmali (a scholar of Christian Arabic) to the Assyriologist Alfred Boissier that scapulimantic literature in Arabic is extensive, but he indicates that he is personally aware of only a few Arabic texts treating the subject (Fahd, *Divination arabe*, p. 396, n. 1).
- 29 Published in Duffy, *Michaelis Pselli*, no. 33. For a report on the content of Psellos's text, see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire* 1, p. 180; on scapulimancy in the Byzantine period, see also Koukoulos, *Byzantinon bios* 1, no. 2, pp. 195-98; and for scapulimancy in Byzantium and in Slavic and modern Greek folklore, see W. F. Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp. 136-39.
- 30 See G. Megas, "Biblion omoplastoskopias ek kodikos tes Ethnikes Bibliothekes tes Hellados," *Laographia* 9 (1926), pp. 3-51; see also Paul Magdalino and Maria Mavroudi, *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium* (Geneva: Editions La Pomme d'or, 2007), pp. 16-17. The text edited by Armand Delatte, *Anecdota atheniensia*, vol. 1, *Textes grecs inédits relatifs à l'histoire des religions* (Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1927), pp. 206-209, is the same as the one published earlier by Megas (both publications draw from the same thirteenth-century manuscript, National Library of Greece, *Atheniensis* 1493). Megas offers a very good discussion of earlier scholarship on the topic. For an exploration of scapulimancy as a living tradition in Greece in the nineteenth century with a wealth of details on the procedure, see N. Politis, "He mageia para tois neoteriois Hellenesin," *Parthenon* 2, no. 20 (1872), pp. 1093-97 (followed by a discussion on ornithomancy and divination from other omens, *ibid.*, pp. 1097-105).
- 31 On Latin scapulimancy, see Burnett, "Arabic Divinatory Texts"; Burnett, "Divination," pp. 29-36, 42-45; Charles Burnett, "An Islamic Divinatory Technique in Medieval Spain: An Edition of the Earliest Latin Scapulimancy (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Misc. 396, ff. 108r-112r) with translation," in *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe*, ed. D. A. Agius and R. Hitchcock (Reading, U.K.: Ithaca Press, 1994), pp. 111-35; Charles Burnett, "The Scapulimancy of Giorgio Anselmi's *Divinum opus de magia disciplina*," *Euphrosyne* 23 (1995), pp. 63-79; all the above essays and a previously unpublished one by Charles Burnett, "Scapulimancy (Divination by the shoulder blades of sheep)," are included in Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot, G.B.: Variorum, 1996).
- 32 "Whereas the art of [astrological] prognostication is common to the Arabs and certain cultivated societies, and geomancy is proper to the Berbers, all human races have the gift of practicing scapulimancy," quoted by Burnett, "Divination," p. 29.
- 33 For example, the abduction of the brides predicted by Polemon; see Robert Hoyland, ed. and trans., "A New Edition and Translation of the Leiden Polemon," in *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam*, ed. Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 457-59.
- 34 See the discussion of physiognomic omens in Rochberg, *Heavenly Writing*, pp. 87-88; see also the numerous references to published Babylonian texts and the assessment in Fahd, *Divination arabe*, pp. 378-79, n. 5.
- 35 Such instances are mentioned in the course of the so-called terrestrial omens; see Rochberg, *Heavenly Writing*, p. 79.
- 36 See the thorough essay by George Boys-Stones, "Physiognomy and Ancient Psychological Theory," in Swain, *Seeing the Face*, pp. 19-124. See also Tamsyn S. Barton, *Power and Knowledge: Astrology, Physiognomics, and Medicine under the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), esp. pp. 95-131.
- 37 See I. Repath, "Anonymus Latinus, *Book of Physiognomy*" in Swain, *Seeing the Face*, pp. 549-635, esp. pp. 550-52.
- 38 See Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan, 1923-58), vol. 1, p. 668, on the Latin translations from the Arabic of treatises on physiognomy attributed to Aristotle, al-Razi, and Polemon. On the Arabic original of the Latin translations, see Fahd, *Divination arabe*, pp. 381-84. On Fakhr al-Din al-Razi's work on physiognomy, characterized as "an excellent synthesis of Muslim ideas about physiognomy, drawn from the treatise of Polemon, the medical oeuvres of Ibn Zakariyya al-Razi and Ibn Sina (themselves inspired by

- Hippocrates and Galen), the *Sirr al-asrar*, as well as a range of Arabic literary works pertinent to divination and the like," see Robert Hoyland, "The Islamic Background to Polemon's Treatise," in Swain, *Seeing the Face*, pp. 227–80, esp. pp. 262–63; see also A. Gherseti, "The Semiotic Paradigm: Physiognomy and Medicine in Islamic Culture," in Swain, *Seeing the Face*, pp. 281–308.
- 39 The subject is briefly and inadequately treated in Koukoules, *Byzantinon bios* 1, no. 2, pp. 199–200; there exists a wealth of material on the basis of which physiognomy in the Byzantine world could be discussed, and a new investigation of the topic is urgently needed. The potential is evident from the brief references to Christian art in Jas Elsner, "Physiognomics: Art and Text," in Swain, *Seeing the Face*, pp. 203–23 (with some additional bibliographic citations). In the Slavic world, Greek physiognomy became known not through contact with Byzantium but primarily through translations of Arabic material from Hebrew into Slavic in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and through translations from Latin into Slavic in the eighteenth century; see Ryan, *Bathhouse at Midnight*, pp. 156–57.
 - 40 See Hoyland, "Islamic Background"; Gherseti, "Semiotic Paradigm"; Fahd, *Divination arabe*, pp. 369–95.
 - 41 See Barton, *Power and Knowledge*, pp. 95–96.
 - 42 See Fahd, *Divination arabe*, p. 399, on the ancient Near Eastern background to palmomancy (Arabic: *ikhtilaj*, i.e., the chance movement of various parts of the body).
 - 43 Writings on these topics are usually attributed to Melampus, who purportedly addressed "King Ptolemy" with them. For a text on the appearance of moles addressed to Ptolemy, see Melampus, *Περὶ ἐλαίων τοῦ σώματος πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον βασιλέα*, ed. J. G. F. Franz, *Scriptores physiognomoniae veteres* (Altenburg: Richter, 1780), pp. 501–508; on divination from chance movement of various parts of the body, see the treatises edited and discussed by H. Diels in *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Klasse 4 (1908); for further bibliography, see Fahd, *Divination arabe*, p. 398, nn. 3, 4. In addition to palmomantic texts, Melampus is also the purported author of at least one more treatise that draws predictions based on natural occurrences (thunder, earthquakes, etc.) that take place during the different moments of the moon's path through the signs of the zodiac. There, Melampus is said to be an "astrologer." See *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* (Brussels: H. Lamertin, 1898–1951), vol. 4, pp. 110–13.
 - 44 On the interpretation of moles, see Koukoules, *Byzantinon bios* 1, no. 2, pp. 202–203; on sneezing, twitching, and chance movements of the human body, see *ibid.*, pp. 185–89.
 - 45 See Ryan, *Bathhouse at Midnight*, pp. 158–59, for Slavic lore on sneezing, yawning, itching, twitching, and its connection with its Byzantine and western European equivalents.
 - 46 See Ryan, *Bathhouse at Midnight*, pp. 158–59 and 137.
 - 47 See Fahd, *Divination arabe*, pp. 397–402, on palmomancy, which is used both for medical diagnosis and for understanding the mental characteristics of a human subject; in the Islamic context, this art is said to have been introduced by Ja'far al-Sadiq on the basis of a tradition attributed to the prophet Daniel, Alexander (probably of Myndos, not the Great), the Persians, and the Byzantines. Fahd also makes reference to the ambitious research by H. Diels on palmomantic literature in Greek, Arabic, Slavic, Romanian, Hebrew, Turkish, etc.
 - 48 For example, see Corinna Treitel, *A Science for the Soul: Occultism and the Genesis of the German Modern* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 207–208, on the connection, acknowledged at the beginning of the twentieth century by the German academic establishment, between movement and character, including the movement of the hand when writing and the consequent use of graphology by the Munich police department for the purposes of criminal investigation. For a more general discussion, explaining how the modern study of ancient divination was linked to developments in modern psychoanalysis, including the work of Freud and Jung, see Engels, *Das römische Vorzeichenwesen*, pp. 798–825.
 - 49 For a more extensive discussion of cleromancy and the etymological interpretation of names in the Graeco-Roman world, see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire* 1, pp. 153–60. Divination through name etymology also is known in the Islamic world and is amply referred to in texts on dream interpretation (for example, to interpret the significance of a person who appeared in a dream, etymological interpretation of his or her name is sought). For a modern application of this age-old technique, see Muhammad M. Al-Akili, *Ibn Seerin's Dictionary of Dreams according to Islamic Inner Traditions* (Philadelphia: Pearl Publishing House, 1992), pp. 28–29; al-Akili's work is based largely on Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi (1641–1731), *Ta'tir al-anam fi ta'bir al-manam*, itself drawing from much earlier texts.
 - 50 On cleromantic procedures in the Graeco-Roman world, see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire* 1, pp. 189–97. Fahd, *Divination arabe*, pp. 179–245, discusses in a single chapter a great variety of cleromantic procedures. The overlap in cleromantic terminology also is pointed out in Fahd, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 5, pp. 398–99, s.v. "Kur'a."
 - 51 See G. M. Browne, "The Origin and Date of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*," *Illinois Classical Studies* 1 (1976), pp. 53–58; for versions of the Greek text, see Rudolf Hercher, ed., *Astrampsychi Oraculorum Decades ciii* (Programm Gymnasium Joachimsthal [1863]), pp. 1–48; G. M. Browne and R. Stewart, eds., *Sortes Astrampsychi*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1983–2001).
 - 52 For references to titles and manuscripts that contain such texts, see Fahd, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 5, pp. 398–99, s.v. "Kur'a."
 - 53 None of the four (cleromancy, cledonomancy, rhapsodomancy, bibliomancy) was found in a universal search over the entire corpus of Greek literature available through the electronic tool *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (last search conducted on 14 June 2008). The overlapping Arabic terminology for these procedures is discussed by Fahd in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 5, pp. 398–99, s.v. "Kur'a."
 - 54 On the date of the text, see Stavroula Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances: Reading the Body in Byzantine Passions and Lives of Holy Women* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2005), p. 95; for an account of the bibliomantic episode and Matrona's interpretation of the Gospel verse, see *ibid.*, p. 101.
 - 55 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. J. Classen (Bonn, 1839), pp. 474, 17 (Anno Mundi 6114); C. Mango and R. Scott, trans., *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, A.D. 284–813* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 440.
 - 56 The religiously licit character of the bibliomantic procedure for Christians also is discussed in a patristic text from around the same time. In the series of questions and answers attributed to Anastasios of Sinai, question 108 (PG 89, 761) is on whether a Christian should resort to bibliomancy (called *lakhnistieron* [sortes] in the text). Anastasios's answer is that nowhere could he find a passage that permits it; however, in his estimate, the Church Fathers invented the *lakhnistieron* so the faithful would not resort to "sorcerers and diviners" (*manteis kai pharmakeis*). Christians must first pray to God and use the bibliomantic procedure to find out whether they are allowed to ask about the particular issue that occupies them. If the answer they receive is positive, they can go on and ask; if not, they should refrain. Anastasios of Sinai was a seventh-century saint, a monk on Mount Sinai who also may have been patriarch of Antioch. There is considerable uncertainty regarding his identity, the dates of his life, and what exactly he wrote. See *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Anastasios of Sinai."
 - 57 For a description, explanation, and detailed discussion, see Fahd, *Divination arabe*, pp. 184–88; see briefer coverage in Fahd, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 4, p. 264, s.v. "Istiksām."
 - 58 This is reported in the fourteenth century by al-Damiri, who quotes a tenth-century narrative by al-Mawardi. For details and references to texts, see Fahd, *Divination arabe*, p. 215.
 - 59 See Rochberg, *Heavenly Writing*, p. 83.
 - 60 In this case, a book as a physical object is not used. Among the reasons must be that most Athenians of the fifth century BCE were more likely to have encountered the Homeric epics in oral than in written form. The epics were supposedly written down, on the basis of oral tradition, during the tyranny of Peisistratus (mid-sixth century BCE), approximately a century and a half earlier than the trial and death of Socrates. A developed book culture is supposed to have emerged in Athens in the course of the fifth century.
 - 61 On Ibn Qutayba, see M. J. Kister, "The Interpretation of Dreams: An Unknown Manuscript of Ibn Qutayba's *Ibārāt al-rū'yā*," *Israel Oriental Studies* 4 (1974), pp. 67–103; see also Lamoreaux, *Early Muslim Tradition*, pp. 27–34. See Mavroudi, *Byzantine Book*, pp. 26–27, and instances throughout the work citing and translating passages from Ibn Qutayba's unpublished treatise.
 - 62 The problem is significant for the history of early Christianity and as such has been frequently discussed in modern scholarly literature. For a recent example also referring to earlier works, see Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006).
 - 63 For the divinatory use of a Gospel book or psalter as a physical object without consultation of its contents in the Byzantine and modern Greek context, see Koukoules, *Byzantinon bios* 1, no. 2, pp. 158–60; for equivalent practices in Russia, England, and Germany, see Ryan, *Bathhouse at Midnight*, pp. 311–13.
 - 64 The following section draws its information on medieval Latin geomancy from T. Charmasson, *Recherches sur une technique divinatoire: la géomancie dans l'Occident médiéval* (Geneva and Paris: Droz and H. Champi, 1980), an excellently researched study relying on thorough firsthand knowledge of a large number of manuscripts. Charmasson also gives a brief overview of Byzantine geomancy (*ibid.*, pp. 85–91). The most extensive synthetic discussion of Byzantine geomancy to date remains

- the posthumously published (and clearly incomplete) study by P. Tannery, "Le rabolion. Traités de géomancie arabes, grecs et latins," *Mémoires scientifiques*, vol. 4 (Toulouse: E. Privat, 1920), pp. 297-413, which includes a section on Arabic geomancy by Carra de Vaux (ibid., pp. 299-317). I also draw from an unpublished paper by Mavroudi, "Byzantine Geomancy: Its Development and Connection with Arabic Geomancy," presented at the roundtable "Magie, rituels et cérémonial" of the 20th International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Paris, August 2001. See also the brief discussion in Mavroudi, *Byzantine Book*, pp. 407-409. Islamic geomancy is somewhat better served, but a lot of work remains to be done, especially in order to take stock of and evaluate the abundant manuscript and printed material in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; for an overview of earlier work, see M. Smith, "The Nature of Islamic Geomancy with a Critique of a Structuralist's Approach," *Studia Islamica* 49 (1979), pp. 5-38. An ambitious, extensive, and far-ranging discussion of Islamic geomancy and its connection with geomancy beyond the world of Islam is undertaken (mostly through an anthropological approach) in Wim van Binsbergen, "The Astrological Origin of Islamic Geomancy," originally presented as a paper at the SSIPS/SAGP 1996, 15th Annual Conference, Binghamton University. I am not aware of a printed publication, but a considerably expanded version of this paper is available on line at www.shikanda.net/ancient_models/BINGHAMTON%201996.pdf (last accessed on 17 June 2008).
- 65 On geomancy's origins, see the discussion by Fahd, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 4, pp. 1128-29, s.v. "Khatt" (= *al-khatt bi-raml*). See also Fahd, *Divination arabe*, pp. 196-204.
- 66 The complicated procedure whereby Latin manuscripts derive the figures of a geomantic table is lucidly described with the help of accompanying diagrams in Charmasson, *Recherches sur une technique divinatoire*, pp. 21-65. The total number of figures there is fifteen. Arabic treatises describing the more complicated variety of a geomantic procedure tend to derive a total of sixteen figures. For a description and extensive discussion of other procedures, see Emilie Savage-Smith and Marion B. Smith, *Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device* (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1980), esp. pp. 8-9, 11-14. The method explicated by the Cheikh Hadji Khamballah [= docteur Alexandre Rouhier?] in *La géomancie traditionnelle: traité pratique d'enseignement et dictionnaire d'interprétation géomantique* (Paris, 1985) betrays a closer relation with the Latin rather than the Arabic geomantic tradition, in spite of the "oriental" claims implied by the pseudonym of the author and explicitly articulated in his manual.
- 67 For photographs and detailed explanations on how it was used, see Savage-Smith and Smith, *Islamic Geomancy*. Reviewed by David A. King, *Archaeoastronomy* 5 (1982), pp. 42-43 and rpt. in David A. King, *Islamic Astronomical Instruments* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987), essay xxii.
- 68 On the legendary and semi-legendary history of geomancy as conveyed in the Arabic sources, see Savage-Smith and Smith, *Islamic Geomancy*, pp. 1-5.
- 69 For a list of Hebrew geomantic manuscripts, see Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, pp. 855-58. For a list of the Hebrew geomantic fragments from the Cairo geniza, see B. Goldstein, "The Hebrew Astronomical Tradition: New Sources," *Isis* 72, no. 2 (1981), pp. 237-51, esp. p. 251. No dates are given for the geniza material.
- 70 In Greek: *laxeuterion tou Pythagora*.
- 71 Koukoulos, *Byzantinon bios* 1, no. 2, pp. 196-98, describes various methods of divination by means of ashes, and at least one, followed at the village of Greveniti in the region of Epirus (today northwest Greece) at the beginning of the twentieth century, sounds very close to the derivation of geomantic figures. However, Koukoulos, *Byzantinon bios* 1, no. 2, p. 160, briefly discusses "geomancy" under a separate heading, where he refers to the translation of originally Persian (or Arabic?) treatises on geomancy attributed to al-Zanati, and makes no connection between divination through ashes and geomancy.
- 72 *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928-35), s.v. "Ὀρφεύς."
- 73 Antonio Garzya, "Il proemio di Nicola d'Otranto alla sua 'Arte dello scalpello,'" *Bisanzio e l'Italia: Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi* (Milan, 1982), pp. 117-29.
- 74 See the remarks in Smith, "Nature of Islamic Geomancy," 7-8.
- 75 *Cornelii Agrippae liber quartus De occulta philosophia, seu de cerimonijis magicis: Cui accesserunt, Elementa magica Petri de Abano, philosophi [Marburg?]* Impressum anno MDLXV. It was later translated into English. See Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy. Of geomancie. Magical Elements of Peter de Abano. Astronomical Geomancie. The Nature of Spirits. Arbatel of maticke. The Species or several Kindes of Magic*, trans. Robert Turner, Philo-Med. (London: printed by J. C. for Tho. Rooks, at the Lamb and Ink-bottle at the East-end of S. Pauls, 1665).
- 76 Thorndike, *History of Magic*, vol. 5, p. 472.
- 77 Thorndike, *History of Magic*.
- 78 This point—that the trends towards prophecy and divination evident at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century in the Ottoman empire are amply paralleled by an equivalent phenomenon in Italy—already has been made by Cornell H. Fleischer, "Shadows of Shadows: Prophecy in Politics in 1530s Istanbul," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2007), pp. 51-62 (special edition, with simultaneous publication in Karl Babir and Baki Tezcan, eds., *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman Middle East and the Balkans: A Volume of Essays in Honor of Norman Itzkowitz* [Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007]).
- 79 On Tusi's geomantic interests, see Savage-Smith and Smith, *Islamic Geomancy*, pp. 5-6; on the Byzantine contact with Persian astronomy developed in Mongol Maragha and Tabriz, see Maria Mavroudi, "Exchanges with Arabic Writers during the Late Byzantine Period," in Sarah Brooks, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557): Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*. Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 62-75. Significantly, the year (1266) of the Greek translation of a Persian geomantic text by the monk Arsenios is soon after the marriage of Maria, illegitimate daughter of the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Paleologos, with Hülegü's son and successor Abaqa in 1265 (see ibid., p. 65).
- 80 Investigation in Mavroudi, "Byzantine Geomancy."
- 81 It is mentioned, for example, in Manuel Holobolos's *Encomium* for the emperor Michael Paleologos, M. Treu, ed., *Manuelis Holoboli orationes*. Programm des königlichen Victoria-Gymnasiums 1 (Potsdam, 1906), §39; and the early fifteenth-century *Journey of Mazaris to the Underworld* (§47), ed. Mazaris' *Journey to Hades: or, Interviews with Dead Men about Certain Officials of the Imperial Court*, Arethusa Monographs 5 (Buffalo: State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975).
- 82 *Johannis Canani De Constantinopolis obsidione*, ed. E. Pinto (Naples, 1968), §11. Kananos seems to be our only source of information on "Mersaites." See *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Paläologenzeit*, ed. E. Trapp (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976-96), no. 18040.
- 83 See, for example, the comments on geomancy by Meletios Pegas (sixteenth century), a profoundly learned and polyglot man of the church, born on Venetian Crete and educated in Venice and Padua, who served as patriarch of the orthodox flock within the Ottoman Empire, first in Alexandria and then in Constantinople; Pegas mocks the obsession with geomancy that possessed his contemporaries; references in Koukoulos, *Byzantinon bios* 1, no. 2, p. 198.
- 84 Examples of manuscripts catering to Italian humanism: The scribe (and possibly first owner) of MS *Laurentianus* 86, 14, containing a geomantic compendium, seems to have been a certain Andrew, possibly Andrew the Cretan, who belonged to the circle of the humanist Francesco Filelfo. Its direct copy, MS *Laurentianus* 86, 17, was made by Michael Apostolios (a well-known author, scribe, and book collector, student of Pletho and protégé of Bessarion, active in Byzantine Constantinople and, after 1453, on Venetian Crete), presumably on commission by a patron because he notes that he copied the manuscript "in spite of his will" (*akon*). A manuscript copied and circulating within the Ottoman Empire is MS 421 of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria. The interest that geomancy elicited among Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman world (including the clergy, the mockery of Meletios Pegas notwithstanding) also is evidenced by the presence of a manuscript containing an Arabic geomantic work by a Muslim author, Ahmad ibn Ali Zunbul, in the collection of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. See F. Klein-Franke, "The geomancy of Ahmad ibn Ali Zunbul: A Study in the Arabic Corpus Hermeticum," *Ambix* 20 (1973), pp. 26-35.
- 85 Julian Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983), pp. 15-34. On the Greek *firmān* of 1520, see Raby, "Mehmed," p. 28.
- 86 G 6 (antiquities of Constantinople); G 10 (prophecies of Hippocrates discovered in his grave); G 11 (on precious stones and the properties of animals); G 16 (Arrian's account of Alexander the Great); G 17 (Testament of Solomon). The manuscripts cited here are included in Raby's list; see Raby, "Mehmed," p. 29 (and are referred to here in the manner that he uses).
- 87 The two Greek manuscripts are Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Ahmet III, Garp 19 and Garp 64, covering divination through physiognomy; the latter manuscript is a direct copy of MS Vat. gr. 1411, which makes it very enticing to investigate which persons, at which point in time and under what circumstances, may have facilitated the traffic of manuscripts between the Topkapı and Vatican collections. Could it have been connected with the arrival and stay in Rome of Cem Sultan, whose entourage included speakers of Greek? On Cem's Roman sojourn and the recorded interest in prophecy and apocalypticism that can be connected with it, see Fleischer, "Shadows of Shadows"; on the Greek speakers with whom Cem Sultan can be connected and the paper trail that they produced, see J. Lefort, *Documents grecs dans les archives de Topkapı Sarayı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

- Basimevi, 1981). On the physiognomic manuscripts themselves, see Ian Repath, "The Physiognomy of Adamantius the Sophist," in Swain, *Seeing the Face*, esp. p. 489 and n. 7.
- 88 See Mavroudi, *Bilingualism in Greek and Arabic* (forthcoming).
- 89 The Byzantine attestations mentioned by Koukoules, *Byzantinon bios* 1, no. 2, pp. 160–61, under "iconomancy" (= divination through icons) does not necessarily mean that what was depicted on the icons was used as the means through which the divination was reached (which is the case with a pictorial *Falnama*), though interpretations of the future were drawn if icons appeared to move or emit sweat and tears. The most famous (at least among modern scholars) case of icon divination is reported in the early eleventh century by the Byzantine polymath and historian Michael Psellos (ca. 1018–ca. 1081). He narrates (*Chronographia* 6.66) that Empress Zoe (r. 1028–50) used an icon of Christ Antiphonetes (= the Guarantor) and deduced what the future may bring by observing its changing colors, though he does not specifically explain the changes and the ensuing deductions.
- 90 See the explanations on the procedure of consulting a pictorial *Falnama* described in essay 1, "The Art of Bibliomancy"; see also the description on how a pictorial *Falnama* was to be consulted and the connection of this procedure with geomancy in Armen Tokatlian, *Falnama: Livre royal des sorts* (Montreuil: Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2007), p. 10.
- 91 See "The *Falnama* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," essay 2 in this volume, for the literary and iconographical sources of the dispersed *Falnamas*.
- 92 For example, the positive interpretation of paradise and the Ka'ba, the negative one of hell, the association of Sulayman with travel, of Joseph with the auspicious elements of his story in the Koran, and of Dhu al-Qurnayn with beneficial relationships with grantees. This remark is based on a comparison of the interpretation of these figures in the dispersed Safavid *Falnama* and ТМ Н.1703 with three Arabic works on dream interpretation: an early eleventh-century one by al-Dinawari, a tax collector in Nishapur; a fifteenth-century one by the Egyptian Ibn Shahin; and the late seventeenth-/early eighteenth-century one by the Damascene Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi. On these authors and editions of their works, see Mavroudi, *Byzantine Book*, pp. 26–32. The analogies between the *Falnamas* and the three dream books mentioned above are broad and never word for word. It would be particularly interesting to compare the interpretations of the *Falnamas* with dream books written in Persian in the sixteenth century, but in the current state of research it would be hard to know even where to begin. Persian dream interpretation has not been systematically studied, with the exception of a few articles, such as E. Meyerovitch, "Les songes et leur interpretation chez les Persans," in A. M. Esnoul et al., eds., *Les songes et leur interpretation. Sources orientales II* (Paris: Seuil, 1959), pp. 191–204; Nathaniel Bland, "On the Muhammedan Science of Tâbir, or Interpretation of Dreams," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 16 (1856), pp. 118–71, which is mostly based on treatises written in Persian (yet which seem to translate or closely follow Arabic models). In general, modern Western scholarship approaches Middle Eastern dream interpretation as "Islamic" and not as "national" of any variety, which would have helped emphasize differences within the homogeneous tradition of Islamic dream interpretation based on the language in which a particular manual is written; of course, as far as mapping out "Islamic" dream interpretation is concerned, Arabic is considered the matrix, a point of view justified also by the fact that several treatises in Persian and Turkish are (or appear to be) translations from the Arabic (see the list in Fahd, *Divination arabe*, pp. 330–63). In addition, I am not aware of any effort to integrate into a single narrative whatever is known of the pre-Islamic Iranian traditions on dream interpretation (or any other form of divination) with equivalent traditions in the Islamic period according to the model followed by Fahd in his investigation into the Arabic and Koukoules into the Greek tradition. The lack of such an approach to the Persian material is also reflected in Hossein Ziai, "Dreams and Dream Interpretation," in I. Yarshater, ed., *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 8, pp. 549–51, which covers the topic exclusively for the Islamic period but promises a treatment of dream interpretation in pre-Islamic Persia in the Supplement (has not yet appeared). Needless to say, any effort to trace a people's "folklore" as enshrined in a "national" language reflects concerns about the elements that constitute the basis for a collective identity and historically has been connected with modern ideologies of nationalism, as is evident from even the most cursory glance at the history of the study of European folklore (after which the approaches of Koukoules and Fahd are fashioned). The study of European folklore (which includes divination under the rubric of "superstition") was pursued as a scholarly discipline from the nineteenth century onward and was intimately connected with the concerns of the Romantic period and the emergent ideologies of the various European nationalisms that resulted in the creation of nation states out of multinational empires.
- 93 See Kathryn Babayan, "The Cosmological Order of Things in Early Modern Safavid Iran," essay 9 in this volume.
- 94 An example from Greek antiquity: in the fifth-century BCE drama by Euripides titled *Iphigeneia en Taurois*, Iphigeneia narrates aloud to herself a dream that seems to portend evil in order to dissipate its potential evil outcome by revealing it in broad daylight (verses 42–43). For examples from the Islamic tradition and the Babylonian Talmud indicating that dreams are fulfilled according to their interpretations, see Kister, "Interpretation of Dreams," p. 100; Mavroudi, *Byzantine Book*, p. 388.
- 95 On pagan prayers and the problems relevant to them that modern scholarship has discussed, see F. Graf, "Prayer in Magical and Religious Ritual," in Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink, eds., *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 188–213. On piety in Judaic magic, see M. Swartz, "Magical Piety in Ancient and Medieval Jewry," in Meyer and Mirecki, *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, pp. 167–83. For the transformation of pagan prayers into Christian ones in Latin magical herbals, see Thorndike, *History of Magic*, vol. 1, p. 599. For the recitation of Psalm 49 in the course of a bibliomantic procedure aiming to identify a thief, see Koukoules, *Byzantinon bios* 1, no. 2, p. 159; for other prayers in bibliomantic procedures, see *ibid.*, p. 158; for a prayer on conducting lecanomancy (a virgin child reading the future on the shining surface of water in a vessel) in a post-Byzantine manuscript, see *περί τῆς κάμης ἐρώτησας*, excerpta e cod. Petropol. Bibl. Publ. gr. 575, f. 1v, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, vol. 12, pp. 136–45.
- 96 For a discussion of this historiographical problem beginning with its roots in nineteenth-century scholarship, see Rochberg, *Heavenly Writing*, pp. 14–43.
- 97 C. R. Phillips, "The Sociology of Religious Knowledge in the Roman Empire," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 16, no. 3 (1986), p. 2723, quoted in Faraone and Obbink, *Magika Hiera*, p. vi.
- 98 For a somewhat more detailed discussion of the problem of free will versus predestination posed by divination, see Maria Mavroudi, "Occult Science and Society in Byzantium: Considerations for Future Research," in Magdalino and Mavroudi, *Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, pp. 39–95, esp. pp. 64–68, centered on Byzantium, but with brief reference to paganism, as well as the Muslim and Jewish traditions.
- 99 For example, the *Karpos* (Arabic title *Kitab al-thamara*, Latin *Liber Fructus*, Hebrew *Sefer ha-peri*)—an international best seller on the theory of divination with immense popularity that lasted for several centuries, attributed in the medieval and early modern tradition to Ptolemy—advises caution when a diviner is interrogated not about the future, but the present (Aphorism 59). The medieval Arabic commentary to the *Karpos* by Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Yusuf ibn Ibrahim ibn al-Daya includes a narrative pertaining to the reign of al-Ma'mun and exemplifying the use of divination in order to understand not the future but the present; see R. Lemay, "Books of Magic and the Birth of a Theology of the Sacraments in the Twelfth Century," in R. Gyselen, ed., *Charmes et sortilèges, magie et magiciens = Res Orientales* 14 (2002), pp. 173–74.
- 100 The *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet suggests this in the following passage: "Having discovered through the interpretation of dreams very great wisdom and foreknowledge about life and death, poverty and wealth, sickness and health, joy and sorrow, victory over enemies and defeat, I truthfully study the future with much less toil than if I were to use the very laborious process of astrology, that is if the dream interpreter is very precise. For the comprehension of astrology is toilsome, frequently yields wrong results, and is also wearisome and very lengthy. Indeed, as I know from experience, many astrologers disagreed with each other at times. However, the interpretation of dreams which I have set forth is in every way unambiguous" (*Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexel [Leipzig: Teubner, 1925], chap. 3). For an English translation of the entire text, rendering the above passage somewhat differently [the one above is my own], see Steven M. Oberhelman, *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet* [Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1991]. For the same assertion in geomantic manuals, see Charmasson, *Recherches sur une technique divinatoire*, pp. 13–14; Savage-Smith and Smith, *Islamic Geomancy*, p. vii, remark on undeserved lack of respect for geomancy displayed by modern scholars who view it as an inferior sister to astrology, presumably a more intellectualized form of divination. True, the complexity of geomantic procedures can rival those of astrology (which renders modern contempt for geomancy unjustifiable), yet the claim that geomancy is simpler than astrology is not an invention of modern scholars but is found *expressis verbis* in medieval geomantic manuals.
- 101 Such is the case of Ptolemy's astrological manual, the *Tetrabiblos*, as has been demonstrated by Barton, *Power and Knowledge*; the *Karpos* attributed to him also should be understood in the same way, and this is why, although a short and

- concise text, it was studied at the very end of the most advanced astrological curriculum offered at European universities at the end of the Middle Ages and in the early modern period. See R. Lemay, "Origin and Success of the *Kitab al-thamara* of Abu Ja'far ibn Yusuf ibn Ibrahim," *Proceedings of the First International Symposium for the History of Arabic Science* (Aleppo, 1978), pp. 91-107.
- 102 See, for example, the claimed Athenian provenience of the scapulamantic treatise attributed to al-Kindi mentioned above.
- Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries**
Cornell H. Fleischer
- The four canonical Sunni schools of Islamic jurisprudence, based upon scriptural sources (Koran, Sunna, and the Hadith and interpretation of these by means of reasoning and scholarly consensus), are named for their actual or attributive founders: Hanafi (Abu Hanifa, d. 767), Shafi'i (al-Shafi'i, d. 820), Maliki (Malik ibn Anas, d. 795), and Hanbali (Ahmad ibn Hanbal, d. 855).
 - Sā'in al-Din Ali ibn Muhammad Turkah-i Isfahānī (d. 1431), Nafsaḥ-i Masdur-i Avval, in *Chahardah Risalah-yi Farsi*, eds. Sayyid Ali Musavi Bihbahani and Sayyid Ibrahim Dibaji (Tehran: Chāpkhāna-i Firdawsī, 1351 [1972]), pp. 173-74.
 - Like many of Turka's other epistles, the First and the Second Expectoration, though barely studied, are of critical importance for the intellectual and religious history of the still-opaque fifteenth century; see I. E. Binbaş, "Sharaf al-din Ali Yazdi: Prophecy, Politics and Historiography in Late Medieval Islamic History," PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2009.
 - These new astronomical tables based on observation from Samarqand, completed ca. 1441, are likely primarily the work of the mathematician and astronomer Ghiyas al-Din Kashi, the designer of the new observatory. The new tables were immediately diffused widely and became the standard observational reference in Europe as well as in the Islamic world after their completion. Beatrice F. Manz, "Ulugh Beg," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 10 (2000), pp. 812-14; Binbaş, "Sharaf al-din Ali Yazdi."
 - İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "İlk dönem Osmanlı ilim ve kültür hayatında İhvanı's-safa ve Abdurrahman Bistami," *Divan* (1996), vol. 2, pp. 229-40; Denis Gril, "Esotérisme contre hérésie: Abd al-rahman al-Bistami, un représentant de la science des lettres a Bursa dans la première moitié du XVe siècle," in Gilles Veinstein, ed., *Syncretismes et hérésies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIVe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Colloque du Collège de France, 2005), pp. 183-98; Cornell H. Fleischer, "Seer to the Sultan: Remmal Haydar and Sultan Süleyman," in Jayne Warner, ed., *Cultural Horizons: A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman*, 2 vols. (Istanbul and Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), vol. 1, pp. 290-99.
 - See n. 1 above.
 - Bistami recites his intellectual and temporal itinerary in *Durrat taj al-rasā'il* (*Pearl in the Crown of Epistles*) Istanbul, ms. Nuruosmaniye 4905.
 - Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler 15.-17. Yüzyıllar* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), pp. 136-202; Michel Balivet, *Islam mystique et révolution armée dans les Balkans ottomans: Vie du Cheikh Bedreddin, «le Hallaj des Turcs» (1358/59-1416)*, (Istanbul: İsis, 1995).
 - Istanbul, ms. Şehid Ali Paşa 2789, f. 135a.
 - See B. Lellouch and S. Yerasimos, eds., *Les Traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople* (Paris/Montreal: L'Harmattan, 1999); Barbara Flemming, "Sahib-kiran und Mahdi: Türkische Endzeiterwartungen im ersten Jahrzehnt der Regierung Süleymans," in *Between the Danube and the Caucasus*, ed. György Kara (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), pp. 43-62; Cornell H. Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleyman," Gilles Veinstein, ed., *Süleymân the Magnificent and his Time*, Acts of the Parisian Conference, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 7-10 March 1990 (Paris: Documentation française, 1992), pp. 159-77.
 - Istanbul, ms. Aya Sofya 3367, *Kitab Danyal*.
 - Istanbul, Ottoman State Archive, Ali Emiri Tasnifi/Fatih 63.
 - Istanbul, ms. Hafid Efendi, autograph dated 844/1441 and dedicated to Sultan Murad II.
 - So, for example, Aksemseddin, the spiritual guide of Mehmed the Conqueror, at a disheartening moment during the siege of Constantinople took an augury from the Koran "according to the method indicated by the sultan of the sayyids Ja'far al-Sadiq." His letter to the Conqueror was published by Halil Inalcik, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995), pp. 217-19.
 - Shahzad Bashir, *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005).
 - See in particular his *Al-Fawa'id al-miskiyya fi'l-fawatih al-makkiyya* (Perfumed fragrances on the Meccan openings).
 - Gril, "Esotérisme," pp. 186-87, 192-94.
 - On the *mujaddid* tradition before the seventeenth century and based on a transmission of Abu Da'ud, see Ella Landau-Tasseron, "The 'Cyclical Reform': A Study of the Mujaddid Tradition," *Studia Islamica*, no. 70 (1989), pp. 79-117; and Hamid Algar, "The Naqshbandi Order: A Preliminary Survey of Its History and Significance," *Studia Islamica*, no. 44 (1976), pp. 123-52; John E. Woods, *The Aq-Quyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999), p. 89.
 - See Fleischer, "Lawgiver," pp. 159-77, Sunni "orthodoxy" in itself was a creation of the later sixteenth century, when a consolidated Ottoman state was able to articulate such an idea, much like the "imperial" Twelver Shi'ism of Shah Tahmasb.
 - Istanbul, TSM B.309 and R.1758.
 - In the calendars of Bayezid, these chronologies, which are located in the same primary position, are extended all the way back to Creation.
 - Inalcik, "Rise of Ottoman Historiography," p. 158; Osman Turan, *Istanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihi takvimler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954); Nihal Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihine ait Tarihi Takvimler* (Istanbul: Küçükaydın, 1962); Nihal Atsız, "Hicri 858 Yılına ait Takvim," *Seçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 4 (1975), pp. 223-83.
 - This genealogical and genetic structure of Ottoman history is clearly mirrored in the late sixteenth-century products of the royal ateliers, such as the celebrated *Zübdetü'l-tevarih* (Cream of histories) or *Tomar-ı hümayun* (Imperial scroll), or *Silsilename* (Book of lineage)], TSM A.3599, H. 1624 et alia of Seyyid Lokman of Urmiyya (d. 1601), the imperial historian/hagiographer (*sehnameci*).
 - Istanbul, TSM YY 830.
 - Also noted by Inalcik, "Rise of Ottoman Historiography," pp. 157-58.
 - On the *sahib-kiran*, see Flemming, "Sahib-kiran und Mahdi," pp. 43-53; and Fleischer, "Seer," p. 291.
 - Istanbul, TSM E.H. 1710.
 - Istanbul, TSM E.H. 1695.
 - Istanbul, ms. TSM A.4397, dated 21 Rajab 937 (10 March 1531); ms. Kandilli Observatory (in process of cataloguing, dated 9 Jumada al-akhir 933 (13 March 1527)). I thank Fatih Kürşün for the information on this latter manuscript.
 - We do find, however, draft copies preserved in astrologers' manuals, such as Istanbul, TSM R.1711, and Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana Or. 116 (Florence), which include horoscopes for Süleyman, Selim II (r. 1566-74), and Murad III (r. 1574-95); see Cornell H. Fleischer, "Secretaries' Dreams: Augury and Angst in Ottoman Scribal Service," in Ingeborg Baldauf, ed., *Armağan: Festschrift für Andreas Tietze zum 80. Geburtstag* (Prague: Enigma, 1994), pp. 77-88.
 - Cornell H. Fleischer, "Between the Lines," in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, eds. Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1994), pp. 45-61.
 - Substantial portions of what follows appeared previously in Cornell H. Fleischer, "Shadows of Shadows: Prophecy in Politics in 1530s Istanbul," *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 13, nos. 1 and 2 (Fall 2007), pp. 51-62.
 - Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1990), p. xi.
 - Fleischer, "Lawgiver," pp. 160-64, and Cornell H. Fleischer, "Ottoman and Habsburg Empires in the Sixteenth Century: Is Translation Needed?" conference paper presented at Imperial Models in the Early Modern World, Part 2: Managing Difference in Early Modern Empires, 9-10 February 2007, University of California, Los Angeles.
 - Haydar is also the subject, with a difference of purpose and perspective, of Fleischer, "Seer," pp. 290-99, and also of "Saraydaki Kâhin," a paper presented at the symposium in honor of Filiz Çağman on the occasion of her retirement from the directorship of the Topkapı Palace Museum in February 2005.
 - Fleischer, "Lawgiver," pp. 167-69.
 - Published by I. H. Danişmend in *Fatih ve İstanbul*, vol. 2, no. 12 (1954), pp. 212-70.
 - Published and studied most recently by Nicolas Vatin, *Sultan Djem* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997).
 - Barbara Flemming, "A Sixteenth-Century Apology for Islam: the *Gurbetnâme-i Sultan Cem*," in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, vol. xvi (Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1990), pp. 105-21. Tijana Krstić, "Narrating Conversions to Islam: The Dialogue of Texts and Practices in Early Modern Ottoman Balkans," PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2004.
 - Flemming, *Gurbetnâme*, pp. 227-28.
 - The manuscript prophecy is found in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence, ms. Plut. 90, suppl. 5, 77a-78b, studied by G. Tognetti, "Venezia

- e le profezie sulla conversione dei Turchi," in *Venezia e i Turchi: Scontri e confronto di due civiltà* (Milan: Electa, 1985), pp. 86–90. (It is followed by another Latin prophecy that details events for the years 1456 to 1460, by which latter date the French king will have defeated the Turks and restored Jerusalem to Christian rule.) For examples of its subsequent circulation in various forms and other pre-Reformation Italian prophecies that look forward to the Turkish conquest of Italy and Rome, to the redemption to be affected by Turkish chastisement of the Church, and to the ultimate conversion of the sultan and all Muslims at the hands of humble, virtuous Christians or the Angelic Pope, see Agostino Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo: Significato e ruolo storico delle profezie sulla caduta di Costantinopoli in Oriente e in Occidente*, ed. Enrico Morini (Rome: Nuovi studi storici/Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 3, 1988), pp. 203–206; F. Secret, "Aspects oubliés des courants prophétiques au début du XVI^e siècle," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 173 (1968), pp. 173–201 (178, dated 1450 and 1512); Marcel Bataillon, "Mythe et connaissance de la Turquie en Occident au milieu du XVI^e siècle," in *Venezia e l'Oriente tra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. A. Pertusi (Florence, 1966), pp. 451–69 (esp. pp. 453–56); Ottavia Niccoli, "'Prophetic di musaicho.' Figure e scritture gioachimite nella Venezia del Cinquecento," in *Forme e destinazione del messaggio religioso. Aspetti della propaganda religiosa nel Cinquecento*, ed. Antonio Rotondo (Florence: Olschki, 1991), pp. 197–227 (esp. p. 211).
- 42 G. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della biblioteca vaticana* (Vatican, 1939), pp. 98–99; "Cem has borrowed books in Arabic and returned them, return date 27 January 1495." The book is ms. Vat. Arabo 120, in six parts. (I have examined the microfilm copy of the Knights of Columbus Collection, St. Louis University, thanks to Hayrettin Yücesoy.)
- 43 Marin Sanudo, *I Diarii*, 58 vols. (Venice, 1879–98), vol. 41 (1526), p. 95; I thank Ebru Turan for bringing the passage to my attention.
- 44 Fleischer, "Lawgiver," pp. 169–71.
- 45 Istanbul, ms. Bağdatlı Vehbi 914.
- 46 Istanbul, ms. Laleli 1532; see Fleischer, "Seer," p. 292.
- 47 Istanbul, ms. TSM A.1602.
- 48 Istanbul, TSM R.1752; Istanbul, Esat Efendi 1506; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale arabe 2664.
- 49 For an illuminating treatment of (sympathetic) western European perceptions of prophetic excitement in Istanbul in the years 1533 to 1535, see Robert Finlay, "Prophecy and Politics in Istanbul: Charles v., Sultan Süleyman and the Habsburg Embassy of 1533–1534," in *Journal of Early Modern History*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1998), pp. 1–31.
- 50 Fleischer, "Seer," pp. 292–93.
- 51 Istanbul, TSM E.11779.
- 52 Denis Gril, "L'énigme de la *Şağara al-nu'maniyya fi'l dawla al-'uthmaniyya*, attribuée à Ibn 'Arabi," in *Les Traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople*, eds. Benjamin Lellouch and Stéphane Yerasimos (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999), pp. 133–51. Gril suggests that these texts either postdate, or perhaps were contemporaneous with, the Ottoman conquest of Egypt; my own view, having examined ten copies of the compendium in question, is that they were probably in circulation before it, though by how much it is difficult to say; ephemera that draw on them are clearly in evidence before Selim's entry into Damascus.
- 53 Fleischer, "Seer," p. 295, and references therein. I found several years ago the *Tree* diagram itself included as a frontispiece to a seventeenth-century edition of the Qunawi-Safadi commentaries: London, British Library, ms. Delhi Arabic 1354; I have heard of, but not verified, the existence of one other copy.
- 54 Fleischer, "Seer," p. 295.
- 55 Âli, *Künh ül-ahbar*, Istanbul. ms. Nuruosmaniye 3409, f. 160a. For the most recent summary of literature on Alaeddin Aksarayi, and for a revision of his death date (945 AH [1538–39]) that renders the meeting possible, see İsmail E. Erünsal, *XV–XVI Asır Bayramı—Melamiliği'nin Kaynaklarından Abdurrahman el-Askeri'nin Mir'atü'l-İşki* (Ankara, 2003), p. 51.
- 56 It is undoubtedly this meeting, or rather this prophecy, that is at issue in the Princeton ms. Yahuda 4497, a commentary on Ibn Arabi's *Tree* attributed to the shaykh himself, which begins its prophecies in 922 AH (1516–17), relates the conquest of Egypt by S[elim], the meeting of the two Poles in Konya, the conquest of Rome, and the restoration of Jerusalem and of the universal empire "as it was in the reign of Solomon, son of David." Y 4497, 19a–49b (20b).
- 57 Fleischer, "Lawgiver," and especially Ebru Turan, "The Sultan's Favorite: Ibrahim Pasha and the Making of the Ottoman Universal Sovereignty in the Reign of Sultan Süleyman (1516–1526)," PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2007. See also on Süleyman's "divine" creation of his first vizier, Snjezana Buzov, "The Lawmaker and His Lawgivers: The Role of Legal Discourse in the Change of the Ottoman Imperial Culture," PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2005.
- 58 Istanbul, TSM H. 1697; see also Fleischer, "Seer," p. 296.
- 59 In addition to the treatise on geomancy cited here, three scrolls in Haydar's hand are preserved in the Topkapı palace archive; ironically, the last of these advises that it be destroyed after reading: TSM Archive E.845/31, dated between 1538 and 1550; Istanbul, TSM Archive E.1122, ca. 1553; and Istanbul, TSM Archive E.1698, 1559.
- 60 Istanbul, ms. Laleli 1532; see Fleischer, "Seer," pp. 297–98.
- 61 The explicit reference to loans of the works of Ibn Arabi occurs in the 1535 prognosticon; the detailed list of materials consulted is found in the 1536 Persian treatise.
- 62 Gülşeni, particularly as a probable saintly and messianic alternative to both Safavid and Ottoman claims, is the subject of a dissertation now being completed by Side Emre, University of Chicago.
- 63 Muhyi-yi Gülşeni, *Menâkıb-ı İbrahim-i Gülşeni*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı (Ankara, 1982), pp. 398–99.
- 64 M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Rüstem Pasa ve Hakkındaki İthamlar," *Tarih Dergisi*, vol. 8 (Istanbul: O. Yalçın Matbaası, 1958), pp. 11–50 (Dördüncü Mektup, pp. 38–43). While Gökbilgin tentatively attributes the letter to Mustafa's tutor Sururi, the author clearly identifies himself as "Haydar-i Remmal."
- 65 Fleischer, "Lawgiver," on Celalzade, p. 173. See also Ibrahim Kaya Şahin, "In the Service of the Ottoman Empire: Celalzade Mustafa (ca. 1490–1567), Bureaucrat and Historian," PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2007.
- 66 Eugenio Alberi, ed., *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, series III, vol. II (Florence, 1844), pp. 109–13. While in the published text "*buttando figure di chiromanzia sopra le cose del mondo*" (casting chiromantic figures on worldly affairs) would not seem to make much sense, a seventeenth-century manuscript version of the same *relazione* (Spencer Special Collections Library, University of Kansas, ms. 87, p. 124) reads, much more logically, "*figure di geomancia*." See also section on "Dispersed Fālnama" in this volume.
- 67 Fleischer, "Seer," p. 295, and unpublished conference paper, "*Saraydaki Kâhin*," see n. 35.
- 68 While on a campaign to Iran in 1548–49, both Hayali and Haydar were present at a gathering with Süleyman at which each, together with the other poets present, composed imitations on a couplet of the sultan's poetry. See the edition of volume II of the *Hünernâme* of Seyyid Lokman by Zekeriya Eroğlu, "Şehnameci Lokman'ın Hünernâmesi," İstanbul Üniversitesi mezuniyet tezi, 43a. I thank ms. Hilal Kazan for the reference.
- 69 Âsik Çelebi, "Hayâli," *Meşâir üş-suarâ*, ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, n.s. 24 (London: Luzac, Gibb Memorial Series, 1971).
- 70 Fleischer, "Lawgiver," pp. 159–77.
- 71 In an entry in the Registers of Important Affairs (*Mühimme defterleri*), dated 13 Zî'l-kade 973 (1 June 1566) and dealing with the order that his apparently errant son and his companions in crime in Tatar Pararı be immediately arrested and sent to Istanbul for investigation, Haydar is referred to as "now deceased" (*bundan akden fevt olan remmal Haydar*). 5 numaralı Mühimme defteri (973/1565–1566) (Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık, Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1994), entry no. 1766.
- 72 Marcel Bataillon, "Mythe et connaissance de la Turquie en Occident au milieu du XVI^e siècle," *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. Agostino Pertusi (Florence: Sansoni, 1966), pp. 451–69.
- 73 Fleischer, "Seer," p. 298.
- 74 Istanbul, ms. Laleli 1532, f. 156a.
- 75 Istanbul, ms. Süleymaniye 1060.
- 76 Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli, 1541–1600* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 151–52.
- 77 On Mevlana İsa, see Flemming, "Sahib-kiran und Mahdi," pp. 51–62; Fleischer, "Lawgiver," pp. 164–66.
- 78 Bistami's dire forecast, noted and taken up by contemporaries, for the tenth Hijra century is encapsulated in the phrase "*fi bida' sinin*" (in a few years), the numerical value of which is 903.
- 79 Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, pp. 112, 152.
- 80 Istanbul, TSM B 373; İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe 6624.

The Cosmological Order of Things in Early Modern Safavid Iran

Kathryn Babayan

- 1 For the Ottoman case, see Cornell H. Fleischer, "Shadows of Shadows: Prophecy and Politics in 1530s Istanbul," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13, nos. 1–2 (2007). See also Robert Finlay, "Prophecy and Politics in Istanbul: Charles v,

- Sultan Süleyman, and the Hapsburg Embassy of 1533-1534," *Journal of Early Modern History* 2, no. 1 (1998). For the Mughal case, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Turning the Stones Over: Sixteenth-Century Millenarianism from the Tagus to the Ganges," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 40, no. 2 (2003). For European cases, see Frances Yates, *Astaea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1975) and Antony Pagdon, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
- 2 Maurice Krieger and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "The Unity of Opposites: Abraham Zacut, Vasco da Gama and the chronicler Gaspar Correia," in Anthony Disney and Emily Booth, eds., *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 48-71.
 - 3 Marshall Hodgson has coined the term Persianate to signify a whole cultural system within Islamic societies inspired by Persian traditions and transmitted through the Persian language as a vehicle of expression. Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1975), pp. 293-94.
 - 4 Vladimir Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shah Isma'il I," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1942), pp. 1006-53.
 - 5 Minorsky, "Poetry."
 - 6 Fazl Allah ibn Ruzbihan Khunji (d. 1521), a Sunni historian at the court of the Turkmen ruler Sultan Ya'qub Aqquyunlu (d. 1490), captured this reverence in his chronicle. Khunji-Isfahani, Fazl Allah b. Ruzbihan, *Tarikh-i Alam Ara-yi Amini*, ed. and trans. John E. Woods (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1993), p. 66.
 - 7 Ayfer Karakaya-Stump's dissertation documents the certifications issued in Karbala and Mashhad confirming the legitimacy of local chiefs (*dede*). The certification entailed the confirmation of an Alid genealogy, the delineation of rituals to be performed, and the dues to be extracted from disciples who had breached the ethical conduct of the community as determined by the Safavid shahs. See Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, "Subjects of the Sultan, Disciples of the Shah: Formation and Transformation of the Kizilbash/Alevi Communities in Ottoman Anatolia," PhD diss., Harvard University, 2008.
 - 8 On the Qizilbash factor in Ottoman politics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Reza Yildirim's dissertation, "Turkmens Between Two Empires: The Origins of Qizilbash Identity in Anatolia (1447-1514)," PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2008.
 - 9 For a discussion of innovative symbols representing Isma'il's divinity in early Safavid ascension (*miraj*) paintings, see Christine J. Gruber, "When Nubuvvat Encounters Valayat: Safavid Painting of the Prophet Muhammad's Mi'raj, ca. 1500-1550," in *Shi'ite Art and Material Culture*, ed. Pedram Khosronejad, special ed., *Cahiers de Studia Iranica* 36 (2008).
 - 10 Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran*, Center for Middle Eastern Studies (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 166.
 - 11 The *Asrar-i Qasimi* probably dates from the first half of the seventeenth century in Isfahan and was written by a student of Shaykh Bahai (d. 1622) named Husayn Kashifi, who has been misidentified as the famous sixteenth-century Timurid preacher and eulogist of the same name. The author of the *Asrar* refers to his deceased teacher, Shaykh Bahai, as having made talismans for Allah Verdi Khan (d. 1613) and Shah Abbas I (r. 1587-1629). He names a number of Safavid dignitaries, such as Murshid Quli Khan Ustajlu, Khalifa Sultan, and Abdullah Jalal Munajjim, who place him firmly in the reign of Abbas I. Husayn Kashifi, *Asrar-i Qasimi* (Hasan Alami Press, n.d.), pp. 92 and 96. For the genealogies produced by scholars who have misidentified Husayn Kashifi, see Pierre Lory, "Kashifi's *Asrar-i Qasimi* and Timurid Magic," *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 4 (2003), pp. 531-41.
 - 12 Kashifi, *Asrar-i Qasimi*, p. 106.
 - 13 Kashifi, *Asrar-i Qasimi*.
 - 14 A plethora of extant manuscripts on the study of conjunctions (*jami' al-qiranat*)—written by Muhyi al-Din Ibn-i Badr al-Din Anari for his patron Shah Isma'il—states that a deep interest in divinatory manuals occurred with the surge in the popularity of millenarian beliefs. Anari begins his work by declaring a new universal order with the advent (*zuhur*) of Shah Isma'il and his conquests of the lands of Iran and Turan (Central Asia). Anari placed Isma'il's advent within the chronology of two planetary conjunctions (Saturn and Jupiter), the greatest of which was to take place in 1582 (990 AH). The knowledge Anari incorporates into his treatise is derived from Greek sages such as Ptolemy, Persian (Mazdean) prophets like Jamasp, and the famous Muslim astrologer Abu Mashar Balkhi (d. 886), renowned for his elaborations on the rise and fall of dynasties in accordance with a timetable set by the conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn. Anari places his study within a tradition of similar works written in Persian (*kitab al-qiranat*) and dating back to the Saljuk period. What is interesting regarding the production of the *falnamas* is that these studies are hybrid histories of Abrahamic and Mazdean prophet traditions from Iran and Turan in which the Safavids were consolidating their place in history.
 - 15 Alexander also appears in all the monumental *falnamas* as a millenarian world conqueror. He often is signified by an image of him building the wall at the northern edges of the earth to cordon off hostile frontiersmen until doomsday. Gog and Magog appear in the Koran sura *al-Kahf* (The Cave), 18:83-98.
 - 16 Kashifi, *Asrar-i Qasimi*, pp. 120-21.
 - 17 Kashifi, *Asrar-i Qasimi*.
 - 18 For the millenarian aspirations of Akbar (r. 1556-1605), see Annemarie Schimmel, *The Empire of the Great Mughals: History, Art, and Culture*, ed. Burzine K. Waghmar, trans. Corinne Attwood (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "A Tale of Three Empires: Mughals, Ottomans, and Habsburgs in a Comparative Context," *Common Knowledge* 12, no. 1 (2006), pp. 66-92; Ahmed Azfar Moin, "The Millennium in Mughal India: A Historiographical Analysis," MA thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 2005.
 - 19 For the discursive debates around the genealogy of painting, beginning with the prophets Daniel, Mani, and Ali that are preserved in Dust Muhammad's preface to the Bahram Mirza Album, see David J. Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 98.
 - 20 For a detailed study of the complex processes of "Shi'ification and 'Iranization,'" see Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, and Rula Jurdi Abisaab, *Converting Persia: Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004).
 - 21 On the concept of "connected histories," see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640," *American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (2007), pp. 1359-85.
 - 22 Kashifi, *Asrar-i Qasimi*, pp. 108-109. Knowledge of signs and their effects were believed to be transmitted through a long and well-tested genealogy going back to Hakim Tamtam from India, Hermes, and Galen and Plato from Greece and confirmed in the Islamic era by scholars such as Abdullah al-Maghribi, Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhravardi, and the famous Shaykh al-Islam of Isfahan under Shah Abbas I, Baha al-Din Amili.
 - 23 For more on Shaykh Karaki, see Andrew J. Newman, "The Myth of the Clerical Migration to Safavid Iran: Arab Shi'ite Opposition to Ali al-Karaki and Safawid Shi'ism," *Die Welt des Islams* 33 (1993), pp. 66-112.
 - 24 For a detailed study of Shah Tahmasb's *Tazkira*, see Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, pp. 295-348.
 - 25 Dreams and their interpretation were integral to the cultural system of divination and magic. They assumed a relationship between the dreamer and the divine. At times, a third party would enter as an interpreter, a sort of official storyteller who explained the "real" meaning of the dream. In the Koran, prophets such as Joseph are blessed with knowledge of the symbols divulged in dreams, and thanks to their preferred status, they can interpret dreams to publicize the future.
 - 26 Shah Tahmasb, *Tazkira-yi Shah Tahmasb*, ed. D. C. Phillott (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1912), p. 14.
 - 27 On Mir Qiyas al-Din Mansur's tenure as teacher at Isma'il's court in Tabriz, see Qazi Ahmad Qummi, *Khulasat al-Tavarikh*, ed. Ihsan Ishraqi (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1980), p. 149. For more on Rammal Haydar, see Cornell H. Fleischer's essay (essay 8) in this volume.
 - 28 Kashifi, *Asrar-i Qasimi*, p. 98.
 - 29 See Abdi Bek Shirazi, *Takmilat al-Akbar*, ed. Abd al-Husayn Nava'i (Tehran: Nashr-i Nay, 1990), pp. 193-94; and Caroline Beeson, "The Origins of Conflict in the Safawi Religious Institution," PhD diss., Princeton University, 1982, p. 38.
 - 30 *Tazkira-yi Shah Tahmasb*, p. 14.
 - 31 Newman, "Myth of Clerical Migration," pp. 66-112.
 - 32 For a sampling of copies of the *falnama* attributed to Imam Ja'far, see MSS 2018 and 3716, Tehran University Library; Ethé 2264 at the Bodleian Library; MS 3074 at the India Office; MS Suppl. Persane 913-914 at the Bibliothèque nationale.
 - 33 The association of illustrated *Falnamas* with Imam Ja'far is more tenuous as discussed in "The Falnama in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (essay 2).
 - 34 *Tazkira-yi Shah Tahmasb*, pp. 67-69.
 - 35 See the dispersed *Falnama* painting (cat. 55) depicting the Day of Judgment in which once again Muhammad is seated and Ali intercedes for believers of different races and cultures.
 - 36 *Tazkira-yi Shah Tahmasb*, p. 45.
 - 37 *Tazkira-yi Shah Tahmasb*, p. 47.
 - 38 *Tazkira-yi Shah Tahmasb*, p. 48.
 - 39 *Tazkira-yi Shah Tahmasb*, p. 75.
 - 40 *Tazkira-yi Shah Tahmasb*, p. 46.
 - 41 *Tazkira-yi Shah Tahmasb*, pp. 29-30.

Bibliography

Citations to the Catalogue

- Allan 2000
Allan, James. *Persian Steel: The Tanavoli Collection (Aciers persans, la collection Tanavoli)*. Tehran: Yassavoli Publications in association with Iran Heritage Foundation, 2000.
- Allan and Gilmour 2000
Allan, James, and Brian Gilmour. *Persian Steel: The Tanavoli Collection*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- America's Smithsonian 1996
America's Smithsonian. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996.
- And 1974
And, Metin. *Turkish Miniature Painting: The Ottoman Period*. 1st edition. Istanbul: Dost Publications, 1974.
- And 1987
And, Metin. *Turkish Miniature Painting: The Ottoman Period*. 4th edition. Istanbul: Dost Publications, 1987.
- And 1998
And, Metin. *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslâm Mitologyası*. Istanbul: Akbank Kültür ve Sanat Yayınları, 1998.
- And 2002
And, Metin. *Osmanlı tasvir Sanatları 1: Minyatür*. Istanbul: İş Bankası, 2002.
- Arberry 1962
Arberry, A. J., et al. *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures*. Vol. 3. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1962.
- Arts of Islam 1976
Jones, Dalu, and George Michell, eds. *The Arts of Islam*. Exhibition catalogue. Arts Council of Great Britain. London: Hayward Gallery, 1976.
- Atasoy and Çağman 1974
Atasoy, Nurhan, and Filiz Çağman. *Turkish Miniature Painting*. Istanbul: RCD Cultural Institute, 1974.
- Aydın 1995
Aydın, H. "Sancaklarımız," *Tarih ve Medeniyet* 21 (1995).
- Bağcı 2008
Bağcı, Serpil. "Images for Foretelling: Two Topkapı Fâlnâmas." In *Dreaming Across Boundaries. The Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands*. Edited by Louise Marlow. Ilex Foundation Series 1. Boston and Washington, D.C.: Ilex Foundation and Center for Hellenistic Studies, Trustees of Harvard University, 2008.
- Bağcı et al. 2006
Bağcı, Serpil, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, and Zeren Tanındı. *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı*. Istanbul: TC Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006.
- Beach 1981
Beach, Milo C. *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court*. Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1981.
- Bennett 1987
Bennett, Ian. "Splendors in the City of Silk, Part 2: Ten Safavid Masterpieces." *Hali* 33 (January-March 1987).
- Binney 1973
Binney, Edwin. *Turkish Miniature Paintings and Manuscripts from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973.
- Binney 1979
Binney, Edwin. *Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney the 3rd*. Portland: Portland Art Museum, 1979.
- Blair and Bloom 1991
Blair, Sheila, and Jonathan Bloom. *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art*. Hanover, N.H.: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, 1991.
- Bloch 1929
Bloch, Edgar. *Catalogue of an exhibition of Persian paintings from the XIIIth to the XVIIIth cent.: formerly from the collections of the shahs of Persia and of the great moguls: held at the galleries of Demotte Inc*. New York, 1929.
- Brosh 1991
Brosh, Na'ama, and Rachel Milstein. *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting*. Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Israel Museum and Sabinsky Press, 1991.
- Buchta, Ars Islamica, 1940
Buchta et al. "Supplementary Notes to K. Holter's Check List of Islamic Illuminated Manuscripts Before A.D. 1350." *Art Islamica* 7 (1940).
- BWG 1933
Binyon, Laurence, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray. *Persian Miniature Painting: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Miniatures Exhibited at Burlington House, January-March 1931*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933.
- Çağman 1983
Çağman, Filiz. *Anatolian Civilization III. Seljuk and Ottoman*. Translated by Esin Atıl. Istanbul: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1983.
- Çağman and Tanındı 1979
Çağman, Filiz, and Zeren Tanındı. *Topkapı Saray Museum: Islamic Miniature Art*. Istanbul: Ali Rıza Baksan, 1979.
- Canby 1990
Canby, Sheila R., ed. *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Paintings*. Bombay: Marg Publications, 1990.
- Canby 1998
Canby, Sheila R. *Princes, Poets and Paladins: Islamic and Indian Painting from the Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan*. London: British Museum Press, 1998.
- Canby 1999
Canby, Sheila R. *The Golden Age of Persian Art, 1501-1722*. London: British Museum Press, 1999.
- Charles T. Yerkes Collection 1910
American Art Association. *The Charles T. Yerkes Collection*. Auction catalogue. New York, 7-9 April 1910.
- Chester Beatty Library 2001
Ryan, Michael et al. *The Chester Beatty Library*. Dublin: Chester Beatty Library in association with Scala Publishers, 2001.
- Corbin et al. 1938
Corbin, Henry, et al. *Les Arts de l'Iran, l'ancienne Perse et Bagdad*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1938.
- Curatola 1993
Curatola, Giovanni. *Eredità dell'Islam: Arte islamica in Italia*. Venice: Silvana, 1993.
- Diba 1996
Diba, Layla S. "Brooklyn's Magic Carpets." *Hali* 88 (September 1996).
- Druout 1992
Porter, M. Yves. *Druout-Richelieu, Extrême-Orient, Archéologie orientale et islamique antiques préhispanique*, 20 February 1992, lot 117.
- Ellis 1965
Ellis, Charles Grant. "Some Compartment Designs, and Heart." *Textile Museum Journal* 1, no. 4 (1965).
- Enderlein n.d.
Enderlein, Volkmar. *Wegleitung. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Islamisches Museum*. Greifswald: Ostsee-Druck Rostock, n.d.
- Erdmann 1970
Erdmann, Kurt. *Seven Hundred Years of Oriental Carpets*. Edited by Hanna Erdmann. Translated by May H. Beattie and Hildegard Herzog. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970.
- Ettinghausen and Schroeder 1941
Ettinghausen, Richard, and Eric Schroeder. *Iranian and Islamic Art*. Newton, Mass.: University Press, 1941.
- Ettinghausen 1961
Ettinghausen, Richard. *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections*. India: Lalit Kalā Akademi, 1961.

- Falk 1985
Falk, Toby. *Treasures of Islam*. Geneva and London: Musée Rath, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Sotheby's/Philip Wilson Publishers, 1985.
- Farnham 1998
Farnham, Thomas J. "The Yerkes Collection." *Hali* 101 (November 1998).
- Folsach 2007
Folsach, Kjeld von. *For the Privileged Few. Islamic Miniature Painting from the David Collection*. Copenhagen: David Collection and Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, 2007.
- Grube 1962
Grube, Ernst J. *Muslim Miniature Paintings from the XIII to XIX Century from Collections in the United States and Canada*. Venice: Neri Pozzi Editore, 1962.
- Guillaume 1936
Guillaume, G. "Miniatures iraniennes de la collection Henri Vever." *Bulletin des Musées de France* 8 (1936).
- Heeramanek 1984
Heeramanek, Alice N. *Masterpieces of Indian Painting from the Heeramanek Collection*. Verona: Alice N. Heeramanek, 1984.
- Holter 1937
Holter, K. "Die islamische Minaturhandschriften vor 1350." *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 54, 1-2 (January-February 1937).
- International Exhibition of Persian Art 1931
Wilson, Sir Arnold Talbot. *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art*. 3rd edition. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1931.
- Islamic Art 1981
Islamic Art. An Annual Dedicated to the Art and Culture of the Muslim World. I. New York: Islamic Art Foundation, 1981.
- Islamic Calligraphy 1992
Annemarie Schimmel, with assistance of Barbara Rivolta. *Islamic Calligraphy*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.
- James 1992
James, David Lewis. *After Timur: Qur'ans of the 15th and 16th Centuries*. Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art. London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Kafadar and Bağcı 1999
Kafadar, Cemal, and Serpil Bağcı. *Treasures of Ottoman Art 15th-19th cent*. Zagreb: DIFO, 1999.
- Karatay 1961
Karatay, Fehmi Edem. *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu*. Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961.
- Karatay 1962-69
Karatay, Fehmi Edem. *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arabça Yazmalar Kataloğu*. Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1962-69.
- Kervorkian 1914
Kervorkian, H. *Exhibition of the Kervorkian Collection Including Objects Excavated Under His Supervision. Exhibited at the Galleries of Charles of London*. New York: Lent and Graff Co., 1914.
- King and Sylvester 1983
King, Donald, and David Sylvester. *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World*. London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1983.
- Kröger and Heiden 2004
Kröger, Jens, with contributions by Desirée Heiden. *Islamische Kunst in Berliner Sammlungen*. Berlin: Parthas, 2004.
- Kühnel 1924
Kühnel, Ernst. "Datierter Persische Fayencen." *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, I (1924).
- Lentz 1988
Lentz, Thomas W. "Pictures for the Islamic Book: Persian and Indian Painting in the Vever Collection." *Asian Art* 1, no. 4 (1988).
- Lowry et al. 1988
Lowry, Glenn D., and Milo C. Beach. *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection*. Washington, D.C., and Seattle: Arthur M Sackler Gallery and University of Washington Press, 1988.
- Lowry and Nemazee 1988
Lowry, Glenn D., and Susan Nemazee. *A Jeweler's Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection*. Washington, D.C., and Seattle: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and University of Washington Press, 1988.
- Maddison and Savage-Smith 1997
Maddison, Francis, and Emilie Savage-Smith, eds. *Science, Tools, and Magic. Part 1. Body and Spirit, Mapping the Universe*. Vol. xii. London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Makariou 2007
Makariou, Sophie. *Chefs-d'oeuvre islamiques de l'Aga Khan Museum: exposition présentée à Paris au musée du Louvre du 5 octobre 2007 au 7 janvier 2008*. Milan: 5 Continents Ed., 2007.
- Marteau et Vever 1912
Marteau, Georges, and Henri Vever. *Miniatures persanes; tirées des collections de MM. Henry d'Allemagne, Claude Anet, Henri Aubry... et exposées au Musée des arts décoratifs, juin-octobre 1912*. Paris: Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie, 1913.
- Melikian-Chirvani 2007
Melikian-Chirvani, Assadullah Souren. *Le Chant du monde: L'Art de l'Iran safavide 1501-1736*. Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2007.
- Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 1951-52
Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, vol. 10, no. 3 (November 1951).
- Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 1978
Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, vol. 36, no. 2 (Autumn 1978).
- Migeon 1930
Migeon, Gaston. "Minatures Persanes: Collections Henri Vever et Pozzi." *L'illustration* (6 December 1930).
- Milstein 1990
Milstein, Rachel. *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad*. Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1990.
- Milstein et al. 1999
Milstein, Rachel, Karin Rühdanz, and Barbara Schmitz. *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas al-anbiya*. Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1999.
- Minorsky 1958
Minorsky, Vladimir. *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*. Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1958.
- Momtaz 2004
Momtaz, Islamic Art. *Ornament and inscription*. Italy: n.p., 2004.
- Mumford 1910
Mumford, John Kimberly. *The Yerkes Collection of Oriental Carpets*. New York: Knapp Company, 1910.
- Okasha 1981
Okasha, Sarwat [Ukāshah, Tharwat]. *The Muslim Painter and the Divine: The Persian Impact on Islamic Religious Painting*. London: Park Lane, 1981.
- Palais Galliera 1970
Beurdeley, M. *Maitres Rhenis et Laurin*. Paris: Palais Galliera, 19 June 1970.
- Path of Princes 2008
Junod, Benoît. *The Path of Princes: Masterpieces from the Aga Khan Museum Collection*. The Aga Khan Trust for Culture in association with the Muséum Calouste Gulbenkian. Geneva: Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2008.
- Piotrovsky and Vrieze 1999
Piotrovsky, Mikhail, and John Vrieze et al. *Earthly Beauty. Heavenly Art: The Art of Islam*. Amsterdam: De Nieuwe Kerk, 1999.

- Pope 1938-39
Pope, Arthur Upham. *A Survey of Persian Art from Ancient Times to the Present*. 6 vols. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938-39.
- Pope and Ackerman 1939
Pope, A. U., and Ackerman, P. *A Survey of Persian Art: From Prehistoric to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Raby and Tanındı 1993
Raby, Julian, and Zeren Tanındı. *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style*. Edited by Tim Stanley. London: Azimuth Editions on behalf of L'association internationale de bibliophile, 1993.
- Renda 1991
Renda, Günsel. "Chester Beatty Kitaplığındaki Zübde'tü Tevarih ve Minyatürleri." *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan*. İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1991.
- Robinson 1967
Robinson, Basil W. *Persian Miniature Paintings from Collections in the British Isles*. Victoria and Albert Museum. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1967.
- Robinson 1973
Robinson, Basil W. *Catalogue des peintures et des calligraphies islamiques leguees par Jean Pozzi au Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève*. Geneva, 1973.
- Robinson 1974
Robinson, Basil W. *Miniatures persanes: donation Pozzi, 29 juin au 6 octobre, Cabinet des estampes, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Genève*, 1974.
- Robinson 1992
Robinson, Basil W. *L'Orient d'un collectionneur: miniatures persanes, textiles, céramiques, orfèvrerie rassemblés par Jean Pozzi: collections du Musée d'art et d'histoire-Genève, du Musée historique des tissus et du Musée des arts décoratifs-Lyon*. Geneva: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1992.
- Rogers 2007
Rogers, J. M. *The Arts of Islam: Treasures from the Nasser D. Khalili Collection*. Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2007.
- Rührdanz 1987
Rührdanz, Karin. "Die Miniaturen des Dresdener 'Fahnameh.'" *Persica* 12 (1987).
- Schmitz 1990
Schmitz, Barbara. "Some Comments on the Development of Religious Iconography in Turkey in the Second Half of the 16th Century Based on Illustrations of the Martyrdom of Zakariya (Zacharias)." *Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art*. Edited by Tadeusz Majda. Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1990.
- Schmitz 1997
Schmitz, Barbara, Pratapaditya Pal, W. M. Thackston, and William M. Voelkle. *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in the Pierpont Morgan Library*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997.
- Seyller 2002
Seyller, John. *The Adventures of Hamza: Painting and Storytelling in Mughal India*. Washington, D.C., and London: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, and Azimuth Editions, 2002.
- Sievernich and Budde 1989
Sievernich, Gereon, and Hendrik Budde. *Europa und der Orient, 800-1900*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1989.
- Sims 2002
Sims, Eleanor. *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and its Sources*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Sotheby's 1972
Sotheby's Catalogue, London, 12 December 1972.
- Soudavar 1992
Soudavar, Abolala. *Art of the Persian Courts. Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1992.
- Sülün [2006]
Sülün, Murat. "Bazı Tılsımlı Gömleklerin Açılımı." In Hülya Tezcan. *Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki Şifalı Gömlekler*. İstanbul?: Bika Kültür Kitaplığı, [2006].
- Swietochowski, Marie Lukens, and Stefano Carboni 1994
Swietochowski, Marie Lukens, and Stefano Carboni, with essays by A. H. Morton and Tomoko Masuya. *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images: Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994.
- Tentoonstelling 1927
Catalogus: *Tentoonstelling van Islamische Kunst*. The Hague: Gemeente Museum, 1927.
- Tezcan and Tezcan 1992
Tezcan, Hülya, and Turgay Tezcan. *Türk Sancak Alemleri*. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1992.
- Tezcan [2006]
Tezcan, Hülya. *Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki Şifalı Gömlekler*. İstanbul?: Bika Kültür Kitaplığı, [2006].
- Thompson and Canby 2003
Thompson, Jon, and Sheila R. Canby, eds. *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501-1576*. New York: Skira, 2003.
- Tokatlian 2007
Tokatlian, Armen. *Fahnameh: Livre Royal des Sorts*. Montreuil: Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2007.
- Topkapı à Versailles 1999
Aubaile, F., and Anne Sefrioui. *Topkapı à Versailles: Trésors de la Cour ottomane, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 4 mai-15 août 1999*. Paris: Association Française d'Action Artistique, Ministère des Affaires étrangères, 1999.
- A. Welch 1972-78
Welch, Anthony. *Collection of Islamic Art*. Vol. 3 (1978). 4 vols. Geneva: Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, 1972-78.
- A. Welch and S. C. Welch 1982
Welch, Anthony, and Stuart Cary Welch. *Arts of the Islamic Book: The Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Welch 1985
Welch, Stuart Cary. "The Fahname (Book of Divination) of Shah Tahmasp." In *Treasures of Islam*. Edited by Toby Falk. London: Sotheby's/Philip Wilson Publishers, 1985.
- Wright 2009
Wright, Elaine. *Islam, Faith, Art, Culture: Manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library*. London: Scala Publishers in association with the Chester Beatty Library, 2009.

Selected Bibliography

- Abisaab, Rula Jurdi. *Converting Persia: Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2004.
- Abu al-Fazl ibn Mubarak. *The Akbar nama of Abu-l-Fazl*. Biblioteca Indica. Translated by Henry Beveridge. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1907.
- Aflâki, Shams al-Din Ahmad. *The Feats of the Knowers of God: Manâqeb Al-'arëfin*. Translated by John O'Kane. Islamic history and civilization, 43. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Agrippa, Henry Cornelius. *His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy, Of geomancie, Magical Elements of Peter de Abano, Astronomical Geomancie, The Nature of Spirits, Arbatel of matick, The Species or several Kindes of Magick*. Translated by Robert Turner. London: printed by J. C. for Tho. Rooks, at the Lamb and Ink-bottle at the East-end of S. Pauls, 1665.
- Akalay, Zeren. "Yüzyıl Nakkaşlarından Hasan Paşa ve Eserleri." In *I. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi (İstanbul, 15-20 X. 1973): Tebliğler*. İstanbul: Tercüman Gazetesi ve Türkiye Enstitüsü, 1979.
- Al-Akili, Muhammad M. *Ibn Seerin's Dictionary of Dreams according to Islamic Inner Traditions*. Philadelphia: Pearl Publishing House, 1992.
- Algar, Hamid. "The Naqshbandi Order: A Preliminary Survey of Its History and Significance." *Studia Islamica*, no. 44 (1976).
- Ali, Abdullah Yusuf. *The Holy Qur-an: Text, Translation and Commentary*. Cambridge, MA, and New York: Murray Printing and Hafner Publishing, 1946. New ed. Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1983.
- _____. *The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an*. 10th ed. Reprint. Beltsville, MD: Amana Publications, 2003.
- Âli, Mustafa bin Ahmet, and Faris Çerçi. *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî "ve Kühnû'l-ahbâr'ında II. Selim, III. Murat ve III. Mehmet devirleri*. Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2000.
- Al-Kisa'i, Muhammad ibn Abd Allah. *Tales of the Prophet (Qisas al-anbiya)*. Translated by Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. Series editor Seyyed Hossein Nasr. Chicago: Kazi Publications, 1997.
- Allan, James, and Brian Gilmour. *Persian Steel: The Tanavoli Collection*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Al-Rabghūzi. *The Stories of the Prophets, Qisas al-Anbiyā': An Eastern Turkish Version*. Translated by H. E. Boeschoten, J. O'Kane, and M. Vandamme. Vol. 2. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- And, Metin. *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslâm Mitologyası*. İstanbul: Akbank Kültür ve Sanat Yayınları, 1998.

- _____. *Turkish Miniature Painting: The Ottoman Period*. 4th ed. Istanbul: Dost Publications, 1987.
- Angiolelli, Giovanni Maria degli. "Narrative of the Most Noble Vincentio d'Alessandri." In *A Narrative of Italian Travelers in Persia*. Edited by C. Grey. Translated by W. Thomas and S. A. Roy. Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, no. 49. London: Hakluyt Society, 1873.
- Arberry, A. J., et al. *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures*. Vol. 3. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1962.
- Arnold, Sir Thomas W. *Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture*. New York: Dover Publications, 1965.
- Atasoy, Nurhan, and Filiz Çağman. *Turkish Miniature Painting*. RCD Cultural Institute, 1974.
- Atıl, Esin. "Ahmed Naksî, An Eclectic Painter of the Early 17th Century." In *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*. Edited by G. Fehér. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978.
- _____. *The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India*. Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1978.
- _____. *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent*. Washington, D.C., and New York: National Gallery of Art and Harry N. Abrams, 1986.
- Aubaile, F., and Anne Sefrioui. *Topkapı à Versailles: Trésors de la Cour ottomane*. Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 4 mai-15 août 1999. Paris: Association Française d'Action Artistique, Ministère des Affaires étrangères, 1999.
- Babaie, Sussan. "Building on the Past: The Shaping of Safavid Architecture, 1501-1576." In *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501-1576*. Edited by Jon Thompson and Sheila Canby. New York: Skira, 2003.
- Babaie, Sussan, Kathryn Babayan, Ina Baghdiantz-McCabe, and Massumeh Farhad. *Slaves of the Shah: New Elites of Safavid Iran*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2004.
- Babayan, Kathryn. *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran*. Center for Middle Eastern Studies. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Baer, Eva. *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983.
- Bağcı, Serpil. "From Adam to Mehmed III: Ottoman Genealogy." In *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Edited by S. Kangal. Istanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2000.
- _____. "The Spread and Liberation of the Royal Image: Mehmed III." In *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Edited by S. Kangal. Istanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2000.
- _____. "From Texts to Pictures: Ali in Manuscript Painting." In *From History to Theology: Ali in Islamic Beliefs*. Edited by Ahmet Yasar Ocak. Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005.
- Bağcı, Serpil, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, and Zeren Tanındı. *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı*. Istanbul: TC Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006.
- Bailey, Julia. "Religious Imagery in a Dispersed Safavid *Falnama*." Paper presented at the Middle Eastern Studies Association 26th annual meeting, Portland, Oregon, 1992.
- Balivet, Michel. *Islam mystique et révolution armée dans les Balkans ottomans: Vie du Cheikh Bedreddin, «le Hallaj des Turcs» (1358/59-1416)*. Istanbul: İsis, 1995.
- Barkan, Ömer L. *Süleymaniye Camii ve İmareti İnşaatı [1550-57]*. II. Cilt: *İnşaatı ait Emir ve Fermanlar*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1979.
- Barrucand, Marianne. "The miniatures of the *Daqa'i'q al-Haqa'i'q* (Bibliothèque nationale Pers. 174): A Testimony to the Cultural Diversity of Medieval Anatolia." *Islamic Art* IV (1991).
- Barton, Tamsyn S. *Power and Knowledge: Astrology, Physiognomics, and Medicine under the Roman Empire*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.
- Bataillon, Marcel. "Mythe et connaissance de la Turquie en Occident au milieu du XVIe siècle." In *Venezia e l'Oriente tra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*. Edited by A. Pertusi. Florence, 1966.
- Beach, Milo C. *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court*. Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1981.
- Beeson, Caroline. "The Origins of Conflict in the Safawi Religious Institution." PhD diss. Princeton University, 1982.
- Bennett, Ian. "Splendors in the City of Silk, Part 2: Ten Safavid Masterpieces." *Hali* 33 (January-March 1987).
- Berchet, Guglielmo. *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*. Torino: G. B. Paravia, 1865.
- Binbaş, I. E. "Sharaf al-din Ali Yazdi: Prophecy, Politics and Historiography in Late Medieval Islamic History." PhD diss. University of Chicago, 2009.
- Binney, Edwin. *Turkish Miniature Paintings and Manuscripts from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973.
- _____. *Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney the 3rd*. Portland: Portland Art Museum, 1979.
- Binyon, Laurence, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray. *Persian Miniature Painting: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Miniatures Exhibited at Burlington House, January-March 1931*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933.
- Birge, J. Kingsley. *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*. 2nd ed. London: Luzac Oriental, 1994.
- Blair, Sheila S. *Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*. Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art. Vol. 27. Oxford: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Press and Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Bland, Nathaniel. "On the Muhammedan Science of Tabir, or Interpretation of Dreams." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 16 (1856).
- Blochier, Edgar. *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale, tome premier, nos. 1-720*. Edited by Ernest Leroux. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1905.
- _____. *Catalogue of an exhibition of Persian paintings from the XIIIth to the XVIIIth cent.: formerly from the collections of the shahs of Persia and of the great moguls: held at the galleries of Demotte Inc.* New York, 1929.
- Bouché-Leclercq, Auguste. *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*. 4 vols. Paris, 1879-82.
- Brosh, Na'ama, and Rachel Milstein. *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting*. Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Israel Museum and Sabinsky Press, 1991.
- Browne, Edward G. *A Literary History of Persia*. 4 vols. 1906. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928.
- Browne, G. M. "The Origin and Date of the Sortes Astrampsychi." *Illinois Classical Studies* 1 (1976).
- Browne, G. M., and R. Stewart, ed. *Sortes Astrampsychi*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1983-2001.
- Bürgel, J. Christoph. *Nizami: Das Alexanderbuch: Iskandarnama: Übertragung aus dem Persischen, Nachwort und Anmerkungen*. Zürich: Manesse Verlag, 1991.
- Burnett, C. S. F. "Arabic Divinatory Texts and Celtic Folklore: A Comment on the Theory and Practice of Scapulimancy in Western Europe." *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 6 (1983).
- _____. "Divination from Sheep's Shoulder Blades: A Reflection on Andalusian Society." In *Cultures in Contact in Medieval Spain: Historical and Literary Essays Presented to L. P. Harvey*. Edited by D. Hook and B. Taylor. London: King's College, 1990.
- _____. "An Islamic Divinatory Technique in Medieval Spain: An edition of the earliest Latin Scapulimancy (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Misc. 396, fols. 108r-112r) with translation." In *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe*. Edited by D. A. Agius and R. Hitchcock. Reading, U.K.: Ithaca Press, 1994.
- _____. *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds*. Aldershot, G.B.: Variorum, 1996.
- _____. "The Scapulimancy of Giorgio Anselmi's *Divinum opus de magia disciplina*." *Euphrosyne* 23 (1995).
- Buzov, Snjezana. "The Lawmaker and His Lawgivers: The Role of Legal Discourse in the Change of the Ottoman Imperial Culture." PhD diss. University of Chicago, 2005.
- Çağman, Filiz. "The Art of Ottoman Calligraphy." In *Lines in Gold: Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakıp Sabancı Museum*. Istanbul: Mas Printing House, 2007.
- _____. "On the Contents of the Four Istanbul Albums H. 2152, 2153, 2154, and 2160." In *Between China and Iran: Paintings from Four Istanbul Albums. A Colloquy held 23-26 June 1980*. Edited by E. J. Grube and E. Sims. New York: Islamic Art Foundation, 1985.
- _____. "The Miniatures of the Divan-ı Hüseyini and the Influence of Their Style." In *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*. Edited by G. Fehér. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978.
- Çağman, Filiz, and Gülru Necipoglu. *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman [. . . Exhibition . . . Held at the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul between June 6 and September 6, 2000]*. Istanbul: İsbank, 2000.
- Çağman, Filiz, and Zeren Tanındı. *The Topkapı Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*. Translated, expanded, and edited by J. M. Rogers. Boston: Little, Brown, 1986.
- Caiozzo, Anna. "La huitième planète: al-Jawzahar, le dragon des éclipses de Lune." In *Images du ciel d'Orient au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003.
- Canby, Sheila R. *Princes, Poets and Paladins: Islamic and Indian Painting from the Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan*. London: British Museum Press, 1998.

- _____. "Safavid Painting." In *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501-1576*. Edited by Jon Thompson and Sheila Canby. New York: Skira, 2003.
- Carboni, Stefano. *Il Kitab al-Bulhan di Oxford*. Torino: Editrice tirrenia Stampatori, 1988.
- _____. "Riconstruzione del Ciclo pittorico del Kitab al-Bulhan di Oxford: Le Miniature delle Copie ottomane mancanti nell'Originale." *Annali di Ca' Foscari: Rivista della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere dell'Università di Venezia* (1988).
- _____. "Two Fragments of a Jalayirid Astrological Treatise in the Keir Collection and in the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo." *Islamic Art*, vol. 2 (1987).
- _____. *Following the Stars: Images of the Zodiac in Islamic Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.
- _____. *Venice and the Islamic World 828-1797*. New York, New Haven, and London: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2006.
- Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*. 12 vols. Brussels: Lamertin, 1898-1951.
- Catalogus: Tentoonstelling van Islamische Kunst*. The Hague: Gemeente Museum, 1927.
- Çelebi, Evliya, and Muhammed Zilli b. Derviş. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu—Dizini. I. Kitap: İstanbul*. Edited by O. Şaik Gökyay. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996.
- Çelebi, Evliya, Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Robert Dankoff. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi 1. Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 numaralı yazmanın transkripsiyonu—dizini*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006.
- Çelebi, Kâtip. *Keşfü'z-Zunûn. An Esâmî'l-kütûbi ve'l-funûn*. Translated by Rüşti Balci. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007.
- Çetin, İsmet. "Ali in Turkish Folk Literature." In *From History to Theology: Ali in Islamic Beliefs*. Edited by Ahmet Yasar Ocak. Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005.
- Chardin, Jean. *Voyages du chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*. 10 vols. Paris: L. Langlès, 1811.
- Charmasson, T. *Recherches sur une technique divinatoire: la géomancie dans l'Occident médiéval*. Geneva and Paris, 1980.
- Chelkowski, Peter, ed. *Ritual and Drama in Iran*. New York: New York University Press, 1979.
- Constantinou, Stavroula. *Female Corporeal Performances: Reading the Body in Byzantine Passions and Lives of Holy Women*. Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2005.
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda Kentish, and Victor Goloubew. *Les miniatures orientales de la collection Goloubew au Museum of fine arts de Boston*. Paris: G. van Oest, 1929.
- Cowen, J. Sanchia. *Kalila wa Dimna: An Animal Allegory of the Mongol Court*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Crowe, Yolande. *Persia and China: Safavid Blue and White Ceramics in the Victoria and Albert Museum 1501-1738*. London: Thames and Hudson on behalf of La Borie, 2002.
- _____. "Sixteenth-Century Persian Ceramics." In *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501-1576*. Edited by Jon Thompson and Sheila Canby. New York: Skira, 2003.
- Çuhadar, İbrahim H. *Mustafa Sâfî'nin Zübdetü't-tevârih'i*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003.
- Curatola, Giovanni. *Eredità dell'Islam: Arte islamica in Italia*. Venice: Silvana, 1993.
- Davud, Kara, Abdülkadir Akçiçek, and Veli Ertan. *Delâil-i hayrat serhi Kara Davud*. İstanbul: Çelik Yayınları, 1999.
- Dedes, Yorgos. "The Ascensions of Felicity and the Fountains of Nobility: Translation of the Ottoman Text." In *The Book of Felicity*. Edited by Mónica Miró. Barcelona: Moleiro Editor, 2007.
- Delatte, Armand. *Anecdota atheniensia*. Vol. 1. *Textes grecs inédits relatifs à l'histoire des religions*. Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1927.
- Diba, Layla S., and Maryam Ekhtiar, eds. *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch 1785-1925*. New York: Brooklyn Museum in association with I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1998.
- Dickson, Martin B., and Stuart Cary Welch. *The Houghton Shahnameh*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Dreaming of Paradise: Islamic Art from the Collection of the Museum of Ethnology, Rotterdam*. Rotterdam: Martial and Snoeck, 1993.
- Duffy, J. M., ed. *Michaelis Pselli philosophica minora*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1992.
- Düzdağ, M. Ertürl. *Şeyhülislam Ebussuûd Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı*. İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1972.
- Efendi, Selânikî Mustafa. *Tarih-i Selânikî*. Transcription by Mehmet İpsirli. İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1989.
- Encyclopaedia Iranica*. General editor, Ehsan Yarshater. 14 vols. New York: Encyclopaedia Iranica Foundation, 1985-. Online version available at www.iranica.com.
- Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2nd ed. 13 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1960-.
- Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*. General editor, Jane Dammen McAuliffe. 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2005-.
- Ertaylan, I. Hakkı. *Falname*. İstanbul: Sucuoğlu Matbaası, 1951.
- Eshraqi, Ehsan. "Description contemporaine des peintures murales disparues des palais de Sah Tahmasp à Qazvin." In *Art et Société dans le Monde Iranien*, no. 26. Edited by C. Adle. Paris: Institut Français d'Iranologie de Téhéran, Bibliothèque Iranienne, 1982.
- Esin, Emel. "Selçuk devrine ait resimli bir Anadolu yazması." *Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Türk Sanatı Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları* I (1963).
- Ettinghausen, Richard. *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections*. India: Lalit Kalā Akademi, 1961.
- Fahd, T. *La divination arabe*. Leiden, 1967. Reprint, Paris: Sindbad, 1987.
- Falk, Toby. *Treasures of Islam*. Geneva and London: Musée Rath, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Sotheby's/Philip Wilson Publishers, 1985.
- Farhat, May. "Islamic Piety and Dynastic Legitimacy: The Case of the Shrine of Ali al-Rida in Mashhad (10th-17th Century)." Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 2002.
- Farnham, Thomas J. "The Yerkes Collection." *Hali* 101 (November 1998).
- Fetvacı, Emine. "Viziers to Eunuchs: Transitions in Ottoman Manuscript Patronage, 1566-1617." Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 2005.
- Finlay, Robert. "Prophecy and Politics in Istanbul: Charles v. Sultan Süleyman, and the Hapsburg Embassy of 1533-1534." *Journal of Early Modern History* 2, no. 1 (1998).
- Fitzherbert, Theresa. "Religious Diversity under Ilkhanid rule c. 1300 as reflected in the Freer Bal'ami." In *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*. Vol. 64. Edited by Linda Komaroff. Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts. Edited by W. Kadi and R. Wielandt. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006.
- Fleischer, Cornell H. *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli, 1541-1600*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- _____. "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleyman." In *Süleyman the Magnificent and his Time*. Edited by Gilles Veinstein. Acts of the Parisian Conference, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 7-10 March 1990. Paris: Documentation française, 1992.
- _____. "Seer to the Sultan: Remmal Haydar and Sultan Süleyman." In *Cultural Horizons: A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman*. Vol. 1. Edited by Jane Warner. İstanbul and Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001.
- _____. "Shadows of Shadows: Prophecy in Politics in 1530s İstanbul." *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2007). Also published in Karl Babir and Baki Tezcan, eds. *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman Middle East and the Balkans: A Volume of Essays in Honor of Norman Itzkowitz*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007.
- Fleischer, H. L. *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium Bibliothecae Regiae Dresdensis*. Leipzig, 1831.
- Flemming, Barbara. "A Sixteenth-Century Apology for Islam: the *Gurbetnâme-i Sultan Cem*." In *Byzantinische Forschungen*. Vol. xvi. Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1990.
- _____. "Şahib-kiran und Mahdi: Türkische Endzeiterwartungen im ersten Jahrzehnt der Regierung Süleymans." In *Between the Danube and the Caucasus*. Edited by György Kara. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987).
- Flügel, Gustav. "Dir Loosbücher der Muhammadaner." In *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*. Vols. 12-13. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1860-61.
- Folsach, Kjeld von. *Art from the World of Islam in the David Collection*. Copenhagen: The David Collection, 2001.
- Gerlach, Stephan. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1577-1578*. Translated by T. Noyan. Edited by K. Beydilli. Frankfurt, 1674. Reprint, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2007.
- Golsorkhi, Shohreh. "Pari Khan Khanum: A Masterful Safavid Princess." *Iranian Studies* 28, nos. 3-4 (summer/fall 1995).
- Goodrich, Thomas D. *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Americana*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990.
- Gottheil, Richard. "An Illustrated Copy of the Kor'an." *Revue des Etudes islamiques* V (1931).
- Graf, F. "Prayer in Magical and Religious Ritual." In *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*. Edited by Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Grafton, Anthony, and Megan Williams. *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006.

- Gray, Basil. *Persian Painting*. New York: Skira, 1961.
- _____. *Studies in Chinese and Islamic Art*. Vol. 2. *Islamic Art*. London: Pindar Press, 1987.
- Gril, Denis. "Esotérisme contre hérésie: Abd al-rahman al-Bistami, un représentant de la science des lettres a Bursa dans la première moitié du XVe siècle." in *Synchrétisme et hérésies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIVe-XVIIIe siècles)*. Edited by Gilles Veinstein. Paris: Colloque du Collège de France, 2005.
- _____. "L'énigme de la *Şağara al-nu'maniyya fi'l dawla al-'uthmaniyya*, attribuée à Ibn 'Arabi." In *Les Traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople*. Edited by Benjamin Lellouch and Stéphane Yerasimos. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999.
- Grube, Ernst J. *Muslim Miniature Paintings from the XIII to XIX Century from Collections in the United States and Canada*. Venice: Neri Pozzi Editore, 1962.
- Grube, Ernst J., and E. Sims. *Between China and Iran: Paintings from Four Istanbul Albums*. London: Percival David Foundation, 1985.
- Gruber, Christine J. "Divination." In *Medieval Islamic Civilization*. Vol. 1. Edited by Josef W. Meri. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- _____. "The Prophet Muhammad's Ascension (Mi'raj) in Islamic Art and Literature, ca. 1300-1600." Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, 2005.
- _____. "When Nubuvvat Encounters Valayat: Safavid Painting of the Prophet Muhammad's Mi'raj, ca. 1500-1550." In *Shi'ite Art and Material Culture*. Edited by Pedram Khosronejad. Special edition of *Cahiers de Studia Iranica* 36 (2008).
- Guesdon, Marie-Geneviève, and Annie Vernay-Nouri. *L'Art du livre arabe: Du manuscrit au livre d'artiste*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2001.
- Guillaume, G. "Miniatures iraniennes de la collection Henri Vever." *Bulletin des Musées de France* 8 (1936).
- Gündoğdu, Cengiz. "Pâdişah-Tarikat Şeyhi Münasebetleri Açısından Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi ve Çağdaşı Abdülmecid-i Sivâsi." In *Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi. Uluslar arası Sempozyum Bildirileri*. Edited by H. Kamil Yılmaz. Istanbul: İstanbul Belediyesi, 2005.
- Hercher, Rudolf. *Astrampsychi Oraculorum Decades CIII*. Berlin: Unger, 1863.
- Hoca, Nazif M. *Sûdî, Hayatı, Eserleri ve İki Risalesinin Metni*. Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Şarkiyat Enstitüsü, 1980.
- Hodgson, Marshall. *The Venture of Islam*. Vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1975.
- Horst, Pieter W. van der. "Sortes: sacred books as instant oracles in Late Antiquity." In *The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology*. Vol. 22. Edited by L. V. Rutgers, P. W. van der Horst, H. W. Havelaar, and L. Teugels. Leuven: Peeters, 1998.
- Hoyland, Robert, ed. and trans. "A New Edition and Translation of the Leiden Polemon." In *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam*. Edited by Simon Swain. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Huseyin, Kefeli, and I. Hakk Aksoyak. *Razname: Suleymaniye, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa No. 539*. Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures, 62. Turkish sources, 52. Cambridge: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, Harvard University, 2004.
- Inalcik, Halil. "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography." In *Historians of the Middle East*. Edited by B. Lewis and P. M. Holt. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Islamic Art from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1966.
- The Islamic World*. Introduction by Stuart Cary Welch. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.
- James, David. "The 'Millennial' Album of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah." In *Islamic Art*. Genoa: Bruschetti Foundation for Islamic Art; New York: Islamic Art Foundation, 1978.
- Jong, Frederick de. "The Iconography of Bektashiism: A Survey of Themes and Symbolism in Clerical Costume, Liturgical Objects, and Pictorial Art." *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 (1989).
- Kafadar, Cemal. "Mütereddid bir Mutasavvî: Üsküp'lü Asiye Hatun'un Rüya Defteri 1641-43." *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 5 (1992).
- Kahl, Oliver. "Ein anonymes persisches Orakelbuch (fal-namah) aus dem späten 10./16. Jahrhundert." *Welt des Orients* 19 (1988).
- Karakaya-Stump, Ayfer. "Subjects of the Sultan, Disciples of the Shah: Formation and Transformation of the Kizilbash/Alevi Communities in Ottoman Anatolia." Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 2008.
- Karatay, Fehmi Edem. *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu*. Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961.
- Kaya, Mahmut. *Kaside-i Bürde'yi Türkçe Söylemek*. Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2001.
- Kazhdan, A. P. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Khunji-Isfahani, Fazl Allah b. Ruzbihan. *Tarikh-i Alam Ara-yi Amini*. Edited and translated by John E. Woods. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1993.
- Khusifi Birjandi, Khavarân Nâmeḥ ibn Hisâm. *Miniature Paintings and Illuminations by Farhād Naghāsh. 15th Century*. Introduction by Saeed Anvārī. Tehran, 2002.
- al-Kisa'i, Muhammad ibn Abd Allah. *Tales of the Prophet (Qisas al-anbiya)*. Translated by Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. Series editor Seyyed Hossein Nasr. Chicago: Kazi Publications, 1997.
- Kister, M. J. "The Interpretation of Dreams: An Unknown Manuscript of ibn Qutayba's *Libarat al-rū'yā*." *Israel Oriental Studies* 4 (1974).
- Klein-Franke, F. "The geomancy of Ahmad b. 'Alī Zunbul: A Study in the Arabic Corpus Hermeticum." *Ambix* 20 (1973).
- Koukoulos, Phaidon. *Byzantinon bios kai politismos* [The Life and Culture of the Byzantines] 1, no. 2. Athens: Institut Français, 1948.
- Krstić, Tijana. "Narrating Conversions to Islam: The Dialogue of Texts and Practices in Early Modern Ottoman Balkans." Ph.D. diss. University of Michigan, 2004.
- Labreux, John C. *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.
- Landau-Tasseron, Ella. "The 'Cyclical Reform': A Study of the Mujaddid Tradition." *Studia Islamica*, no. 70 (1989).
- Leach, Linda York. "Das Falnama-Ein islamisches Omenbuch." In *Orakel: Der Blick in die Zukunft*. Edited by Axel Langer and Albert Lutz. Zurich: Museum Rietberg, 1999.
- _____. *Paintings from India: The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art*. Vol. VIII. Edited by Julian Raby. New York: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Lefort, Jacques. *Documents Grecs dans les Archives de Topkapı Sarayı*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1981.
- Lellouch, B., and S. Yerasimos, eds. *Les Traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople*. Paris and Montreal: L'Harmattan, 1999.
- Lemay, R. "Books of Magic and the Birth of a Theology of the Sacraments in the Twelfth Century." In *Charmes et sortilèges, magie et magiciens*. Edited by R. Gyselen. *Res Orientales* 14. Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 2002.
- _____. "Origin and Success of the Kitāb Thamara of Abū Ja'far ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm." In *Proceedings of the First International Symposium for the History of Arabic Science*. Aleppo: Institute for the History of Arabic Science, 1978.
- Lentz, Thomas W. "Pictures for the Islamic Book: Persian and Indian Painting in the Vever Collection." *Asian Art* 1, no. 4 (1988).
- Lentz, Thomas W., and Glenn D. Lowry. *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*. Los Angeles and Washington, D.C.: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1989.
- Levend, Ağah Sırrı, and Nizāmüd-Din Ali Şir Ali Şir Nevaî. *Ali Şir Nevaî*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1965.
- Lory, Pierre. "Kashifi's *Asrar-i Qasimi* and Timurid Magic." *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 4 (2003).
- Loukonine, Vladimir, and Anatol Invanov. *Lost Treasures of Persia: Persian Art in the Hermitage Museum*. Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 1996.
- Lowry, Glenn D., and Milo C. Beach. *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection*. Washington, D.C., and Seattle: Arthur M Sackler Gallery and University of Washington Press, 1988.
- Lowry, Glenn D., and Susan Nemazee. *A Jeweler's Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection*. Washington, D.C., and Seattle: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and University of Washington Press, 1988.
- Magdalino, Paul, and Maria V. Mavroudi. *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*. Geneva: La Pomme d'or, 2007.
- Mahir, Banu. "A group of 17th century paintings used for picture recitation." In *Art turc/Turkish Art. 10th International Congress of Turkish Art/10e Congrès international d'art turc*. Genève-Geneva, 17-23 Septembre 1995. *Actes/Proceedings*. Edited by F. Déroche, C. Genequand et al. Geneva: Fondation Max Van Berchem, 1999.
- Malikpur, Jamshid. *The Islamic Drama*. London: Frank Cass, 2004.
- Mango, Cyril A., Roger Scott, and Geoffrey Greatrex. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and the Near Eastern History, A.D. 284-813*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Mavroudi, Maria. *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and Its Arabic Sources*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

- _____. "Byzantine Geomancy: Its Development and Connection with Arabic Geomancy." Paper presented at the roundtable "Magie, rituels et cérémonial" of the 20th International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Paris, August 2001.
- _____. "Dream Interpretation." In *The Classical Tradition*. Edited by Anthony Grafton, Glenn Most, and Salvatore Settis. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, forthcoming.
- _____. "Exchanges with Arabic Writers during the Late Byzantine Period." In *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557): Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*. Edited by Sarah Brooks. Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Melikian-Chirvani, Assadullah Souren. *Le Chant du monde: L'Art de l'Iran safavide 1501-1736*. Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2007.
- _____. "The Iranian Painter, the Metaphorical Hermitage, and the Christian Princess." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n.s. 16 (2002).
- Membre, Michele. *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)*. Translated with introduction and notes by A. H. Morton. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1993.
- Meredith-Owens, G. M. "Ottoman Turkish Painting." In *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book: The Keir Collection*. Edited by B. W. Robinson. London: Keir Collection, 1976.
- Meri, Josef W. "The Etiquette of Devotion in the Islamic Cult of Saints." In *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*. Edited by James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Meyer, Marvin, and Paul Mirecki, eds. *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*. Boston: Brill, 2001.
- Milstein, Rachel. *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad*. Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1990.
- Milstein, Rachel, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz. *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas al-anbiya*. Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1999.
- Minorsky, Vladimir. *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*. Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1958.
- _____. "The Poetry of Shah Ismail I." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1942).
- Mir Munshi, Ahmad ibn. *Calligraphers and Painters*. Translated and edited by Vladimir Minorsky. Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, 1959.
- Miró, Mónica, ed. *The Book of Felicity*. Barcelona: Moleiro Editor, 2007.
- Monshi, Eskandar. *History of Shah Abbas I*. Vol. 1. Translated by Roger Savory. Boulder: Westview Press, 1978.
- Muhyi-yi Gülşeni. *Menâkib-i İbrahim-i Gülşeni*. Edited by Tahsin Yazıcı. Ankara, 1982.
- Nakash, Yitzhak. "An Attempt to Trace the Origins of the Rituals of Ashura." *Die Welt des Islams*, n.s., vol. 33, no. 2 (November 1993).
- Necipoglu, Gülrü. "From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles." *Muqarnas* 7 (1990).
- Newman, Andrew J. "The Myth of the Clerical Migration to Safawid Iran: Arab Shi'ite Opposition to Ali al-Karaki and Safawid Shi'ism." *Die Welt des Islams* 33 (1993).
- Niccoli, Ottavia. *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Oberhelman, Steven M. *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet: A Medieval Greek and Arabic Treatise on the Interpretation of Dreams*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1991.
- Ocak, Ahmet Yasar, ed. *From History to Theology: Ali in Islamic Beliefs*. Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005.
- Olearius, Adam. *Moskowitzsche und Persische Reise*. Edited by Eberhard Meissner. Darmstadt: Progress-Verlag Johann Fladung, 1959.
- Ong, Walter J. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2002.
- Pagden, Anthony. *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c. 1500-c. 1800*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Pagliari, Antonino, and Alessandro Bausani. *La letteratura persiana*. Florence: Sansoni, and Milan: Accademia, 1968.
- Panacaroğlu, Oya. "Signs in the Horizon: Concepts of image and boundary in a medieval Persian cosmography." *Res* 43 (spring 2003).
- _____. "A World Unto Himself: The Rise of a New Human Image in the Late Seljuk Period (1150-1250)." PhD diss. Harvard University, 2000.
- Parsadust, Manuchehr. *Shah Tahmasb-i avval*. Tehran: Shirkat-i sahami intisharat, 1377/1998.
- Pauliny, Ján. "Zur Rolle der Qussas bei der Entstehung und Überlieferung der populären Prophetenlegenden." *Asian and African Studies* 10 (1974).
- Peçevi, İbrahim, and Bekir Sıtkı Baykal. *Peçevi tarihi*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992.
- Peirce, Leslie P. *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Pertusi, Agostino. *Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo: Significato e ruolo storico delle profezie sulla caduta di Costantinopoli in Oriente e in Occidente*. Edited by Enrico Morini. Rome: Nuovi studi storici/Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1988.
- Pingree, D. *From Astral Omens to Astrology: From Babylon to Bīkāner*. Serie Orientale Roma 78. Rome: Istituto italiano per l'Africa et l'Oriente, 1997.
- Piotrovsky, M. B., and J. M. Rogers, eds. *Heaven on Earth: Art from Islamic Lands. Works from the State Hermitage Museum and the Khalili Collection*. Munich: Prestel, 2004.
- Pope, Arthur Upham. *A Survey of Persian Art from Ancient Times to the Present*. 6 vols. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938-39.
- Qummi, Qad'i Ahmad. *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, son of Mir Munshi*. Translated by Vladimir Minorsky. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Occasional Papers, 1959.
- _____. *Gulistan-i Hunar*. Edited by Ahmad Suhayli Khvansari. Tehran: Manuchehri Press, 1974.
- Raby, Julian. "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983).
- Raby, Julian, and Zeren Tanındı. *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style*. Edited by Tim Stanley. London: Azimuth Editions on behalf of L'association internationale de bibliophilie, 1993.
- Renda, Günsel. "Chester Beatty Kitaplığındaki Zübde'tü'l Tevarih ve Minyatürleri." *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan*. İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1991.
- _____. "New Light on the Painters of the Zubdat al-Tawarikh in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul." *Fourth International Congress of Turkish Art, Aix en Provence*, 1971. Aix en Provence: Université de Provence, 1976.
- Repath, I. "Anonymus Latinus, Book of Physiognomy." In *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from classical antiquity to medieval Islam*. Edited by Simon Swain. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Rice, David Talbot, and Basil Gray. *The Illustrations to the "World History" of Rashid al-Din*. Edinburgh: University Press, 1976.
- Richard, Francis. *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*. Vol. 1. Ancien fonds. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1989.
- _____. *Splendeurs persanes: Manuscrits du XIe au XVIIe siècle*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997.
- Rizvi, Kishwar. "Gendered Patronage: Women and Benevolence during the Early Safavid Period." In *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*. Edited by D. Fairchild Ruggles. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.
- Roberts, J. W. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Robinson, Basil W. *L'Orient d'un collectionneur: miniatures persanes, textiles, céramiques, orfèvrerie rassemblés par Jean Pozzi: collections du Musée d'art et d'histoire-Genève, du Musée historique des tissus et du Musée des arts décoratifs-Lyon*. Geneva: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1992.
- Rochberg, Francesca. *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy, and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Rogers, J. M. *The Arts of Islam: Treasures from the Nasser D. Khalili Collection*. Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2007.
- Rogers, Michael. "Safavids versus Ottomans: The Origins of the Decorative Repertoire of the Aleppo Zimmer." In *Angels, Peonies, and Fabulous Creatures: The Aleppo Room in Berlin*. Edited by Julia Gonella and Jens Kröger. International Symposium of the Museum für Islamische Kunst-Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 12-14. April 2002. Berlin: Rhema: Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2008.
- Rosenthal, Franz. "The Influence of the Biblical Tradition on Muslim Historiography." In *Historians of the Middle East*. Edited by Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Ross, Fred. "Dreaming of the Future." In *Dreaming of Paradise: Islamic Art from the Collection of the Museum of Ethnography Rotterdam*. Edited by Paul Feber, et al. Rotterdam: Martial and Snoeck, 1993.
- Roxburgh, David J. "Micrographia: Toward a Visual Logic of Persian Painting." *Res* 43 (spring 2003).
- _____. *The Persian Album 1400-1600: From Dispersal to Collection*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

- _____. *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Rührdanz, Karin. "Ein illustrierter iatromagischer Text als Bestandteil von 'Aḡa'ib al-makhlūqat'-Handschriften: vom Staunen über der Schöpfung zur magischen Praxis." *Journal of Turkish Studies* 26, no. 2 (2002).
- _____. "Die Miniaturen des Dresdener 'Fālnameh'." *Persica* 12 (1987).
- _____. "Illustrated Persian 'Ajaib al-makhlūqat' manuscripts and their function in early modern times." In *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East*. Edited by Andrew J. Newman. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Ryan, W. F. *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.
- Rypka, Jan. *History of Iranian literature*. Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1968.
- Sachedina, Abdulaziz. "The wali of God and the wasi of the Prophet: Ali b. Abi Talib in Twelver Sh'ite Belief." In *From History to Theology: Ali in Islamic Beliefs*. Edited by Ahmet Yasar Ocak. Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005.
- Sakaoglu, Necdet. *Bu mülkün sultanları: 36 Osmanlı padişahi*. Oglak bilimsel kitaplar. Beyoglu, Istanbul: Oglak, 1999.
- Sarıtoprak, Zeki. "The Legend of al-Dajjal (Antichrist): The Personification of Evil in the Islamic Tradition." *Muslim World* 93, pt. 2 (2003).
- Savage-Smith, Emilie. "Divination." In *Science, Tools, and Magic*. Part 1. *Body and Spirit, Mapping the Universe*. Vol. xii. Edited by Francis Maddison and Emilie Savage-Smith. London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1997.
- _____. "Safavid Magic Bowls." In *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501-1576*. Edited by Jon Thompson and Sheila Canby. New York: Skira, 2003.
- Savage-Smith, Emilie, and Marion Bush Smith. *Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device*. Studies in Near Eastern culture and society [2]. Malibu: Undena Publications, 1980.
- Sayili, Aydin Mehmed. *The Observatory in Islam and Its Place in the General History of the Observatory*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1988.
- Schimmel, Annemarie. *And Muhammad is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.
- _____. *The Empire of the Great Mughals: History, Art, and Culture*. Edited by Burzine K. Waghmar. Translated by Corinne Attwood. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Schmitz, Barbara. "Some Comments on the Development of Religious Iconography in Turkey in the Second Half of the 16th Century Based on Illustrations of the Martyrdom of Zakariya (Zacharias)." *Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art*. Edited by Tadeusz Majda. Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1990.
- Schmitz, Barbara, Pratapaditya Pal, W. M. Thackston, and William M. Voelkle. *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in the Pierpont Morgan Library*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997.
- Schwarzbaum, Haim. *Biblical and Extra-Biblical Legends in Islamic Folk-Literature*. Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde, 1982.
- Seguy, Marie-Rose. *Mirajnameh ou le voyage du prophète*. Paris: Draeger Éditeur, 1977.
- Semsaar, Mohammad Hasan. *Golestan Palace Library: A Portfolio of Paintings and Calligraphy*. Edited and translated Karim Emami. Tehran: Zarrin and Simin Books, 2000.
- Sevin, Nureddin. "A Sixteenth-Century Turkish Artist Whose Miniatures Were Attributed to Kalender Pasa." In *IVème. Congre's International d'Art Turc, Aix-en-Provence, 10-15 Septembre 1971*. E' tudes historiques, 3. Aix-en-Provence: Éditions de l'Université de Provence, 1976.
- Seyller, John. *The Adventures of Hamza: Painting and Storytelling in Mughal India*. Washington, D.C., and London: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, and Azimuth Editions, 2002.
- Shani, Raya. "The Lion Image in Safavid Miraj Paintings." In *A Survey of Persian Art from the Prehistoric Times to the Present*. Vol. 18. Edited by Abbas Daneshvari. Costa Mesa: Mazda Publications, 2005.
- Shirazi, Abdi Bay. *Takmilat al-akhbar*. Edited by A. Nava'i. Tehran: Nashr-i Nay, 1990.
- Sievernich, Gereon, and Hendrik Budde. *Europa und der Orient, 800-1900*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1989.
- Simpson, Marianna Shreve, with contributions by Massumeh Farhad. *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, and Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1997.
- Sims, Eleanor. *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and its Sources*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Smith, Jane Idleman, and Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad. *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Soucek, Priscilla P., ed. "The Life of the Prophet: Illustrated Versions." In *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*. University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988.
- Soudavar, Abolala. *Art of the Persian Courts*. New York: Rizzoli, 1992.
- _____. "Between the Safavid and the Mughals: Art and Artists in Transition." *Iran* 37 (1999).
- Stchoukine, Ivan. *La Peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés*. Vol. 1. *De Sulaymān I à Osmān II, 1520-1622*. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1966.
- _____. *La Peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés*. Vol. 2. *De Murad IV à Mustafa III, 1623-1773*. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1971.
- _____. *Les peintures des manuscrits safavides de 1502 à 1587*. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1959.
- Stchoukine, Ivan, Barbara Flemming et al. *Illuminierte islamische Handschriften*. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 16. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1971.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Euroasia." *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997).
- _____. "A Tale of Three Empires: Mughals, Ottomans, and Habsburgs in a Comparative Context." *Common Knowledge* 12, no. 1 (2006).
- _____. "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640." *American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (2007).
- _____. "Turning the Stones Over: Sixteenth-Century Millenarianism from the Tagus to the Ganges." *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 40, no. 2 (2003).
- Sülün, Murat. "Bazı Tılsımlı Gömleklerin Açılımı." In *Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki Şifalı Gömlekler*. Edited by Hülya Tezcan. Istanbul: Bika Kültür Kitaplığı, 2006.
- _____. *Sanat eserine vurulan Kur'an mührü: sanat eserinden yansıyan Kur'an mesajı*. Istanbul: Bank Asya Kültür Yayınları, 2006.
- Sureyya Bey, Mehmet, Nuri Akbayan, and Seyit Ali Kahraman. *Sicill-i Osmanî*. Eski yazıdan yeni yazıya, 1. Beşiktaş, Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ile Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı'nın ortak yayınıdır, 1996.
- Swain, Simon, ed. *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Swietochowski, Marie Lukens, and Stefano Carboni, with essays by A. H. Morton and Tomoko Masuya. *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images: Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s*. New York: Metropolitan Museums of Art, 1994.
- Szuppe, Maria. "Palais et jardin: le complexe royal des premiers safavides à Qazvin, milieu XVIe-début Xlle siècles." *Res Orientales* 8 (1996).
- Tahmasb. *Tazkira-yi Shah Tahmasb*. Edited by D. C. Phillott. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1912.
- Tanındı, Zeren. "Bibliophile Aghas (Eunuchs) at Topkapı Saray." *Essays in Honor of J. M. Rogers. Muqarnas* 21 (2004).
- _____. "İslam resminde kutsal kent ve yöre tasvirleri." *Journal of Turkish Studies/Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 7 (1983).
- _____. "Safavid Bookbinding." In *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501-1576*. Edited by Jon Thompson and Sheila Canby. New York: Skira, 2003.
- _____. *Siyer-i Nebi: An Illustrated Cycle of the Life of Muhammed and Its Place in Islamic Art*. Translated by Maggie Quigley Pinar. Istanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984.
- Tezcan, Hülya. *Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki şifalı gömlekler*. Istanbul: Euromat, 2006.
- Thackston, Wheeler M., Jr. "Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters." *Supplements to Muqarnas* 10. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Thompson, Jon, and Sheila R. Canby, eds. *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501-1576*. New York: Skira, 2003.
- Thorndike, Lynn. *History of Magic and Experimental Science*. 8 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1923-58.
- Tittle, Norah M. *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts*. London: British Library, 1981.
- Tokatlian, Armen. *Fālnameh: Livre Royal des Sorts*. Montreuil: Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2007.
- Trapp, Erich, Rainer Walther, and Hans-Veit Beyer. *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976.
- Treitel, Corinna. *A Science for the Soul: Occultism and the Genesis of the German Modern*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.
- Turan, Ebru. "The Sultan's Favorite: Ibrahim Pasha and the Making of the Ottoman Universal Sovereignty in the Reign of Sultan Süleyman (1516-1526)." PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2007.
- Uluç, Lâle. *Türkmen Governors, Shiraz Artisans, and Ottoman Collectors: Sixteenth-Century Shiraz Manuscripts*. Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2006.

Uluçay, M. Çağatay. *Padisahların Kadınları ve Kızları*. 3rd ed. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992.

Ünver, Ahmet Süheyl. "L'album d'Ahmed Ier." *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, n.s. 8 (1963).

_____. *Ressam Nakşi: hayatı ve eserleri*. İstanbul: Kemal Matbaası, 1949.

Vajda, Georges. "Deux 'Histoires de Prophets' selon la tradition des Shi'ites duodecimains." *Revue des Etudes Juives* 106 (1945-46).

van der Horst, Pieter W. "Sortes: Sacred books as instant oracles in Late Antiquity." In *The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World*. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 22. Edited by L.V. Rutgers, P.W. van der Horst, H. W. Havelaar, and L. Teugels. Leuven: Peeters, 1998.

Vasilyeva, Olga V. *A String of Pearls: Iranian Fine Books from the 14th to the 17th Century in the National Library of Russia Collections*. St. Petersburg, 2008.

Welch, Anthony. *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.

_____. *Collection of Islamic Art*. Vol. 3. Geneva: Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, 1972.

Welch, Anthony, and Stuart Cary Welch. *Arts of the Islamic Book: The Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1982.

Welch, Stuart Cary. "The Fahnama (Book of Divination) of Shah Tahmasp." In *Treasures of Islam*. Edited by Toby Falk. London: Sotheby's/Philip Wilson Publishers, 1985.

_____. *Persian Painting: Five Royal Safavid Manuscripts of the Sixteenth Century*. New York: G. Braziller, 1976.

Whelan, Estelle. "Writing the Word of God: Some Early Quran Manuscripts and their Milieux, Part 1." *Ars Orientalis* 20 (1990).

Woods, John E. *The Aq-Quyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999.

Yamamoto, Kumiko. *The Oral Background of Persian Epics: Storytelling and Poetry*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003.

Yaman, Bahattin. "Osmanlı Resim Sanatında Kıyamet Alametleri." PhD diss., Hacettepe University, Ankara, 2002.

Yates, Frances Amelia. *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1975.

Yemini, Hazreti. *Ali'nin Faziletnamesi*. Edited and translated by Adil Ali Atalay. İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2003.

Yetkin, Sut Kemal. "An Illuminated Manuscript of the Zubadt al-Tavarikh (The Cream of History)." In *Atti del secondo congresso internazionale di arte Turca, Venezia 26-29 Settembre 1963*. Napoli: Stamperia Napoletana, 1965.

Yildirim, Reza. "Turkomans between Two Empires: The Origins of Qizilbash Identity in Anatolia (1447-1514)." PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2008.

Yıldız, Osman. *Ahvâl-i İyâmet: orta Osmanlıca dönemine ait bir dil yadigarı; giriş, inceleme, metin, dizinler*. Nadir eserler, 1. İstanbul: Şûle Yayınları, 2002.

Yürekli, Zeynep. "A Building between the Public and Private Realms of the Ottoman Elite: The Sufi Covent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in İstanbul." *Muqarnas* 20 (2003).

Zākāni, Obayd. *Collected Works*. Edited by Muhammad-Ja'far Mahjoub. Persian Text Series, n.s., no. 2. General editor Ehsan Yarshater. New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1999.

Contributors

Kathryn Babayan, associate professor of Iranian history and culture at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Julia Bailey, former editor of *Muqarnas*.

Serpil Bağcı, professor of history of art and departmental chair at Hacettepe University, Ankara.

Massumeh Farhad, chief curator and curator of Islamic art, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

Cornell H. Fleischer, Kanuni Suleyman professor of Ottoman and Modern Turkish studies, University of Chicago.

Maria Mavroudi, professor of history, University of California, Berkeley.

Wheeler M. Thackston, retired professor of Persian, Harvard University.

Sergei Tourkin, professor, St. Petersburg State University, Russia.

Photo Credits

The publisher thanks the individuals and institutions that supplied images and gave permission for their reproduction in *Falnama: The Book of Omens*. Further details are provided in the captions that accompany each illustration and in the list below.

Topkapı Palace Museum: The majority of works in this book (including those coded TSM or TIEM) are reproduced courtesy of the Directorate General for Cultural Heritage and Museums of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey and the Topkapı Palace Museum. Photos by Hadiye Cangöke.

© Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Geneva: cats. 27, 35

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C., Purchase: cat. 6. Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler: pp. 6–7, 10; figs. 3.3, 3.5, 4.4, 5.7, 9.1; cats. 12, 13, 16, 22, 45

Courtesy Julia Bailey: pp. 218–19

Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford: figs. 1.3, 1.8, 1.9

Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N.Y., Gift of Herbert L. Pratt in memory of his wife, Florence Gibb Pratt 36.213g: cat. 58

Bruschetti ni Collection, Genoa: cat. 15

© Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin: fig. 1.2, cats. 7, 23, 38, 61, 62

The David Collection, Copenhagen, 79/2006: cat. 37

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Purchase: figs. 1.7, 3.7, 3.10, 7.2; cats. 10, 11, 63

Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass., Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of Stuart Cary Welch, Jr.: cat. 55

Istanbul University Library: fig. 6.9

Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, courtesy of the Khalili Family Trust: figs. 2.5, 3.4, 3.12; cats. 5, 8, 51

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art: cat. 53

M.A. Collection, Dubai: cat. 3

Lent by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: fig. 1.5 [1933.113]; fig. 3.1/cat. 26 [Purchase, Francis M. Weld Gift, 1950 (50.23.2)]; fig. 3.9/cat. 21 [Francis M. Weld Gift, 1950 (50.23.1)]; fig. 9.2/cat. 25 [Gift of Dr. Marilyn Jenkins, 1984 (1984.504.2–D)]; cat. 42 [Rogers Fund, 1935 (35.64.3)]

Musée du Louvre, Paris: pp. 16–17, fig. 3.11, cat. 28

Musées d'art et d'histoire, Geneva: figs. 2.1, 2.10, 3.8; cats. 30, 34, 39, 44

Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: fig. 2.8; cats. 32, 48

Museum of Ethnography, Rotterdam: fig. 2.6

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: cat. 46 (top)

National Library of Ankara: fig. 1.10

Pierpont Morgan Library, New York: p. 1, figs. 6.8, 6.10; cat. 67

Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden: figs. 2.2, 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.5, 5.6, 5.8, 5.9, 5.10; cat. 33

Abolala Soudavar Collection: cat. 46 (below)

Staatsbibliothek Berlin: fig. 6.11

The Tanavoli Collection: cats. 1, 2

Jerome Wheelock Fund, Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass.: fig. 3.2/cat. 17

Index

Italicized numbers indicate pages with illustrations.

- Aaron, 103
 Abbasid dynasty (r. 650–1258), 249
 Abd al-Malik, 222
 Abd al-Rahman al-Bistami (ca. 1380–ca. 1455), 74, 203, 232, 233–35, 238, 239, 241, 242, 243
 Abdi Beyk, poet, 48
 Abdul Aziz, court painter, 45–46
 Abdulhamid II, sultan (r. 1876–1909), 53
 Abdullah ibn Abbas (d. 687), 54, 62
 Abdul Vahid, 174
 Abel, 64
 Abraham (Ibrahim), 210, 211; catapult of, 22, 204; sacrifice of, 112, 113, 204, 205
Abraham Praying at the Ka'ba (cat. 64), 210, 211
Abraham's Fire Ordeal (cat. 61), 204, 205
Abraham's Sacrifice (cat. 61), 204, 205
 Abrahamic prophets, 35, 39, 67, 70, 97–115, 181, 204, 235
 Abrahamic traditions in *Fahmas*, 35–37, 97–115, 251
 Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad ibn Uthman al-Zanati, 226
 Abu Bakr, 60, 62, 120, 242
 Abu Ishaq Ibrahim ibn Abd Allah al-Kirmani, 224
 Abu Ishaq al-Nishaburi, 210, 213
 Abu Ma'shar, 24, 36
 Abu Mashar al-Balkhi (Albumasar, d. 886), 21, 214
Acaibū'l-mahlukat, 214, 239
 Adam, 35, 37, 97, 98, 100, 181, 198, 213, 235, 251
Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise (cat. 13), 44, 45, 98, 99, 196
Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise (cat. 14), 69, 70, 100, 100, 101, 203, 214
Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise (cat. 65), 213
 Aden, 168
 Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486–1535), 228
 Ahmad Afkari, author (d. 1360), 110
 Ahmad Jalayir, sultan (r. 1382–1410), 21
 Ahmed, prince, son of Bayezid II, 239
 Ahmed I, sultan (r. 1603–17), 28, 30, 37, 56, 68, 70, 72, 74–75, 100, 148
 Ahmed III, sultan (r. 1703–30), 53
 Ahmed Pasha, 240
Ahsan al-kibar (Best of the greats), 48
Ahval-i kiyamet (The circumstances of the Apocalypse), 56, 74, 192
Aja'ib al-makhlūqat (Wonders of creation), 23, 24, 24, 38, 73
Aja'ib al-makhlūqat wa-ghara'ib al-mawjudat (Wonders of creation and marvels of existence), 214
 Akbar, Mughal emperor (r. 1556–1605), 39, 132, 209
 Akkoyunlu Sultan Yakub (r. 1478–90)
 Aksaray, 24
 Ala al-Din Kay Qubad (r. 1219–37), 249
 Aleppo, 232
 Alessandri, Vincenzo d', Italian diplomat, 49, 241
 Alevi, 35, 60, 126
 Alexander of Macedonia (cats. 38–40), 20, 34, 37, 50, 153, 154, 157, 181, 242
Alexander Builds a Wall against Gog and Magog (cat. 38), 32, 34, 34, 37, 44, 152, 153, 154
 Ali al-Hadi, tenth imam (d. 868), 170
Ali and Muhammad at the Gates of Khaybar (cat. 23), 44, 120, 121, 253
 Ali ibn Abu Talib, imam (d. 661), 35, 42, 48, 50, 54, 57, 60, 62, 70, 71, 85, 125, 132, 139, 167, 203, 219, 234, 243, 248; death of, 126, 144; family and descendants of, 249, 252, 253; Isma'il I and, 246; Muhammad and, 118, 120, 123, 191, 246, 253; and Murra ibn Qays, 44, 45, 54, 56, 128, 129, 130–31, and Tahmasb, 252–53
 Ali Karaki, shaykh, 252, 253, 254
Ali Saves Salman al-Farsi, 44
 Allan, James, 78
 Alqas Mirza (d. 1550), brother of Tahmasb, 241, 252, 253, 254
 Amasya, 214, 239; treaty of, 47, 48
 Amir Husayn Beg, Safavid royal treasurer, 47
 Anatolia, 24, 35, 50, 126, 232, 237, 248, 249
The Angel of Death Descends on Shaddad ibn Ad (cat. 45), 44, 168, 169
Angels Bow before Adam and Eve in Paradise (cat. 12), 43, 45, 46, 96, 97
 Antichrist, 37, 43, 170, 185, 186, 219, 238, 243
 Apocalypse, 50, 55, 56, 75, 203, 234, 251; signs of, 34, 37, 57, 74, 153, 185, 186
 Appian, 224
 Aqa Mirak, painter, 45, 46
 Ardabil, 49, 248
Arrival of the Antichrist (cat. 53), 45, 170, 184, 185
 Arsenios, 228
 Artemidoros of Daldis, 222, 224, 226
 Asaf bin Barakhya, vizier, 115
Asrar-i Qasimi (Secrets of Qasimi), 249
 Astrampsychos, 225
 astrolabe (cat. 51), 180, 181
 Ayşe Sultan, daughter of Murad III (d. 1605), 72, 214
 Azerbaijan, 243
Azure Monastery (cat. 37), 37, 43, 45, 75, 136, 150, 151
 Babayan, Kathryn, 47, 229
 Badr al-Din, shaykh, 232, 234
 Bağcı, Serpil, 229
 Baghdad, 38, 58, 239
 Bahai, shaykh, 249
 Bahram Gur, 60, 60, 219
Bahram Gur Hunting, 43
 Bal'ami, Abu Ali Muhammad (d. ca. 997), 35
 Bandaroy, 228
 Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402), 232
 Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), 90, 235, 237, 238
 Bayezid Mosque, 28
 Bayezid, prince (d. 1559), 242, 254
Beast of the earth (cat. 54), 186, 187–89, 203
Beast of the earth (cat. 60), 202, 203, 239, 243
 Bektashi, 35, 60, 118, 126
 Benjamin, Joseph's brother, 104
 bibliomancy: using books for divination, 20, 22; group, 22; origins of, 22–23; popularity of, 20, 22; practice of, 30, 225, 226
 Bilqis, queen of Sheba, 45, 115
 Blochet, Edgar, 45
 Blond peoples, 233, 238, 239
 bowls, divination (cats. 5, 6), 84–85
 Bukhari, 225
 Buqrat, see Hippocrates
 Buraq, the Prophet's human-headed steed, 56, 57, 118, 119
 Burnett, Charles, 224
Bustan (Orchard), 148
 Çağman, Filiz, 90
Cain and Abel (Qabil and Habil), 64, 65
 Cairo, 232, 240, 241
 calendar (*taqvim*) (cat. 50), 178, 234, 235, 237
 campaign of the two Iraqs, 237, 239
 Canfeda Hatun, mistress housekeeper for Murad III, 73
 Cattán, Christophe de, 228
 Celalzade Mustafa, chancellor (d. 1567), 241, 243
 Celebi, Evliya (d. 1682), 28, 74
 Celebi, Hoca Mehmed, 28, 30, 34, 67

- Cem Sultan, brother of Bayezid II, 237–38
 Cerrah Mehmed Pasha
Circuit of the Ka'ba (cat. 34), 35, 44, 144, 145
 Chaldiran, battle of, 178, 236, 237
 Chardin, Jean, French jeweler and traveler, 30, 181
 Charles V of Spain, 50, 236, 237, 242
 Charles VIII of France, 236, 238
 Chios, 232
Coffin of Imam Ali (cat. 26), 42, 44, 126, 127
 Constantinople, 228, 232, 233, 235, 236, 238, 243
 Corfu, 237
- Dabbat al-arz* (Beast of the earth), 37, 54–55, 56, 58, 74, 202, 203
Dajjal, Antichrist, 55, 74, 170, 185, 186, 219, 232, 238, 243
 Damascus, 185, 232
 Daniel, the prophet, 21, 25, 25, 62, 126, 234, 240, 241; Book of, 233
Daqa'iq al-Haqa'iq (Aspects of the verities), 23–24
 Daqyanus (Decianus), pagan king, 160
 Dara (Darius), 154, 155
 Darabi, 49
 Day of Judgment, 35, 38, 50, 53, 55, 55, 56, 57, 65, 66, 191, 251
Day of Judgment (cat. 55), 43, 190, 191
Death of Dara in Alexander's Arms (cat. 39), 34, 37, 43, 45, 154, 155
 Demotte, George, Belgian dealer (1877–1923), 43
 Dhu'l-qarnayn, see Zulkarnayn
 Dickson, Martin, 45
Divan (Collected works) (cat. 10), 20, 92; for prognostication, 21, 22, 25, 49, 93
 divination practices, 222–29, 232; bibliomancy, 20, 22, 30, 225, 226, 229; cleromancy, 225, 226; dream interpretation, 222, 224, 226, 229; geomancy, 226, 228–29; kledonancy, 225; oracle bones, 222; ornithomancy, 224; at Ottoman court, 232–43; palmomancy, 21, 94, 225; physiognomy, 225; rhapsodomancy, 225; scapulimancy, 224–25
 Draco, the Dragon (pseudo-planet), 37, 38, 55
 Duldul, Ali's horse, 120, 219
- Earth, 37, 55, 173, 177, 214
 Ebussuud Efendi, grand mufti (d. 1574), 22
 Edict of Sincere Repentance, 47–48, 254
 Edirne, 232
 Elizabeth I, queen of England, 75
 Ephesus, 160
 Eve, 35, 37, 97, 98, 100, 213, 251
- Fal-i anbiya* (omens of prophets), 21
Fal-i maqbul (well-liked omens), 21
falnama, 20–21, 22, 253; birds in, 94; divination/prognostication with, 89, 90, 252; Koranic, 86, 89, 90
Falnama, 20, 21, 23, 28, 164, 229, 233, 235, 243, 253, 254; Alexander in, 153, 154; cosmological order in, 246, 248, 251, 253; format of, 30–31; idolatry in, 148–51; Koranic, 86, 89, 90; method and use of, 28, 30, 229, 252; Mughal, 28, 39, 57; in Persian, 28; scale of, 39, 209; style and provenance of, 38–39; subjects and themes of, 34–38, 115, 141, 198, 204, 213; text of, 31; tradition of, 20, 23–25, 251; in Turkish, 28, 68
 Ahmed I (H.1703) (cats. 14, 18–20, 24, 29, 36, 40, 41, 43, 49, 52, 54, 56, 57), 28, 29, 31, 37, 43, 53, 62, 67, 68–75, 98, 115, 124, 132, 135, 148, 151, 177, 182, 192, 203, 210, 214
 dispersed (cats. 12, 13, 15–17, 21–23, 26–28, 30, 32, 34, 37–39, 42, 44–46, 53, 55), 28, 29, 31, 34, 37, 38, 39, 43–50, 53, 56, 58, 60, 65, 67, 75, 97, 98, 100, 103, 109, 118, 123, 126, 132, 135, 136, 151, 153, 154, 160, 167, 168, 170, 173, 185, 186, 196, 198, 209, 210, 213, 218–19
 Dresden (E445), 28, 29, 30, 31, 37, 38, 39, 43, 55, 56, 60–67, 97, 109, 117, 118, 129, 142, 158, 160, 186, 191, 210
- Topkapı Persian (H.1702) (cat. 47), 28, 29, 31, 34, 35, 37, 53–58, 67, 98, 103, 109, 118, 129, 132, 135, 141, 144, 153, 160, 164, 168, 173, 182, 186, 203, 210
 Khalili *Falnama*, 28, 30, 45, 50, 170, 185
 Rotterdam *Falnama* (Rotterdam 71803), 28, 31
Falnama-i Jafar, 21, 31
 Farhad, Massumeh, 229
 Fatima, 84, 110, 123, 125
 Fatma Sultan, daughter of Murad III (d. ca. 1600), 72, 214
Fawa'ih al-miskiyya fi'l-fawatih al-makkiyya (Perfumed fragrances on the Meccan openings), 234
 Fazlallah of Astarabad (d. 1394), 234–35
 Fenari, Molla, 232
 Firdawsī (d. 765), 31, 49, 154
 Fleischer, Cornell H., 49, 229
Footprints of Imam Riza (cat. 30), 29, 44, 45, 123, 136, 137, 151
Four Lions Devour Zaynab (cat. 46), 43, 44–45, 170, 171, 185
 Forêt, Jean de la, 239
 Freud, Sigmund, 224
Futuhāt al-haramayn (The triumph of holy places), 146
- Gabriel (Jabrail), 56, 57, 98, 112, 118, 120, 191, 204
 Galata, observatory at, 72–73, 74
 Galen the Wise, 224
 Gama, Vasco da, 246
Garden of Paradise (cat. 57), 194, 195
 Gazanfer Aga, chief white eunuch (d. 1603), 73, 74, 203, 243
 Georgia, 20
 Gerlach, Stephan, 28
 Ghadir Khumm, 60, 62, 67
 Ghiyas al-Din Kay-Khusrow III (r. 1266–84), 24
 Gog (Yajuj), 25, 34, 34, 152, 153, 157, 233
 Golconda, India, 93
 Gülşeni, Muhyi-yi (d. 1605), 241, 242
 Gülşeni, Shaykh Ibrahim-i 241
Gurbetnâme (Tale of exile), 237, 238
- Habib al-siyar* (Companion of biographies), 65, 65, 142
Hadith (Traditions), 35, 36, 185, 192, 226
 Hafiz, poet (d. 1390), 20, 21, 22, 25, 49, 93, 225
 Haggār (Hajar), 210
 Haji Khalifa, Ottoman scholar (1609–1657), 22
 Hakim Luqman (cat. 41), 37, 61, 65, 123, 158, 159
 Halil Inalcik, 235
 Halveti order, 73, 74
 Hamdullah of Amasya, shaykh (d. 1520), 90
 Hamza ibn Abdul Muttalib, 209
 Hamza ibn Abdullah, 209
 Hamza Mirza (d. 1586), 65
Hamzanama (Story of Hamza), 39, 132, 209
 Harun al-Rashid, caliph (r. 786–809), 21, 209
 Hasan Ali, noted calligrapher and painter, 142
 Hasan ibn Abdullah, 90
 Hasan, Imam, 25, 35, 48, 56, 67, 70, 71, 123, 125, 126
 Hasan al-Muzahhib al-Baghdadi, 58
 Hasan Pasha, astrologer to Murad III, 243
 Hasan Pasha, Ottoman painter (d. 1620?), 69, 70, 100, 203, 214
 Haydar, Remmal (geomancer), 237, 240–42, 253
Hell (cat. 56), 29, 43, 192, 193
 Heraclius, Byzantine emperor, 226
 Herat, 49, 93, 232, 241, 252
 Herod, king, 56, 109
 Hesiod, 225

Hippocrates (Buqrat, ca. 460-ca. 375 BCE), (cat. 43), 37, 164, 165
Hoca Kemal, 236
Homer, 225, 226
Hugo of Santalla, 228
Humayun, Mughal emperor (r. 1530-40; 1555-56), 20, 49, 93
Hürrem Sultan, Süleyman's wife, 49
Hurşidname (Book of the sun), 25
Husayn, Imam (d. 680), 25, 35, 48, 67, 70, 71, 78, 123, 125, 126, 132, 170, 249
Husayn Kashani, 85
Husayn Kefevi (d. 1601), 22

Iblis, the devil, Satan, 98
Ibn Arabi, 234, 238, 239, 241
Ibn Ezra, 233
Ibn Hisham, 226
Ibn Ishaq (d. 773), 110
Ibn Khalaf al-Nishaburi, 36, 144, 210
Ibn Qutayba, 224, 226
Ibn Yamin, poet (d. 1368), 93
Ibrahim Mirza, sultan, Tahmasb's nephew and son-in-law, 45, 46-47
Ibrahim Pasha (d. 1536), 217, 237, 238, 239-41, 242, 243, 254
Idris, 57
Ikhwān al-safā' wa khullān al-wafā' (The brethren of purity and friends of fidelity), 232
ilm al-huruf (science of letters), 53, 232, 235, 236
Ilyas (Elijah), 37, 153, 156, 157
Imam Ali Slays Murra ibn Qays (cat. 27), 44, 45, 54, 56, 128, 129, 130-31, 144
Imam Riza (d. 818), 31, 31, 35, 67, 129-37, 139, 252
Imam Riza Saves the Sea People (cat. 28), 43, 49, 50, 132, 133, 186
Imam Riza Saves the Sea People (cat. 29), 70, 134, 135
Innocent VIII, pope, 238
Ioannes Kananos, 228
Iram, 168
Isaac (Ishaq), 210
Isfahan, 30, 34, 49, 78
Iskandar, 20, 152, 153, 157, 181, 242; see also Alexander
Iskandarnama, 154, 157, 181
Islamic millennium, 24, 39, 50, 67, 75, 235, 246, 254
Islamic prophets, 37, 39, 56, 204
Islamic traditions in *Falnamas*, 35, 117-47, 158, 191, 251
Israel (angel of death), 168, 191
Ishmael (Isma'il), 210
Isma'il, 112, 113
Isma'il I, shah (r. 1501-24), 49, 50, 236, 237, 241, 246, 248, 249, 251, 252, 253, 254
Isma'il II, shah (r. 1576-77), 38, 47, 48, 49, 50, 65, 142, 153
Istanbul, 30, 38, 39, 50, 72, 110, 160, 217, 233, 236, 237, 238, 241, 242

Ja'far al-Sadiq, sixth imam (d. 765), 21, 31, 54, 62, 123, 203, 234, 253
Jahangir, Mughal emperor (r. 1605-28), 93
Jahiz, 224
Jalal al-Din al-Rumi (d. 1273), 20, 22, 110, 225
Jalayirids, 217
Jami, poet, 22, 46
Jami' al-tawarikh (Compendium of chronicles), 141, 151, 160
Jamshid, legendary Persian king, 181
Janissary, 55, 154
Jargis (Georges), 170
Jawzahar, al-, (Draco), 37, 38,
Jerusalem, 112, 242
Jesus (Isa), 35, 56, 110, 111, 117, 170, 185, 203, 219, 235, 238, 240, 240
Jesus Kills the Antichrist, 44-45, 45, 219
Joseph, 20, 35, 37
Joseph Enthroned with His Brothers in Egypt (cat. 16), 32, 43, 104, 105-107
Junayd, shaykh (d. 1460), grandfather of Isma'il I, 248
Jupiter, 37, 84, 217, 235, 236, 243

Ka'ba, 54, 110, 112, 129, 144, 203, 210, 246
Kadizade Şemseddin Ahmed, 72-73
Kalender Pasha (d. 1616), 28, 30, 37, 68, 70, 72, 72, 75, 148
Kamal al-Din Mahmud Nazuk, 80
Karbala, 35, 78, 249, 252

Kashan, 85
Kashifi, 22
Kashmir, 20
Kayseri, 24
Kazimayn, 252
Khalaf al-Barbari the Elder, 226
Kindi, al-, philosopher, 224
Kisa'i, al-, Ali bin Hamza, author, 36, 97, 98, 103
Khamasa (Quintet), 31, 48, 93
Khandamir, 65
Khata'i, 246
Khaybar, 120, 123, 129
Khaybar: The Conquering Palm of Ali (cat. 24), 122, 123, 124, 182
Khayyam, Omar (d. 1131), 93
Khizr and Ilyas Find the Water of Life (cat. 40), 115, 156, 157
Khizr, guide of Moses, 37, 153, 156, 157
Khurasan, 185, 252
Kitab al-bulhan (Book of wonderment), 21, 22, 24, 25, 36, 72, 168, 217
Kitab al-Daniyal (Book of Daniel), 50
Knights of Rhodes, 236
Kolathiri of Cannanore, 246
Konya, 20, 20, 110, 239
Koran (cats. 7-9), 20, 21, 22, 34, 37, 53, 54, 58, 87, 88, 91, 136, 227, 228, 232; Abraham in, 112, 204, 210; Adam and Eve in, 97, 98; Antichrist in, 186; for divination/prognostication, 20-21, 25, 36, 49, 57, 86, 89, 90, 93, 223, 225, 226; hell and paradise in, 192, 195; Joseph in, 104; Khizr in, 157; Luqman in, 158; Mary in, 110; Moses in, 103, 148; Salih in, 141; Solomon in, 115; verses and stories in, 78, 81, 82-84, 153, 160, 168, 191, 203, 207; Zachariah in, 109
Kunhū'l-ahbar (Essence of history), 73

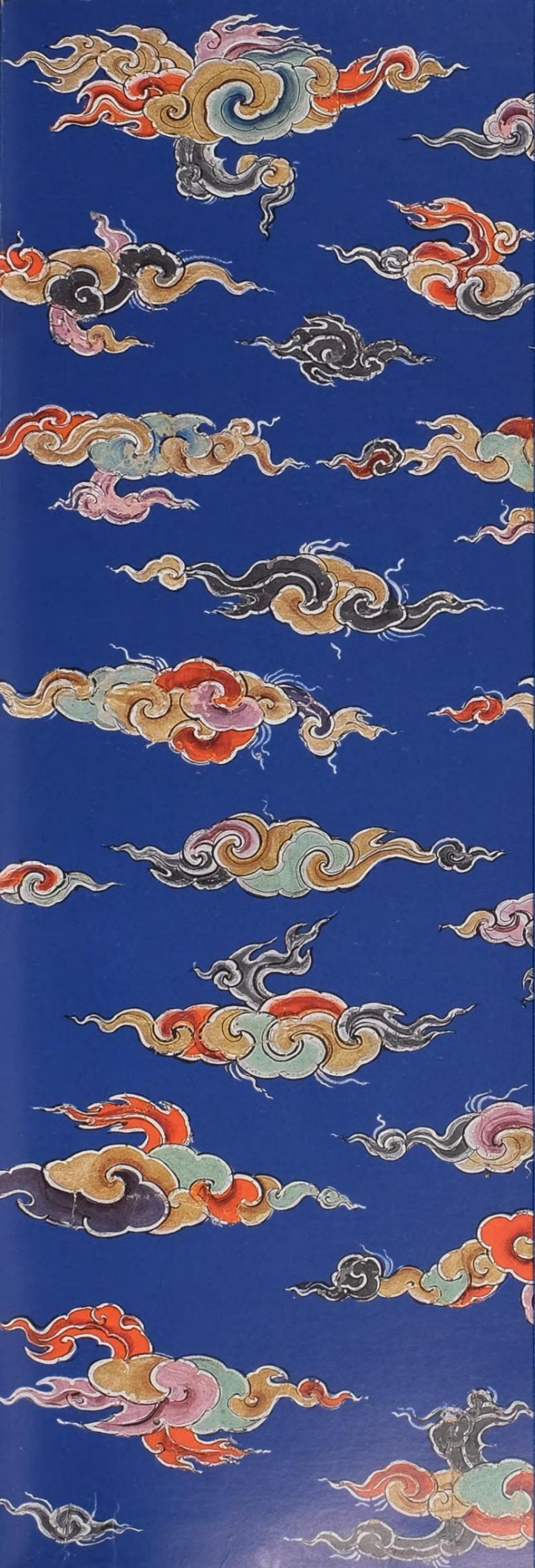
Lala Mustafa Pasha, 20
Latifa-i Ghaybiyya (Story of the unknown), 49
Layli, 37, 144
Lazarus, 117
Leo Rides a Personification of the Sun (cat. 67), 216, 217
Lokman Aşuri (Seyyid), 158, 204, 207

Magog (Majuj), 25, 34, 34, 152, 153, 157, 233
Mahdi, 35, 36, 37, 48, 50, 55, 56-57, 59, 74, 124, 203, 233, 253; Isma'il I as, 246; Süleyman as, 238, 240, 240, 243
Mahdi, al-, caliph (r. 775-85), 224
Mahmud of Ghazna (r. 998-1030), 21
Mahmud Pasha Bazaar, 28
Mahin Banu (d. 1561), 49; see also Sultanim
Majnun, 29, 37, 52, 144
Malik al-Daylami, calligrapher, 46, 47
Ma'mun, al-, caliph, 225
Manuchhri, Ghaznavid panegyrist (d. 1040), 23
Maragha, 49, 228, 253
Mars (Merrikh), (cat. 52), 37, 84, 177, 182, 183, 217
Mary (Maryam), 35, 57, 110, 111
Mary and the Infant Jesus (cat. 18), 110, 111, 123
Mashhad, 35, 45, 46-47, 49, 136, 248, 252, 254
Mas'udi, author, 224
Mathnavi of Rumi, 20
Matla' al-sa'ada wa manabi' al-siyada (Ascension of propitious stars and the sources of sovereignty), 50
Matrona, saint, 225-26
Maydan-i Shah, Isfahan's royal square, 30
Mecca, 32, 54, 60, 112, 117, 129, 144, 181, 203, 210
Medina, 32, 60, 117, 120
Mehmed Aga, chief black eunuch, 204
Mehmed I, sultan (r. 1413-21), 232
Mehmed II, the Conqueror (r. 1444-46, 1451-81), 228-29, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236
Mehmed III, sultan (r. 1595-1603), 22, 56, 72, 74, 100, 203, 214, 217, 243
Mehmed bin Mehmed, historian (d. 1640-41), 68
Mehmed Pashain, 72
Membré, Michael, Venetian diplomat, 49, 50
Menakib-i hünerveran (Biographies of artists), 68
Mercury, 37, 84

- Mersaites, 228
- Metali'ü's-sa'adet ve yenabi'ü's-siyadet* (Ascensions of felicity and sources of ascendency), 72, 74, 168, 217
- Mevlana İsa, 243
- Michael (Mikail), 191
- Miftah al-jafri al-jami* (Key to the comprehensive prognostication), 50, 57, 203, 238, 239, 241, 243
- Mir Ghiyas al-Din Mansur, scholar, 252-53
- Mirajnama* (Book of ascension), 37
- Mirkhvand, 169
- Mirza Abu Talib bin Mirza Ala'uddawla, 65
- Moon, 37, 55, 56, 84, 214
- Moon (cat. 66), 214, 215
- Moses (Musā), 25, 35, 36, 54, 56, 57, 103, 148, 157, 186, 198, 203, 251
- Moses Challenges Pharaoh's Sorcerers* (cat. 15), 44, 102, 103
- Moses Challenges Pharaoh's Sorcerers* (cat. 59), 198, 199-201
- Mount Qaf, 20, 164
- Muawiyya, caliph, 168
- Muhammad Amin, 181
- Muhammad and Abu Bakr in the Cave*, 60, 62
- Muhammad Heals the Sick Boy* (cat. 21), 35, 116, 117
- Muhammad Husayn al-Varamini, 48
- Muhammad ibn Badr al-Din Jajarmi, 24
- Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Dayduzami, 36
- Muhammad Khudabanda (r. 1577-87), 65
- Muhammad Mahdi al-Yazdi, instrument-maker, 181
- Muhammad Nur, sultan, 93
- Muhammad, the Prophet (d. 632), 20, 25, 49, 50, 74, 78, 84, 85, 89, 110, 125, 139, 146, 167, 204, 209, 228, 232; and Ali, 60, 62, 67, 70, 118, 120, 123, 191, 246, 253; miraculous acts of, 35, 63, 65, 73, 117; night journey of, 83, 118, 119, 253; subject in *Falnamas*, 35-36, 56, 57, 60, 136, 238, 253
- Muhammad Qutb Shah, ruler of Golconda, India, 93
- Muhammad Raising the Dead*, 43
- Muhammad Ravandi, poet, 94
- Muhyi al-din ibn Arabi, 203
- Munis al-ahrar fi daqa'iq al-ash'ar* (The free man's companion to the subtleties of poems) (cat. 11), 24, 24, 25, 94, 95
- Murad II, Ottoman sultan (r. 1421-44, 1446-51), 74, 203, 228
- Murad III, Ottoman sultan (r. 1574-95), 22, 50, 72-74, 74, 100, 168, 204, 214, 217, 243
- Murra bin Qays, adversary of Ali, 44, 45, 54, 56, 128, 129, 130-31
- Musa al-Kazim, seventh imam, 48
- Musa, son of Bayezid I (d. 1413), 232
- Museum of Ethnography, Rotterdam, 28, 31, 57
- Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 170
- Mustafa Aga, powerful chief eunuch of Ahmed I (d. 1624), 68
- Mustafa Ali, Ottoman historian, 20, 68, 73, 243
- Mustafa, prince, son of Süleyman, 214, 239, 241, 242
- Mustafa Safi, prayer leader (*imam-i sultani*), 74-75, 148
- Mutawakkil, caliph (r. 847-61), 170
- Muzaffar Ali, artist, 47-48, 65, 142
- Najaf, burial place of Ali, 35, 54, 129, 144, 252
- Nakşi, Ottoman painter (d. after 1622), 70, 148
- Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, 28, 30, 86
- Nasir al-Din al-Barbari the Younger, shaykh, 226
- Nasir al-Din al-Tusi, 228, 253
- Nasir al-Din Muhammad, geomancer, 24
- National Library of Ankara, 25
- Nazm al-suluk fi musamarat al-muluk* (The ordering of conduct for the accompaniment of kings), 232, 234, 235
- Nebuchadnezzar, 233
- Niccoli, Ottavia, 236
- Nicholas of Otranto, 228
- Nihayat al-arab fi funun al-adab* (The aim of the intelligent in the art of letters), 224
- Nimrud, king, 204
- Nineveh, 222
- Nishaburi, see Abu Ishaq Nishaburi
- Nishapur, 129, 136
- Nizami (d. 1209), 31, 93, 144, 154, 157
- Noah (Nuh), 206, 207
- Noah's Ark (cat. 62), 206, 207
- Nowruz, 178, 236
- Nurbanu Sultan, mother of Murad III, 73, 74
- Nusretname* (Book of victory), 20, 20
- Og (Uj), 36, 54
- Olearius, Adam, 28, 30
- Osman, 39, 68, 238
- Osman Beg (r. ca. 1301-ca. 1324), 325
- Osman II, son of Ahmed I (r. 1618-22), 148
- Osman, painter, 100
- Paracelsus (1493-1541), 228
- Paradise*, 43
- Pari Khan Khanum (d. 1576), 49
- Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, historian, 74
- Pir Ali Alaeddin Aksarayi, Melami shaykh, 239
- People of the Cave* (Geneva), 43
- People of the Cave* (H.1702), 32, 56, 223
- People of the Cave* (MMA) (cat. 42), 160, 161-63
- Perge, 225
- Petosisiris, 222
- Philostratos, 224
- Philip of Macedonia, 154
- Pisces, 94
- Plato (*Cratylus* 44b), 226
- The Poet Sa'di Dressed as a Monk* (cat. 36), 37, 70, 148, 149, 151
- Porphyry, 224
- Postel, Guillaume, 239
- Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey (miraj)*, *The*, 56, 57
- Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey (miraj)*, *The*, (cat. 22), 34, 35, 44, 44, 118, 119, 196
- Prophet Zakariya in a Tree* (cat. 17), 44, 108, 109
- Psellos, Michael (ca. 1018-ca. 1081), 224
- Qalman al-Mosuli, 67
- Qambar, 120, 219
- Qambar and Duldul*, 44, 219
- Qamus, 120
- Qarun (Korah), 57
- Qasida-i burda* (Poem of the mantle), 83
- Qaytbay, Mamluk sultan (r. 1468-96), 74
- Qazi Ahmad, historian, 142
- Qazvin, 38, 39, 45, 46-47, 65, 72, 97, 142, 173, 241, 248
- Qazvini, al-, 23, 214
- Qisas al-anbiya* (Stories of the prophets), 35, 36, 38, 58, 65, 97, 100, 103, 109, 141, 144, 160, 198, 207, 210, 213
- Qitmir, 160
- Qizilbash (Red Heads), 47-48, 241, 248, 252, 253, 254
- Quli Khalifa, shah (d. 1558), 48
- Qum, 49
- Qutb al-Din Muhammad Qissa-khan, storyteller, 48
- Raby, Julian, 90, 228
- Raphael (Israfil), 191
- Rashid al-Din, 141, 151, 160
- Rawzat al-safa* (Garden of purity), 168
- Raymbacki, Johannes Christopher, royal translator of exotic languages, 60
- Roznama* (Book of secrets), dedicated to Murad III, 22, 72
- Rizvan, the custodian of paradise, 100
- Rodoszade, 214
- Rome, 233, 236, 238, 242, 243
- Rubayyat* (Quatrains), 93
- Rumelia, 100
- Rumeli, 238
- Rüstem Pasha, grand vizier (d. 1561), 241
- Sächsischen Landesbibliothek, Dresden, 60
- The Sacrifice of Abraham* (cat. 19), 112, 113, 115, 157
- Sadeddin Efendi, Murad's teacher (d. 1599), 72
- Sa'di (d. 1292) poet, 148

- Sadr al-Din Qunawi (d. 1274), 239, 241
 Safadi, al-, Khalil bin Aybak (d. 1363), 239
 Saffiya, wife of Muhammad, 120
 Safi al-Din, shaykh (d. 1334), 249
 Safiye, Murad's favorite, 74
Sahih al-Bukhari, 225
 Sa'in al-Din Turka Isfahani (d. 1431), 232
 Salih, prophet, Noah's grandson, 33, 44, 45, 65, 140, 141, 167
Salih and the She-Camel (cat. 33), 44, 65, 142, 143
Salih Bids the She-Camel from a Rock (cat. 32), 33, 45, 140, 141, 173
 Saljuq dynasty, 24
 Samarqand, 232, 235
 Samarra, 252
 Sam Mirza, brother of Tahmasb (d. 1567), 252, 253, 254
 Sarah (Sara), 210
 Satan (*shaytan*), 97, 98, 100, 109, 112, 160, 213
 Saturn, 37, 53, 55, 84, 177, 178, 217, 224, 235, 236, 243, 250
 Savage-Smith, Emilie, 85
 Selaniki, historian (d. after 1600), 68, 72
 Selim I, "the Grim," Ottoman sultan (r. 1512-20), 50, 68, 178, 236, 237, 239
 Selim II, Ottoman sultan (r. 1566-74), 139, 243
 Serif bin Seyyid Mehmed bin Seyyid Burhan, 74, 203
 Seyyid Mehmed ibn Emir Hasan al-Suudi, 217
 Shaddad ibn Ad, 168, 169
Shahnama (Book of kings), 31, 36, 45, 47, 48, 62, 65, 142, 153, 154, 181
 Shahrukh, Timurid ruler (r. 1405-47), 232
shajarah al-nu'maniyya fi al-dawla al-Uthmaniyya (The crimson tree on the Uthmanid glory), 239, 241
shaq al-qamar: splitting of the moon
 Sharaf al-Din Muhammad bin Said al-Busiri (d. 1296), 83
 Shi'i Safavids, 35, 118, 151
 Shi'i, doctrines in *Falnamas*, 55, 58, 60, 70, 110, 118, 120, 125, 132, 144, 151, 253; processions, 81
 Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Abd al-Wahhab al-Nuwayri (1272-1333), 224
 Shiraz, 20, 38, 58, 65, 86, 89, 252, 253
 Siffin, battle of, 167
Silsilat al-thahab (Chain of gold), 46, 49
Sira, 226
 Siyavus Pasha (d. 1602), 204
 Siyavush the Georgian, 65, 65, 142
Siyer-i nebi (Life of the Prophet), 70, 73, 100, 117
 Socrates, 226
 Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, Ottoman grand vizier (d. 1579), 72
 Solomon (Sulayman), prophet, 35, 45, 56, 115, 186, 203, 234, 251
Solomon and Bilqis Enthroned (cat. 20), 43, 97, 114, 115, 157
 Soudavar, Abolala, 39, 48
 standard (*alam*) (cats. 1-3, 25, 31), 78-81, 79-81, 124-25, 124-25, 138-39, 139, 248
Stories of the Prophets, see *Qisas al-anbiya*
Suda, 228
 Sulayman, see Solomon
 Süleyman, sultan (r. 1520-66), the Lawgiver, the Magnificent, 28, 47, 50, 204, 214, 236, 239-42, 243, 252, 254, court of, 236-43
 Sultanim, Safavid princess, 49, 50
 Sumnat, 148
 Sun (cats. 17, 47), 37, 55, 56, 84, 172, 173, 182, 214, 217
 Süruri Muslih al-Din Mustafa (d. 1562), 214
 Suyuti, al-, (d. 1505), 241
 Tabari, al-, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir (d. 923), 35, 103, 120, 207
 Tabriz, 45, 46-49, 58, 65, 142, 228, 239, 241, 248, 253
 Tahmasb, shah, second Safavid ruler (r. 1524-76), 28, 39, 45, 46-50, 51, 58, 65, 89, 93, 142, 237, 241, 242, 251, 252-54, *Tazkira*, 49, 252, 253
 Tajlu Khanum, wife of Isma'il I (d. 1540), 50, 241
 Taki al-Din Muhammad al-Rasid ibn Maruf, chief astronomer (d. 1585), 72-73
 Tanindi, Zeren, 58, 90
Tarih-i hindi gharbi (Story of the West Indies), 73
Tarikhama (Book of history), 35
Taziya, Shi'i ritual commemorating Imam Husayn's death, 132
Tazkira, see Tahmasb
Tercüme-i miftah-i jifr al-jami (Translation of the key to the comprehensive prognostication), 56, 74, 214, 233, 240, 243
 Thackston, Wheeler M., Jr., 36
 Tha'labi, al-, Abu Ishaq Ahmad ibn Muhammad (d. 1036), 36, 98, 103, 109, 112, 168, 207
 Thamud, 141, 167
 Theodora, wife of Emperor Michael VIII Paleologos, 228
 Theophanes, ninth-century chronicler, 226
 Timur, 232
 Tokatlian, Armen, 46
 Topkapı Palace, 100, 148, 228, 233, 236, 239
 Topkapı Palace Library, 53, 70, 98, 151, 236
 Topkapı Palace Museum, 28, 45, 90
 Tum Tum al-Hindi, 226
 Tunis, 237
 Tusi, al-, Muhammad (d. 1274), 62
 Tusi, al-, Muhammad bin Mahmud, 23, 24, 38
 Twelve Imams, 38, 84, 85, 123, 124
 Ubayd Zakani (d. 1371), 22, 94
 Ulugh Beg, 232, 235
 Umar, companion of Muhammad, 120, 243
 Umayyad period (661-750), 20, 249
 Umma Mabid, 117
 Ustad Ibrahim, 78, 81
 Uthman, 243
 Uveys-i Qaran, 166, 167
Uveys-i Qaran and the Camel (cat. 44), 43, 45, 48, 166, 167
 Vâkıât-ı Sultan Cem (Story of Cem Sultan), 238
 Venus, 37, 84
 Virgil, 225
 Walid II, al-, caliph (r. 742-44), 226
 Welch, Stuart Cary, 45, 46
 Yahya (John the Baptist), 109
 Yahya Bey, Ottoman poet, 242
 Yaqub (Jacob), 82
 Yaqut al-Musta'sami, 90
 Yazdigirdi
 Yazid II, 224
 Yunus (Jonah), 22, 23, 23, 25
 Yusef (Joseph), 35, 82, 104, 251
 Zachariah (Zakariya), 108, 109
 Zakariya ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmud, known as al-Qazvini (d. 1283), 23
 Zamzam well, 54, 144, 226
 Zaqqum tree, 192
Zardhang Khatni Brings a Ring to Matlas the Prison Keeper (cat. 63), 208, 209
 Zaynab, 43, 44-45, 170, 171
 zodiac, 37-38, 38, 94, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 217
Zubdat al-tawarikh (Essence of the histories), 158
Zubdetü't-tevarih (Essence of the histories), 39, 39, 70, 74, 204, 207
zulfiqar, double-headed sword, 56, 129, 146
 Zulqarnayn, 20, 34, 37, 153, 157, 181





Massumeh Farhad, chief curator and curator of Islamic art at the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., and **Serpil Bağcı**, professor of history of art and departmental chair at Hacettepe University, Ankara, provided the art historical chapters. The catalogue section also includes entries by **Julia Bailey**, former editor of *Muqarnas*. Other chapters were contributed by **Maria Mavroudi**, professor of history, University of California, Berkeley; **Cornell H. Fleischer**, Kanuni Suleyman professor of Ottoman and Modern Turkish studies, University of Chicago; and **Kathryn Babayan**, associate professor of Iranian history and culture at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. **Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr.**, former professor of Persian, Harvard University, and **Sergei Tourkin**, professor, St. Petersburg State University, Russia, were responsible for the translations of the *Falnama* texts.

Front cover: Sun, probably Iran, Safavid period, 1580s; Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1702, f.5b

Back cover: Hippocrates, probably Iran, Safavid period, ca. 1580s; Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1703, f.38b

Published by the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery,
Smithsonian Institution

Printed in the United States of America



ISBN 978-0-934686-04-4



9 780934 686044